Auckland Attacked? Fears of Invasion Following the Northern War

Disclaimer: These notes were created by a student contracted to the project. They are the original notes and have not been edited, and therefore should not be regarded as necessarily authoritative. However, they contain insights which we believe teachers will find useful along with suggestions for other sources, both primary and secondary. We thank the student for the historical skills and work that went into the construction of the file.

Curriculum Relevance

The question of a possible attack on Auckland following the 1845-6 Northern War relates to key themes in the Aotearoa New Zealand Histories curriculum. It demonstrates that **Māori history is foundational and continuous**, as iwi histories – notably Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Pāoa, and Waikato – converged to shape Auckland during this period. The **use of power** across history is exemplified in the authority and agency of both colonial agents and rangatira from these iwi. Yet the possible invasion of Auckland reveals more than the power struggles between Māori and Pākehā. This history also highlights **relationships between people and across borders**. To mitigate Hone Heke's perceived threat to Auckland, the government sought aid from Britain and from rangatira in various regions, including Tāmati Waka Nene and Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. The establishment of the 'Māori Fencibles' also saw settlers living alongside Māori in Auckland. This is a history of collaboration as much as fear and antagonism, revealing the complex ways that Pākehā negotiated their presence in a Māori world.

The sources in this resource box are organised according to **different groups and their perspectives**. This foregrounds how historical actors interpreted and misinterpreted each others' actions. While there is a bias towards English-language sources, this also encourages reflection on how our access to the past is shaped (and limited) by factors such as language.

Topic Overview

On 8 July 1944, Ngāpuhi rangatira Hone Heke cut down the flagstaff at Kororāreka – which flew the Union Jack – as a protest against the lack of an equal partnership after the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi. The colonial government subsequently replaced the flagstaff three times, before Heke cut it down for a fourth and final time on 11 March 1845. He raised a white flag and released two prisoners who were captured during the altercation but, in unclear circumstances, the gunpowder magazine at Kororāreka exploded and the town had to be evacuated. This infamous incident sparked the Northern War, which would see engagements at Ōhaeawai, Ruapekapeka, and other locations. The Northern War culminated in an agreement between Heke and his ally Te Ruki Kawiti, and kūpapa Maori including Tāmati Waka Nene (Ngāpuhi). This agreement was signed on 21 January 1846, with Governor Grey proclaiming peace, claiming victory, and pardoning the 'rebels' two days later.

Yet it is far from clear that the Crown won the Northern War. James Belich argues that Grey's proclamation "secured a... victory by the pen where the sword had failed."[1] Even this nominal victory

[1] James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, p.70.

was limited, as the fall of Kororāreka sparked significant anxiety within Auckland. Settler refugees began arriving from the north on 16 March 1845.[2] An extraordinary meeting of the Legislative Council was convened by Grey's predecessor, Governor FitzRoy, at which fears were expressed that Heke may attack Auckland.[3] There is no evidence that such an attack was ever planned. Nevertheless, this anxiety was widespread and had a significant impact on the town.

In the short term, the colonial government prepared Auckland for invasion. The Albert Barracks and churches were fortified as refuges for women and children, while male residents were enlisted in a volunteer militia to defend the town. Additional troops were requested and dispatched from Britain over the next year, including the retired soldiers who would become the Royal New Zealand Fencible Corps. Not only the government responded to the possible attack on Auckland. Many settlers believed rumours that Heke planned to march south on the next full moon.[4] One man, John Moore, circulated a pamphlet which called on Auckland residents to arm themselves for the imminent invasion.[5] Some settlers, rather than heeding this call, fled to Sydney. Yet others ridiculed the growing panic and argued that the settlement was secure. This historical moment exposed underlying fissures in Auckland public opinion.

Preparations for the invasion of Auckland were tested on 23 April 1851, in an incident unrelated to the Northern War. A Ngāti Pāoa rangatira, Te Hoera, had been struck by a policeman when he visited Auckland.[6] In retaliation, five waka arrived at Mechanics Bay, intending to raid the town. Governor Grey had received advance warning, and the waka were met on the Parnell slopes by the 58th Regiment and Fencible soldiers from Onehunga. Ngāti Pāoa retreated, hauling their waka back into the water. Subsequently, they gifted a taonga (a mere called Hinenui-o-te-paoa) to Governor Grey as a token of peace. This incident demonstrates the efficacy of the government's defensive preparations. Yet from a Ngāti Pāoa perspective, it was more complex. The policeman who attacked Te Hoera was also of Ngāti Pāoa descent, suggesting that this was partly an intra-tribal conflict.[7] Moreover, the iwi know Mechanics Bay as Te Tōangaroa ('the long hauling'), which refers to the historical movement of waka into the water to escape from approaching enemies.[8] The name is also applied to the attempted raid in 1851, highlighting that Ngāti Pāoa view this incident in a broader history of regional conflict. Fears of an attack on Auckland did not begin with Pākehā settlement of the area but have a longer Māori history.

Over the following years, fears of attack also led Aucklanders to strengthen their connections with other iwi. On 16 April 1849, Waikato rangatira Pōtatau Te Wherowhero as well as 121 other Waikato leaders signed an agreement with the chief surveyor J.C. Ligar (acting on behalf of the colonial government).[9] Waikato iwi was given 486 acres in Māngere, in return for a pledge to defend Auckland on the same terms as the New Zealand Fencibles.[10] They would engage in military training for twelve days per year and could be called on to defend the city at any time. The rangatira did not sign this agreement purely out of loyalty to the colonial government. The land at Māngere placed

---

[2] Thomas Buick, *New Zealand's First War: Or the Rebellion of Hone Heke*, Wellington: W.A.G. Skinner Government Printer, 1926, p. 84.
[3] ibid., pp.84-5.
[4] ibid., pp.88-89.
[5] ibid., p.86.
[6] Valerie Willis, 'Te Tooangaroa: The Long Dragging Easter 1851,' Research Essay, University of Auckland, 1994, p.1.
[7] ibid.
[8] George Graham, 'Maori Place Names,' *Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, 16 (1979), p.8.
[9] Alan La Roche, *The Māori Militia Settlement at Mangere*, Auckland: Howick Historical Village, 2000, p.6.
[10] ibid.

