

Flags of the Past: Exploring Symbols of occupation, sovereignty, identity, religious faith, and military alliance, in the New Zealand Wars

Learning Aims:

Students will learn:

How flags were used to symbolise identity, authority, occupation, and religious beliefs

How the symbolism of flags reflected competing claims to sovereignty and shifting alliances between Māori and the Crown.

How different groups used flags to express resistance, partnership, or assertion of power in times of conflict.

How examining the use of flags reveals the active roles Māori played in responding to colonisation and asserting tino rangatiratanga.

Curriculum Links:

Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum (ANZHC)

Progress outcomes by the end of year 8

p.18

‘Over time people from a wide range of cultures have participated in and contributed to Aotearoa New Zealand, while retaining and adapting their distinctive identities.’

Examples of participation, contribution and the adaption of distinctive identities:

Māori and British leaders selecting and adopting flags to express collective and cultural identity.

Iwi, hapū, Kīngitanga and prophetic movements used flags to assert mana and autonomy, in response to colonial presence and conflict.

Progress outcomes by the end of Year 10

p.28

‘The Crown asserted its power to establish a colonial state that in consequence diminished mana Māori.’

Example of the Crown asserting power:

The colonial government replacing the United Tribes flag with the Union Jack as a symbol of sovereignty

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‘Over time Māori have worked inside, outside and alongside the Crown to renegotiate relationships with the Crown and to affirm tino rangatiratanga.’

Example of Māori working outside and alongside the Crown and to affirm tino rangatiratanga:

Use of Māori flags during the New Zealand Wars to assert independence and self-determination.

Strategic alliances and symbolic resistance through the use of a flag (e.g., Patuone’s Red Ensign and Te Kooti’s Te Wepu).

Flags of the Past - Introduction



Flags from the *Te Atarau: Stories of the New Zealand Wars* exhibition, New Zealand War Memorial Museum

From left to right: Flag 1: Flag for Jonny Heke (Artist: Maureen Lander); Flag 2: Flag given to Patuone by Archdeacon Henry Williams (Reproduction); Flag 3: Flag used at Pukehinahina Gate Pā (Replica); Flag 4: Te Wao 2023 (Artist: Ati Teepa)

Flags are Powerful Symbols

For an estimated 5000 years, flags have served as powerful symbols for humans, carrying a wide range of meanings.¹

The first recorded flag to be raised on New Zealand soil was the Union Jack, hoisted by James Cook in 1769. This flag represented the British Empire.² In that context, raising the Union Jack flag on foreign land was seen as a symbol of discovery and authority, regardless of the understanding or opinion of the indigenous people who belonged to the region.³

Following early encounters with the Europeans, Māori were quick to recognize the power and ritual importance that settlers associated with the flags. They adapted and adopted these objects as tools to assert their own sovereignty and mana.⁴ Flags became useful not only for practical purposes such as helping with trade, but also as powerful symbols of identity and autonomy. This expression of identity aligned with long standing Māori traditions of showing identity and mana through carving, ta moko, whakapapa, and oral tradition.⁵

Throughout New Zealand history, flags have been used to mean:

- alliance to a group or cause
- declarations of authority (or resistance to authority)
- the collective identity
- legal and international recognition, especially at sea.

Flags as Communication Tools

Before modern technology, flags were a vital means of communication, especially in battle and at sea. They could be raised, lowered, captured, or changed to send important messages to both allies and enemies.

One well-known example is the use of the **white flag** during battle to signify surrender.

Another example is the **black flag**, flown during naval warfare (particularly by pirates or privateers) to signal that no mercy would be given to those who resisted. This fearsome symbol often led merchant ships to surrender without a fight.

Flags were not just symbols; they were legal tools, warnings, and declarations.

Flags of the Past - Introduction

Learning Outcomes

Students will gain an understanding of:

- the reasons a national flag was needed in New Zealand in the early 19th century, including trade, law, and sovereignty.
- the changing importance of flags as symbols of identity, resistance, and alliance throughout the New Zealand Wars and beyond.
- the different ways people have used, adapted, and responded to flags to express mana, faith, political beliefs, and historical memory.
- the ongoing role of flags as powerful cultural and political symbols in both historical and contemporary contexts.