Waikato iwi in close proximity to the Auckland markets, where they could sell their produce. Te Wherowhero himself also received a house in the Government Domain (now Auckland Domain), equal in size and prestige to Government House.[11] As Vincent O'Malley states, Waikato iwi developed "a close symbiotic relationship with the settlement of Auckland."[12] In this way, multiple and divergent Māori histories – from Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Pāoa, and Waikato – intertwined in Auckland. The town became a nexus of relationships between peoples and regions.

Overall, the fear of attack following the Northern War reveals Auckland's complex relationships to different peoples and places. Everyone considered the region important, from the iwi who claimed it as part of their rohe to the settlers and imperial soldiers who made their home here. When Auckland appeared to be under threat in the 1840s-50s, its centrality to the identity and livelihood of these groups was highlighted. By the 1860s, the colonial government had gained control of the narrative to a greater extent. The prospect of an attack against Auckland became a pretext for the invasion of the Waikato. As such, this earlier period of clashing interests and complex alliances is crucial to understand how Auckland was in the past – and remains in the present – a diverse place which is meaningful to many people.

Sources

Themes: diversity of perspectives between different groups, diversity of perspectives within different groups, networks of regional and transnational relationships, co-existence of conflict and connection, inter-iwi conflicts, Māori understandings of peace and the protection of Auckland.

1.Colonial Government

a) Proceedings of the Legislative Council, as published in *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, April 19, 1845, p.4, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZSCSG18450419.2.8.2.

> Saturday, March 15, 1845
> The Governor [FitzRoy] observed that, in reference to events which had so recently occurred at the Bay of Islands, he should suggest that the consideration of the Estimates, which was the regular business of the Council this day, should be postponed, as he was anxious to lay before the Legislative Council all the information which he had received, and likewise to state his own opinion and views on the measures to be adopted, after which he should be happy to hear the remarks and suggestions of the members of the Council.
> [Description of the fall of Kororāreka follows]
> [The Governor] thought that there was no real cause for fear and alarm in the neighbourhood of Auckland; and in any measures which the Council might suggest he considered it essential that there should be no demonstration or display which the surrounding natives might construe into symptoms of fear, or of distrust or suspicion as to their intentions. From the time that he arrived in Sydney [...] he was first persuaded that the best course to pursue, considering the small means of defence the Executive of the colony had at its command, was to avoid every act that would evince to the natives our comparative weakness, and not even attempt any measures against them which we could not fully and practically carry into execution. That had been his view and principle, and they were still the same. When he found himself supported by sufficient military and naval forces, he would assuredly be found firm and uncompromising. He deemed it most impolitic to add in the least

[11] Lucy Mackintosh, *Shifting Grounds: Deep Histories of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, pp.66-67.
[12] Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, p.59.

to the excitement that had naturally arisen from the late lamentable event [the fall of Kororāreka], or in any way to create unnecessary alarm; and he was astonished that any one could be so inconsiderate as to circulate among the inhabitants such an exciting document as that which he had before him, calling on the public to arm themselves and to form a volunteer corps [...]

Mr. Whitaker [a member of the Council] rose and said, that although far from wishing to create unnecessary alarm, or add to the present great excitement existing, he should avail himself of the permission of His Excellency [the Governor], and plainly state his opinion on the lamentable crisis which was the subject of their serious consideration. Whatever may have been the cause in the late conflict that led to the disastrous sequel, it was quite clear that the settlement of the Bay of Islands was swept away from the map of New Zealand. To prevent such unfortunate similar consequences here [in Auckland], he thought prompt measures should be taken, considering the best security for peace and safety to their families, was to be prepared for any hostile and predatory proceedings on the part of the Natives. He considered two steps essentially indispensable: – first, was to fix on some place to be fortified, and rendered impregnable as possible from sudden assault, to which females and children could be immediately sent in case of any hostile advance of the Natives; the other precautionary measure which he would most strongly urge on His Excellency and the Council was, that the European population should be embodied, so as to act in unison in defence of the town. Which should be the spot – whether the barracks, or some other; or in what mode the adult population should be assembled so as to act effectively, he should not discuss, but leave such matters to the Executive Government; but he trusted not a moment would be lost, for in his opinion, it was quite clear that we were, at present completely at the mercy of the Native population.

After a few remarks from all the members, and some discussion as to the manner of embodying the population, the Attorney General moved the following resolution, which was agreed to unanimously –

"That the Barracks be immediately made impregnable against musketry, and sufficient as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of Auckland; and that the male population of the settlement be sworn in as special constables and efficiently armed, and that such arrangements and preparations be made that such an armed force can be brought into active service at the shortest notice under experienced and efficient leaders."

The council then adjourned until Tuesday, the 18th March.

This report of the proceedings of the Legislative Council (the equivalent of Parliament at this time) highlights different perspectives within the colonial government. Governor FitzRoy projects confidence, stating that there is no cause for fear in Auckland. Conversely, Whitaker argues that there is an immediate need to protect the city through fortifications and a militia (both of which were implemented). This makes the source useful for understanding decision-making processes in the colonial government, including the fact that authority did not stem from a single person but rather from complex and diverse groups.

In addition to revealing this conflict of opinion, the report also speaks to the deliberate curation of political perspectives. It was compiled to reassure the public and, as such, must be carefully interrogated to reveal FitzRoy's true opinion. Underneath the projected confidence, the Governor demonstrates concern both about the views of the Auckland inhabitants (including the person circulating the pamphlets) and about Hone Heke's impression of the government. This provides insight into the motives behind FitzRoy's projection of control and (combined with his lack of objection to Whitaker's defensive proposals) hints at his underlying anxiety. Both individual

perspectives and discussions within the colonial government were more complex than they superficially appeared.

b) Letter – Governor FitzRoy to Captain Sir Everard Home, April 22, 1845, as published in *The Southern Cross*, April 26, 1845, p.2, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18450426.2.5.

> Government House, April 22, 1845
> SIR –
>
> I have the honour of requesting that you will enable me to carry into execution immediate measures against the rebellious Natives at the Bay of Islands (while there is a large party of friendly natives in arms [eg. Tāmaki Wāka Nene], desirous of supporting British authority; and while the season is favourable for military operations) by embarking detachments of H.M's 58th and 90th regiments, in number about 120 men [...] and by assisting me to quell insurrection, and restore tranquillity by your presence and support.
> The safety of this settlement [ie. Auckland], and every other settlement in New Zealand, depends on prompt and efficient measures being taken, in executing which, I deem your immediate assistance to be of the utmost consequence.
>
> I have the honour to be, &c.,
> ROBERT FITZROY

This letter was sent from Governor FitzRoy to James Everard Home, a naval officer stationed in Northland during the fall of Kororāreka. Unlike the proceedings of the Legislative Council, this letter foregrounds the depth of FitzRoy's concern about an attack on Auckland and other European settlements. The defensive measures outlined in the earlier document are here supplemented with an offensive punitory expedition. FitzRoy highlights the military weakness of colonial forces in Northland, who are reliant on kūpapa allies such as Tāmaki Wāka Nene, and stresses the urgency of the situation. Read alongside the previous source, this further demonstrates the complexity of FitzRoy's perspective and actions. More broadly, the comparison of these sources speaks to the differences between information that is publicly available and that which had a limited audience.

c) Letter – Earl Grey to Lieutenant-Governor Grey, November 24, 1846, New Zealand Electronic Text Collection, https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TurEpit-t1-g1-t1-g1-t2-g1-t38.html.

> Downing Street, 24th November 1846
> SIR –
> I have had the honour of receiving your despatches of the dates and numbers noted in the margin, and in which, after giving an account of the events which have recently taken place in New Zealand [during the Northern War], you state that a military force considerably larger than that which is now stationed there will in your opinion for some years to come be required to guard against the recurrence of petty but expensive wars with the Native tribes, and that you consider not less than 2,500 men to be necessary for this purpose.
> I have too much reliance on your judgement to doubt that you have good grounds for your demand for this large increase of force, and therefore, though the no less urgent demands from various other quarters for the services of Her Majesty's troops render it a matter of some difficulty, measures will immediately be adopted for supplying, with no more delay than is inevitable, the additional troops that you have called for. It will not, however, be in the power of Her Majesty's Government to supply the whole of this reinforcement from the regular army. A part of it will consist of a force of a different description to be formed for the purpose, as to which in another despatch of this date you will find all necessary information. This force will be

> designated as the Royal New Zealand Fencibles, will consist of about 500 men, and will be sent direct from this country to Auckland. The additional regular troops to be employed in New Zealand will be 900 men from the regiments now serving in New South Wales. [...]
>
> [Additionally] the formation of a well-organized Militia, and of a force composed of Natives in the service of her Majesty, would appear to be the measures most likely to be successfully adopted.

Much like the previous letter, this source emphasises the importance of kūpapa allies. British politician Earl Grey notes the need for "a force composed of Natives in the service of her Majesty" to support military efforts in the Northern War. Yet this letter also reveals the imperial significance of the Northern War and the threat to Auckland. Earl Grey is well informed on the situation and he acknowledges the need for reinforcements from the imperial regiments. These reinforcements, including the New Zealand Fencibles, would go on to have a significant impact on the town. As such, the source demonstrates how the vulnerability of Auckland must be understood in both national and transnational contexts.

One theme across these three textual sources is the multiplicity of perspectives within the colonial government. A variety of different officials – the governor, military leaders, and British politicians – were involved in the protection of Auckland. Some of these, notably Governor FitzRoy, also presented their perspectives differently in various contexts. In addition, these officials proposed a wide range of defensive measures. This included local and imperial alliances as well as practical fortifications and military enlistment for male settlers. The following two sources highlight the impact of these various decisions.

d) Site – Howick Historical Village

Image: 'Welcome to Auckland's heritage museum,' Howick Historical Village, https://www.historicalvillage.org.nz, accessed November 14, 2023.

The Howick Historical Village is a recreation of the Fencible settlement at Howick. The New Zealand Fencibles were sent to Auckland as a result of Grey's plea for imperial reinforcements to protect Auckland. As retired soldiers in Britain, they were incentivised to move to the colony and extend their military service in return for land. Four Fencible settlements were created between 1847-52, at

Ōtāhuhu, Onehunga, Howick, and Panmure. Located in south Auckland, these settlements would later become a line of defence for the town during the Waikato War, before evolving into Auckland suburbs. As such, the Howick Historical Village demonstrates how threats of invasion fundamentally changed the geography of Auckland.