Introduction

In the early 19th century, maritime law required ships to fly a flag representing their country of registration. This identified the ship's nationality and allowed it to trade legally in international waters. For Māori and Pākehā operating out of Aotearoa, the lack of a recognised national flag created a problem when trading with overseas British ports such as Port Jackson in New South Wales.

Activity One: Prior Knowledge Brainstorm

1) Brainstorm: In pairs, list as many different flags (e.g. military flags, sports team flags) that you know:

Try to include flags from:

- Aotearoa New Zealand
- Around the world

2) Discuss: Choose three flags that from your list and use the questions below to guide your discussion:

- What is the purpose of each flag?
- Who uses or identifies with the flag?
- Where might you see the flag displayed or flying (e.g. marae, ships, protests, sports events)?
- What colours and symbols are on the flag, and what might they mean?
- What feelings or messages do you think the symbols or colours express?

3) Share with the class: Choose one of the flags you and your partner discussed in Q2. Explain why you have chosen this particular flag and provide some detail using your answers from the discussion questions above:

- Who uses or identifies with the flag and what is its purpose?
- Where might you see this flag displayed or flying (e.g. marae, protests, sports events)?
- What symbols or colours are on the flag, and what might they mean?
- What feelings or messages do you think this flag expresses?

Tip: Think about identity, belonging, protest, culture, and power.

The Need for a Flag - The Sir George Murray Incident

In the early 19th century, maritime law required ships to fly a flag representing their country of registration. This identified the ship's nationality and allowed it to trade legally in international waters. For Māori and Pākehā operating out of Aotearoa, the lack of a recognised national flag created a problem when trading with overseas British ports such as Port Jackson in New South Wales. New South Wales operated under British law, which required all ships entering its ports to sail under a recognised national flag.⁶ An important example of this problem occurred in November

1830, when the *Sir George Murray*, a trading ship built at Te Hōreke shipyards in the Hokianga, was seized by a customs official in Sydney (Port Jackson), and all her goods were confiscated. The confiscation of the goods and the taking of the ship into custody caused a significant financial loss for its owners. The *Sir George Murray* was sold at auction for £1300 to help recover costs. It was later returned to the Hokianga under new ownership.⁷



Horeke Shipyard in 1828 by Augustus Earle. Photograph of a print hanging in the Horeke Hotel 2016. Photo: RNZ David Steemson.

Although a New Zealand or Māori ship register was created to help resolve the issue, some ships continued to be seized. The creation of an internationally recognised flag would be one way to solve the problem.

Fears of French Annexation

Another possible reason for needing the flag was a rumour in 1831 that a French warship intended to annex New Zealand. Ngāpuhi rangatira, Rāwiri Taiwhanga, sought to hoist a British flag as a warning to the French and suggested appealing to King William IV to become their guardian. A petition, signed by 13 rangatira, was sent to the King. The Crown's response was to appoint James Busby as a Resident of the Bay of Islands.⁸

Te Kara o Te Whakaminenga o Nga Hapu o Nu Tirenī or The Flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand

James Busby's Plan for a Flag

Busby arrived in New Zealand in 1833. He decided that the crisis over a lack of a flag for New Zealand built ships offered an opportunity to encourage northern rangatira to establish a system of governance and impose effective law in the country. Busby consulted with Governor Bourke in Sydney who approved and sent a suggested flag with four horizontal blue bars on a white background and the Union Jack in top-left corner. This design was criticised by the missionaries because of the absence of the colour red in the design. For Māori, red implied rangatiratanga (chieftainship) and would be an important colour to include in the design. Instead, the missionary Henry Williams ordered that three alternatives be made in Sydney, and these were delivered on the 9th of March 1834 aboard HMS Alligator.⁹

The Selection of Te Kara

Busby facilitated a gathering of leading northern rangatira who selected one of the flags to become the first official national flag of New Zealand.¹⁰ It is known as the United Tribes Flag, or Te Kara o Te Whakaminenga o Nga Hapu o Nu Tirenī (often shortened to Te Kara).

Symbol of Sovereignty and Trade

Te Kara served as a way for Māori traders to gain legitimacy in trading in Australia, where British customs required each ship to declare its nationality.¹¹ The choosing of a national flag in 1834 was seen at the time, and by many Ngāpuhi today, as the act of an independent sovereign people.¹²

Activity Two: The Road to Te Kara - The Flag of the United Tribes

1) **Create a timeline** that shows the key events leading to the selection of *Te Kara*, Aotearoa New Zealand's first national flag. You can use a digital tool (e.g. Google Slides, Canva, Padlet) or create one by hand.

a) **Read the five statements below.** Place the events in the correct chronological order. Use your knowledge of the topic or any materials you have been given to help.

- James Busby arrives in the Bay of Islands to take up his role as British Resident.
- The ship *Sir George Murray* is seized in Sydney for sailing without a recognised flag.
- Rangatira from northern iwi gather at Waitangi and choose a national flag for New Zealand.
- Three flag designs are delivered to the Bay of Islands aboard HMS *Alligator*.
- A petition signed by 13 northern rangatira is sent to King William IV, asking for protection and recognition.

b) **Write the correct date** next to each event once you have decided on the correct order.

c) **Create your timeline** using the correct conventions.

2) **Explore key features of *Te Kara***

a) Use the image and design sketch below to identify and describe the key features of the flag.

i) **Shapes and symbols:**

- What shapes and symbols can you see?
- How many stars are there? How many points do the stars have?

ii) **Colour:**

- What colours are used?
- Which colours stand out the most?

iii) **Layout and structure:**

- How are all the elements arranged?
- Describe the flag in detail, as if you are explaining it to someone who cannot see it.



- b) **Explore the St George's Cross:** The red cross in the design of *Te Kara* is known as the **St George's Cross**. It appears twice on the flag and highlights an important connection with Britain.

Research online to find answers to the following questions

- What is the St George's Cross?
- What does it symbolise?
- What other flags feature the St George's Cross today?

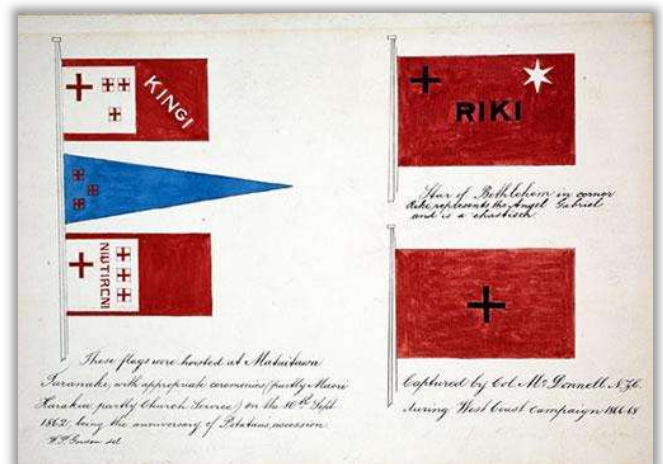
c) **Pulling it all together:**

- Why might the cross appear twice on this flag?
- What parts of the flag might symbolise mana or tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty)? Why would these features have appealed to the rangatira who chose the flag?
- What elements of the flag design might be uniquely Māori? Read the [handout: Te Kara: The story and its Meaning](#) for ideas.

Flags and the Emergence of Māori Political Unity

Te Kara was not a reflection of a unified Māori identity in the 1830s, as Māori were primarily organised by iwi and hapū. A stronger sense of national Māori identity began to emerge from the late 1850s, shaped by movements such as the Kīngitanga, which sought to unify Māori under a single monarch, and Pai Mārire, which combined religious beliefs with political resistance to colonisation.

The three flags depicted on the left in the drawing by W.F. Gordon are those used by the King Movement to mark the selection of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero as the first Māori King. The two flags on the right are believed to have been used by supporters of the Pai Mārire faith in the 1860s.¹³



Kīngitanga and Pai Mārire Flags drawn by W. F Gordon. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

During the mid-1800s, followers of the Pai Mārire faith, led by Te Ua Haumēne, erected nui or tall poles, on which they hoisted specially designed flags. These flags were believed to help receive messages from God. The nui and flags held deep spiritual meaning and were unique to each community.¹⁴

The Crown's Use of Flags to Show Loyalty

At the same time, the British Crown gave flags to Māori allies to show loyalty and partnership. This became even more common after the Kīngitanga began flying their own royal flag, challenging British authority.¹⁵