The village also provides more specific insights into how the Fencibles shaped Auckland. Architecturally, the buildings strike a middle ground between the British models and concessions to the environment of New Zealand. Their roofs are pitched in the British style but they are constructed from timber, which was more readily available in New Zealand than stone. This reflects how the Fencibles both changed and were changed by the land they encountered. Moreover, the domestic and commercial nature of the buildings – which includes a hotel and school – is significant. It becomes evident that, although the Fencibles arrived to provide military protection for Auckland, they left their mark on the city in subtler and more diffuse ways. This invites us to think about the legacies of the threat to Auckland – and the New Zealand Wars period as a whole – in a cultural sense.

e) Site – Albert Barracks Wall, University of Auckland

Image: Gavin McLean, 2001, in 'Albert Barracks Wall', New Zealand History, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/albert-barracks-wall, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), accessed September 6, 2023.

Construction of the Albert Barracks began several years before the fall of Kororāreka and the tangible fear that Auckland would be attacked. Imperial regiments were housed at the barracks throughout the New Zealand Wars. Yet the barracks had a particular significance during the late 1840s and early 1850s, as the training-ground for the Auckland volunteers who were preparing to defend the city and the refuge for women and children in the event of an attack. It was the geographic and imaginative heart of the town, showcasing both the security and vulnerability of Auckland's inhabitants.

Despite its significance, little information is provided at the site, making it difficult to imagine the extent of the barracks and the scale of the anxiety in Auckland. This raises questions about how the history of the barracks, and broader threats to Auckland, should be incorporated into the twenty-first century city. On one hand, the wall's imposing presence makes it impossible to forget that this threat

existed. However, as it continues to stand at an awkward angle in the university grounds, the physical dislocation of the wall echoes the conceptual unease which surrounds it.

2. Auckland Settlers

a) Newspaper article – *Daily Southern Cross*, April 19, 1845, p.3, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/daily-southern-cross/1845/04/19/3.

> In anticipation of Heki's [Hone Heke] visit to this district, we are most happy to witness the great activity of the government in adopting measures on an extensive scale for the defence and protection of the town. The works commenced on the high ground at the back of the Court House, will be of great service: they are to be surrounded by a stone wall and a deep ditch, with a Martello tower of stone in the centre, on which will be mounted a piece of ordnance, that will embrace within its range, a considerable distance. The interior will be capable of affording shelter, in case of an attack on the town, to considerable numbers; and the militia could well defend such works from any attacks of the Natives. Another block-house is to be erected on the hill beyond Albert street, so as to command that entrance into the town. With these and the previous defences, in addition to correct intelligence of every movement of the Natives, so as to prevent sudden surprise, we consider the Town now perfectly secure. The activity and energy of His Excellency [the Governor], with respect to these various precautionary measures, deserves the warmest praise and thanks of the inhabitants of Auckland – and we hail them as an earnest, that now, he has military power and force at command, he will not overlook the slightest offence against the Laws by the Natives, nor suffer them, henceforth, to act as they please with impunity.

One perspective held by Auckland settlers is outlined in this letter. The anonymous correspondents believe that Heke will attack the town ("in anticipation of Heki's visit"). They are ostensibly not concerned about this impending invasion, finding the government's preparations sufficient ("we consider the town now perfectly secure"). Yet they enumerate many of the preparations for attack (blockhouses, stone walls, the militia) which demonstrates a keen interest in the situation – and perhaps an underlying sense of anxiety. The end of this letter also takes an aggressive tone against Hone Heke and Māori more generally. While sources relating to the colonial government demonstrate a more differentiated awareness of intra-iwi divisions and kūpapa alliances, these correspondents characterise all "Natives" as law-breakers who "act with impunity." This reveals one way that the threat of an attack on Auckland impacted relationships between settlers and Māori, by strengthening stereotypes and precluding mutual understanding. A contrasting perspective is provided by the following source.

b) Diary – W.T. Bainbridge, cited in Thomas Buick, *New Zealand's First War: Or the Rebellion of Hone Heke*, Wellington: W.A.G. Skinner Government Printer, 1926, pp.89ff.

> Sunday, March 16th [...] With varied feelings I attended church, and heard the Bishop preach a sermon appropriate to the present unpleasant situation of this colony. His Lordship appeared downcast, referring in a very delicate manner to the affair at Kororareka, and ended by making a very strong appeal to the benevolence of the Auckland people on behalf of the unfortunate Bay inhabitants. Small settlers have continued to arrive during the day, and, according to the Bishop's sermon, 200 persons are thrown upon the generosity of the public. Contributions of either land, money, food, or clothing would be very acceptable, and he also warned them of being afraid to crowd or inconvenience their houses.
>
> Monday, March 17th – Reports not to be depended upon still continue to disturb the public, and, amongst the rest, that Heke had arrived off Kaipara on his way to Auckland. It is utterly

without foundation [...] In the afternoon walked into town and saw preparations were commenced for fortifying the church. The barracks also are being placed in a state of defence. A trench is being dug and a breastwork thrown up. A blockhouse is also in a state of forwardness. It will command the road leading past the bank from the church. Whiles standing on the beach I heard Chief Commissioner Spain congratulated on the passing of the measures in Council for fortifying Auckland and making various preparations against attack, and that the measures would be published immediately [...]

Tuesday, March 18th – Attended church with my dear wife, and afterwards strolled round town shopping. One of the shopkeepers, with a very long countenance, assured us that it would be very advisable to lay in a quantity of provisions, for all kinds of articles would be, in a week's time, materially raised in price. I suppose it is on account of its being "wartime". Called at Mr. G's, whose wife we found packing up ready to start if the aspect of affairs continues as it is. Many others we heard of have already engaged to sail for Sydney in the *Slains Castle* [...] In the afternoon I went into the church to see the preparations for fortifying it. 'Tis a sad state of affairs when such measures are obliged to be adopted – the House of God, in which is read and preached the Gospel of peace, converted into a standing place of warfare. [...]

Wednesday, March 19th – That a day should pass now without news is hardly supportable. We have watched the proceedings of some Europeans on the hill at the back of Government House, and by this evening we see a blockhouse erected. It holds a very commanding position, and will, no doubt, if the Maoris [sic] have any evil intentions towards our magnificent city, prove a very annoying neighbour to them. The Volunteers were also drilled to-day for the first time – no doubt a rag-tag and bobtail assemblage [...]

Friday, March 21st – I cannot tell what will be the result if the troops do not arrive very shortly. Many intend to go out of the country, and some may possibly go our of their minds. Inquiries are continually being made, such as: "How far are the Maoris [sic] on their way to Auckland?" "Do you think the fortifications will be sufficiently manned?" "Is it known whether troops have started from Sydney or not" &c. – all indications of fear almost as extensive as their minds will allow. As many as can "raise the wind" appear to be decided upon the "necessity of leaving the country." The colony will certainly be reduced to great necessity if this opinion continues to spread [...]

Saturday, March 22nd [...] Happily, the natives are quarrelling amongst themselves. Tamati Waaka [Nene] is at the Waimate for its protection. Heke, whilst on his way to Kaikohe, was met by Waaka and fired upon. He thought proper to flee. [...]

Wednesday, March 26th – The town is beginning to wear a warlike appearance. I suppose it is intended to make but moderate demonstrations at present; by and by it seems they are going to make a stand at the barracks. They are advancing very rapidly with the trench around it, and if none else are safe in case of an attack by the Maoris, those who are enclosed within the trench will certainly be safe. [...]

Tuesday, April 1st – The people were thrown into a state of alarm by the firing of guns in the neighbourhood of Auckland. The Militia turned out, but it proved to be nothing worse than some natives paying their last respects to a dead tribesman.

Friday, April 4th – The day has passed without any fresh news to harass the poor people of Auckland, who harass themselves more than reason warrants. The natives of the district are peaceably inclined, as to Heke's coming here it is all fancy of their poor distracted brains. He has a vast amount of arrangement to make before he can repeat his impudence. However, military preparations are by no means on a small scale among the Europeans. If they continue much longer I think the barracks will be entirely excluded from the public gaze. However lightly some may think of the present state of affairs, the majority appears as if their death-warrant was sealed and fully persuaded they are to be victims of native treachery. [...]

These diary extracts reveal two further perspectives held by Auckland settlers. On one hand, Bainbridge describes a number of settlers who panicked at the prospect of an invasion. This group fled to Sydney, drove up prices by buying household necessities in bulk, worried about false alarms, and continually inquired about the state of military affairs. The government's preparations did not reassure them, but reinforced their sense that Auckland was at war. However, Bainbridge himself expresses the view that Heke would not attack the city at all. He characterises the rumours as "reports not to be depended on" and chastises Aucklanders for "[harassing] themselves more than reason warrants." He does not foreground the government's actions but rather expresses confidence in the fact that Ngāpuhi were "peaceably inclined". Bainbridge's most pressing concern is the fortification of churches for military activity, which he considers inappropriate for religious reasons. As such, we are able to glean multiple perspectives from a careful reading of this source.

Alongside the previous letter, this source demonstrates how threats of an attack on Auckland exposed fissures in settler society. Different views on relationships with Māori, the role of the colonial government, and everyday life (including religion) were foregrounded in social discourse. Settler perspectives were just as varied as those of government officials. This ultimately speaks to the diversity of nineteenth-century Auckland society as well as the complexity of Pākehā negotiating their place in a Māori world.

3. Ngāpuhi (including Hone Heke and Tāmati Wāka Nene)

a) Letter – Hone Heke to Governor FitzRoy, May 21, 1845, cited and translated in Thomas Buick, *New Zealand's First War: Or the Rebellion of Hone Heke*, Wellington: W.A.G. Skinner Government Printer, 1926, pp.133-4.

> May 21st, 1845
> FRIEND THE GOVERNOR [FITZROY]–
> I have no opinion to offer in this affair, because a death's door has been opened... Where is the correctness of the protection offered by the treaty? Where is the correctness of the good will of England? Is it in her great guns? Is it in her Congreve rockets? Is the good will of England shown in the curses of Englishmen and in their adulteries? Is it shown in their calling us slaves? Or is it shown in their regard for our sacred places?... The Europeans taunt us. They say, "Look at Port Jackson [New South Wales], look at China, and all the islands; they are but a precedent for this country. That flag of England which takes your country is the commencement." After this the French, and after them the Americans, told us the same. Well, I assented to these speeches... and in the fifth year (of these speeches) we interfered with the flagstaff for the first time. We cut it down and it fell. It was re-erected; and then we said, "All this we have heard is true, because they persist in having the flagstaff up." And we said, "We will die for our country that God has given us." [...]
>
> If you demand our land, where are we to go to? To Port Jackson? To England? If you will consider about giving us a vessel it will be very good. Many people [the original letter reportedly lists several iwi and hapū] took part in the plunder of Kororareka. There were but 200 at the fight, but there were 1,000 at the plundering of the town. Walker's [Tāmati Wāka Nene] fighting is nothing at all. He is coaxing you, his friend, for property that you may say that he is faithful. I shall not act so. He did not consider that some of his people were at the plunder of the town... It was through me alone that the missionaries and other Europeans were not molested. Were anything to happen to me, all would be confusion. The natives would not consider the harmless Europeans, but would kill in all directions. It is I alone who restrain them... If you say we are to fight, I am agreeable; if you say you will make peace with your enemy, I am equally agreeable. I am on my own land. I now say to you, leave Walker and myself to fight. We are both Maoris [sic]. Your turn and fight with your own colour. It was

Walker who called the soldiers to Okaihau [the Battle of Puketutu, in which c. 15 British and 30 Ngāpuhi died], and therefore they were killed. That is all. Peace must be determined by you, the Governor.

From me,

JOHN WILLIAM POKAI (HEKE)

Hone Heke was a prolific letter-writer, and this letter elucidates his perspective on the fall of Kororāreka and its implications for Auckland. He refers to the protection of te Tiriti o Waitangi, to which he was the first signatory. This demonstrates his willingness to work alongside the colonial government in a mutually beneficial partnership. Subsequently, Heke outlines his grievances and view that the Crown was the aggressor in the current conflict. Raupatu (land loss) is foregrounded as, with characteristic sarcasm, Heke asks for a vessel so that Māori might leave the land. Yet Heke continues to emphasise his peaceable intentions and notes that his faction of Ngāpuhi played a crucial role in protecting the settlers during the plunder of Kororāreka. Far from declaring an intent to attack Auckland, Heke suggests that it is up to the Governor to decide whether war will continue.

b) Letter – from Lieutenant-Governor Grey to British politician Lord Stanley, September 11, 1845, New Zealand Electronic Text Collection, https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TurEpit-t1-g1-t1-g1-t2-g1-t31.html.

Government House, Auckland, 11th September, 1845.

MY LORD –

In the various despatches I shall have occasion to, address to your Lordship upon the subject of the line of policy I may adopt for the settlement of the disturbances at present, existing in the northern part of this Island, I shall have frequently occasion to allude to the Native tribes which are here termed "Native allies," and your Lordship will find that my proceedings will be influenced by the desire of securing the interests of these tribes. I think it necessary, therefore, to state briefly to your Lordship who these Natives are, and what is the nature of our relationship with them. [...]

Subsequently to the destruction of Kororareka in March, 1845, when Heke, emboldened by his successes, was threatening to commit further depredations in the North, and to march upon Auckland, which was in a very unprotected state, Walker [Tāmati Wāka Nene], Macquarie [Makoare Te Taonui], and other chiefs rose, and created a diversion in favour of the Europeans by falling on Heke's rear:—their first skirmish, which took place early in April, when they were completely successful, having driven him from the field. They had other skirmishes with him previously to the arrival of the troops at the scene of operations; and in every instance were successful, thus not only creating a diversion in favour of the Europeans, but greatly diminishing Heke's influence by injuring his reputation as a commander. They also, by their own influence, detached many of Heke's and Kawiti's followers from them.

These friendly chiefs have never hitherto received pay, rations, arms, or ammunition for themselves or their followers, and have received no remuneration, except some presents of rice, flour, and sugar, and occasional supplies of ammunition. Since the commencement of hostilities they have lost about twenty-five men killed, and have had about seventy-five men wounded, some of them very severely. Their loyalty and active attachment to the British cause have drawn down upon them the hatred of the rebels and their friends and no doubt can be entertained that, if their interests are not carefully considered before hostilities are allowed to cease, they will be placed in a position of great danger. Your Lordship may, however rely upon my not neglecting fully to provide for the future safety of these chiefs, who have established such strong claims upon the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

This letter provides greater insight into the views and actions of kūpapa Māori from Ngāpuhi. Grey foregrounds Tāmati Wāka Nene and Makoare Te Taonui, who reportedly created a diversion that prevented Hone Heke from attacking Auckland. Although this is a clearly Pākehā interpretation of events (as there is no suggestion in Heke's letter that such an attack was planned), Grey does place it partially within a Māori worldview. His comment that Nene and Taonui "greatly [diminished] Heke's influence by injuring his reputation" can be interpreted as a reference to Heke's mana. The initial lack of compensation from the colonial government, which is the reason for this letter, also highlights that Nene and Taonui supported the Crown for their own reasons. As such, the letter implicitly acknowledges that kūpapa allies, acting within their own cultural framework, helped to protect Auckland and were valuable allies to the Crown.

When combined, these two letters highlight that Ngāpuhi had diverse views on the Northern War. Heke, Nene, and Taonui all acted within the overarching framework of a partnership with the Crown, but the former protested against the Crown's unjust actions regarding te Tiriti while the latter sought a new form of military co-operation. Intra-tribal conflict within Ngāpuhi was a very real backdrop to the imagined threat against the town of Auckland. As such, it becomes evident that various iwi histories played a foundational role in shaping the lives of Pākehā settlers during this period of anxiety.

4. Ngāti Pāoa

a) Newspaper article – 'Original Correspondence,' *New Zealander,* April 23, 1851, p.3, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/new-zealander/1851/04/23/3.

> [...] During the melee on the night in question [of Te Hoera's arrest], a canoe manned by a few young natives, started off to the settlement of the Ngatipoa [sic], and on their arrival gave a very exaggerated version of the whole affair. The tribe and its allies immediately armed and came into town, no doubt prepared to try their strength with the police, and perhaps with the inhabitants, both of whom had been presented to them by the couriers, as having taken part in inflicting injury on one of their chiefs. About two hundred and fifty of them arrived on Thursday morning, and reported that a greater number were still on their way to join them. Many of the inhabitants felt a great deal of uneasiness from the fact of a large body of natives encamping within the town under such circumstances; people felt disconcerted, and their minds became diverted from their usual business – and so well they might, when they remembered the heartburnings that were occasioned by the hostility of the Maoris at Kororarika [sic]. Every one looked anxiously at the movements of the Government, but the great majority of the townspeople rested in full confidence on the sagaciousness of Sir George Grey, whose presence at this time was most opportune.
>
> At one o'clock the head of the police proceeded to the encampment, and ordered the natives to leave the town forthwith, under pain of being disarmed. The natives who, since their arrival, had become better enlightened on the subject of the origin of the dispute, at once obeyed, and dragged their canoes from high to low water mark, so as to get off within the prescribed time allowed to them to disperse. They proceeded to Oraki Bay [Orākei], talked the matter over among themselves, and, before the next day closed, were very anxious to convince the Governor that they felt they had acted improperly, and on Monday a few of their Chiefs came to him with an offering in their native way, to appease him, and to seek a reconciliation [...]

This source provides a summary of the Ngāti Pāoa 'invasion' of Auckland. The author notes that there was a misunderstanding, with Ngāti Pāoa receving a "very exaggerated version of the whole affair." (However, they do not mention the other misunderstanding which led to the wrongful arrest of Te

Hoera.) This characterisation presents Ngāti Pāoa not as aggressors, but in a more sympathetic light. Subsequently, the author describes the arrival of the waka and the settlers' response, linking their anxiety to the conflict with Ngāpuhi several years earlier. This reflects the long-lasting impact of the earlier incident on the inhabitants of Auckland. Settlers viewed the Ngāti Pāoa incident as part of a longer history of supposed Māori threats to the town. Finally, the article highlights the conciliatory ending of the incident. This further demonstrates how fears around the invasion of Auckland not only led to antagonism between Pākehā and Māori but facilitated the creation of new relationships.

b) Lithograph based on a painting by Kenneth Watkins of the Ngāti Pāoa 'invasion', 1851

Image: Kenneth Watkins, 'Invasion of the Ngatipaoa,' 1851, Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections 5-0237, https://kura.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/digital/collection/photos/id/310787/rec/6.

This painting depicts a Pākehā perspective on the situation. At first glance, it is clearly antagonistic, with the rows of British soldiers separated both stylistically and physically from the lines of the waka on the shore. The uniformity of the soldiers, standing shoulder to shoulder up to the very edge of the frame, creates the impression that Auckland is impregnable. Yet the space between the two sides is populated by both Pākehā and Māori. The military leadership converse with rangatira, gesturing towards each other in clear signs of communication. This is ultimately a scene of both tension and reconciliation, reinforcing how the mid-nineteenth century threats to Auckland both exposed underlying conflicts and created opportunities for connection.

c) Mere pounamu – Hine-nui-o-te-pāua

Image: 'Hine-nui-o-te-pāoa,' Te Ara: Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/object/31559/hine-nui-o-te-paua, accessed November 14, 2023.

Hine-nui-o-te-pāoa was gifted by Ngāti Pāoa to Governor Grey as a token of peaceful intentions after the incident at Mechanics' Bay. The mere has a longer history with peace negotiations. When Te Ngare, the daughter of a Kawerau rangatira, Kahikatearoa, married a Ngāti Pāoa rangatira as part of a peace agreement, the mere was gifted to him by Ngāti Pāoa.[13] It was returned to the iwi when Te Ngare later left Ngāti Pāoa due to a conflict.[14] This highlights how the iwi also viewed their conflict with Pākehā settlers as part of a broader history of grievances in the Auckland region. More specifically, the association of the mere with peace reinforces the intentions of the Ngāti Pāoa to end their conflict with the settlers and government of Auckland. Yet the colourful past of the mere also hints at the fragility of this peace and the continued willingness of Ngāti Pāoa to defend their own interests. Much like Kenneth Watkins' painted representation of the event, the mere thus demonstrates how threats to Auckland contributed to the negotiation of a bicultural society.

5. Te Wherowhero and Waikato iwi

a) Message – from Te Wherowhero to Hone Heke

Cited and translated in C.O. Davis, *The Life and Times of Patuone*, Auckland: J.H. Field, Steam Printing Office, 1876, p.88, available at https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-DavLife-t1-body.html.

> "Noho atu i to kainga. Tenei taku kupu; ko au te hoa pakanga mou, ki te tae mai koe ki Akarana; na te mea ko enei Pakeha kei roto i aku keke."
>
> Remain at your own settlement. This is my word; you must fight me [ie. Waikato iwi] if you come on to Auckland; for these Europeans are under my protection.

[13] "Te Mana o te Wāhine – Māori women," Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand," https://teara.govt.nz/en/object/31559/hine-nui-o-te-paua, accessed November 15, 2023.
[14] ibid.

This statement speaks to Te Wherowhero's perspective on the Ngāpuhi threat to Auckland. The Waikato rangatira bypassed the colonial government, speaking directly to Heke in te reo Māori. This highlights the centrality of Māori perspectives and inter-iwi conflicts in this period of anxiety. Te Wherowhero presents himself as the protector of Auckland, making no mention of the imperial regiments or Auckland volunteer militia, which further emphasises his significance and characterises this as a Māori conflict.

b) Letter – J.C. Ligar to the Colonial Secretary

Cited in Alan La Roche, *The Royal New Zealand 1847-1852,* Auckland: New Zealand Fencible Society, 1997, pp.108-9.

> May 19th, 1849
> SIR –
> I have the honour to report for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Chief, that I gave the natives Hore Kati, Tomah Nopora, Warana Kahawai, Heta Ponku, Te Tapuke, Ruka Rewaite, Honi Hankapanga, Te Katea, Rameka Kiaki [sic], who were acting for themselves and the remainder of their tribe [Waikato, specifically Ngāti Mahuta] possession of the site of the village at Mangarei [Māngere] containing eighty one-acre lots, and the same number of five-acre lots for cultivation adjoining, which and previously been laid out by his Excellency's direction.
>
> They appeared much pleased with the arrangements made for them and are sanguine of succeeding in their new location, which there can be little doubt of, provided they continue to be animated by the same spirit and energy as evinced at starting. The position of the settlement on a branch of the Manukau harbour, in the immediate vicinity of Onehunga, a place of rising importance, and only six miles from Auckland, will command a ready market for produce of all kinds [...]
>
> They were delighted to find that in every particular it resembled those [lands] which had lately been laid out for the New Zealand Fencibles. Their first care was to examine every part with the object of ascertaining and reserving the best site for the clergyman's residence [...] they requested that their native teacher [Tāmati Ngāpora?] who, in the absence of their minister, reads prayers, may be exempted from the military duties they themselves have to perform.

J.C. Ligar was the Surveyor-General of New Zealand, who signed the agreement that allowed Waikato rangatira to settle in Māngere in return for their willingness to defend Auckland. His description of the new settlement highlights why this agreement was advantageous for Waikato (proximity to Onehunga, proximity to the Auckland markets, good land). A concern for quality and equality is also evident in the fact that Waikato were "delighted to find that ... it resembled those [lands] which had lately been laid out for the New Zealand Fencibles." The interest in the clergyman's residence and the "native teacher's" military exemption are further signals that Waikato were primarily concerned with establishing themselves at Māngere, with the protection of Pākehā settlers forming a secondary concern. Overall, it becomes evident that the Māori-Pākehā alliances which were formed for the defence of Auckland were not simply dictated by the colonial government but allowed for the advancement of Māori interests.

c) Site – St James' Church in Māngere

Image: 'St James' Church: Celebrating Life and Death,' About Māngere Bridge, 2021, https://aboutmangerebridge.nz/mangere_bridge_village/st-james-church-celebrating-life-death/, accessed November 14, 2023.

St James' Church in Māngere was built by Waikato iwi in 1850, after they settled in the area to protect Auckland. As an imposing stone building which still stands today, it demonstrates the long-lasting impact of this period of anxiety in physically shaping Auckland. The church today also belongs to Te Takiwa o Manukau (a group of tikanga Māori Anglican churches in Manukau), highlighting its continued spiritual and tikanga significance to the Māori population of this region.[15] The connections which were created through Ligar's agreement with Waikato iwi thus outlasted the threat that Auckland would be invaded. Also compare the Howick Historical Village (in section 1: Colonial Government), to consider how Pākehā and Māori shaped the town both similarly and differently in their efforts to protect Auckland.

d) Newspaper article – 'Original Correspondence,' *New Zealander*, July 19, 1845, p.3, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/new-zealander/1845/07/19/3.

> SIR – I take up the pen to address you as I promised last week, to draw your attention, (if it has not already come under your obsrvation) to a certain structure [Te Wherowhero's house] in the course of erection in the Government domain [...] under the present administration, things are entirely changed, and the Government domain is according to report to be converted into a site *for a permanent Maori settlement* [emphasis original]. Can you, Mr. Editor, answer the questions which suggest themselves to every observer. Why is this? Are our rulers so completely infatuated that nothing will open their eyes, to the evils of Maori conciliatory policy, and notwithstanding the daily fatal proofs of the injudiciousness of such a course, they are determined to pursue their way to the utter destruction of all European interest, even to the endangering the lives and property of the Auckland citizens.
>
> What possible advantage do the Government expect to obtain from having such an erection close to, almost in the heart of the town? – Is this house now building to be considered the head-quarters of our Waikato allies, for the preservation of the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Capital of New Zealand? Are we so utterly lost that the Governor and authorities of this Colony must put themselves under the protection of the natives? By what protection are we to obtain, and against whom? The head-quarters of the chief [Te Wherowhero] whose protection we are now courting, and who report says is to be located in the domain, is so close to the town, that upon any given signal agreed – say hoisting the Government house flag half-mast high, as a signal of distress – can, at his present abode, be seen; and his powerful and valuable aid immediately afforded. [...]

[15] 'St James Anglican Church,' St James Anglican Church, https://www.st-james-nz.org, accessed November 15, 2023.

Yours, &c.,
C.J.

This letter describes the construction of Te Wherowhero's house in Auckland Domain in the aftermath of the agreement between the colonial government and Waikato iwi. On one hand, the author values the protection afforded by Te Wherowhero. They note that "any given signal [can] be seen and his powerful and valuable aid immediately afforded." This speaks to the vulnerability of Auckland and the need for defence. Yet the author of the letter also resents the need for such protection. Commenting that the town is "so utterly lost," they lament that the "Governor and authorities of this Colony must put themselves under the protection of the natives." Suspicion of the "evils of Māori conciliatory policy" – the fact that Waikato iwi were acting in their own interest rather than out of loyalty to the Crown – is also evident. This ambivalent perspective encapsulates the tension between conflict and connection which is a recurrent theme throughout this resource box.

The author's suspicion of Te Wherowhero's house also foreshadows the belief in the 1860s that Waikato iwi would attack Auckland. It demonstrates how, in the eyes of Auckland settlers, allies could quickly become enemies. This provides an entry-point into the later history of the Waikato War, as well as demonstrating the changeable nature of perspectives and relationships.