Changing Meanings of the Queen's Flag

By the 1860s, some Māori chiefs who disagreed with movements like Pai Marire or the Kīngitanga began to fly the Union Jack (the British flag) or even wear it. However, for many Māori, the Queen's flag began to symbolise colonial oppression and the loss of their land and authority.¹⁶

Flags during Nga Pakanga o Aotearoa, the New Zealand Wars

The Flagstaff Conflict: Te Kara Replaced by the Union Jack

During the New Zealand Wars, flags were a powerful and emotive source of symbolism for Māori and the British. Resistance by Ngāpuhi rangatira Hōne Heke Pokai, towards the Union Jack flown above the town of Kororāreka (Russell) at Maika Hill, is one example of how Māori understood the significance of flags. The previous flag flown above Kororāreka, had been Te Kara or the United Tribes of New Zealand flag, however after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Governor Hobson replaced it with the Union Jack.¹⁷

The Felling of a Flagpole - Hōne Heke's Response

Heke had gifted the flagstaff to the town of Kororāreka with the intent that Te Kara would be flown there. Therefore, to Heke, Hobson's action of replacing the flag symbolised a dismissal of equal partnership between Māori and the British colonial government as agreed in te Tiriti o Waitangi, of which he had been a signatory.¹⁸

Heke led a protest movement centred on the flagstaff, and increasing numbers of Māori were drawn to the cause. In July 1844, after a haka on the beach, the rangatira Te Haratua cut the flagstaff down. The Ngāpuhi rangatira, Rewa and Tāmati Waka Nene did not agree with the felling. Rewa re-erected the flagstaff and Nene pledged to protect it from further damage.¹⁹ However, in January 1845, Heke cut the flagstaff down twice more. A fourth attack on the flagstaff on 11 March led to the Northern War which saw battles at Puketutu, Ōhaeawai, Te Ahuahu, Ruapekapeka, and Te Kahika. Heke's felling of the flagpole that flew the Union Jack was an act of resistance to the growing powers of the British colonial government. Heke likely viewed the flying of the Union Jack as symbolic of the loss of Māori sovereignty.²⁰

Heke's actions with the flagstaff show the importance and value placed on flags by Māori.²¹

*'The pole that was cut down belonged to me, I made it for the native flag, and it was never paid for by the Europeans' - Hone Heke in a letter to Governor Robert FitzRoy, 19 July 1844*²²

Activity Three: Understanding The Flagstaff Conflict: Te Kara Replaced by the Union Jack

- 1) **Quick Retrieval – What does the text tell us?** Highlight the answers in the passage above or list examples from the passage for each of the following:
 - a) The name of the **governor** who replaced Te Kara with the Union Jack
 - b) The names of the **two rangatira** who opposed the felling of the flagstaff
 - c) **Three ways** that Hōne Heke demonstrated his rangatiratanga (chiefly authority)
 - d) **Four separate times** the Kororāreka flagstaff was cut down or attacked
 - e) The **five names of battles** that took place during the Northern War
- 2) **Reading for Meaning:** Choose one of the following options to help you understand the passage about the Flagstaff Conflict and Hōne Heke's protest:
 - a) Option 1: If you would like support with key vocabulary, complete the [vocabulary support worksheet](#). It includes definitions, and sentence starters to support your learning.
 - b) Option 2: If you feel confident with the vocabulary, go straight to the [comprehension question worksheet](#). Answer the questions in your own words, using evidence from the text to support your answers.

Flags as Symbols of Alliance and Conflict

The Ngāpuhi rangatira Eruera Maihi Patuone was gifted the 'Red Ensign' by the Reverend Henry Williams. This flag, with its red background and Union Jack in the top corner, was widely used by British trading ships and symbolised ties to the British Empire.²³

Māori formed varied relationships with the British, just as they had diverse relationships with each other. In the north, Patuone and his brother Tāmati Wāka Nene supported Governor FitzRoy during the Northern War, fighting against Hōne Heke at Te Ahuahu, a key battle not witnessed by Europeans. Patuone's flag was captured by Hōne Heke, and later recaptured.²⁴

Flags as Powerful Tools

During the 1860s and 1870s period of the New Zealand Wars, flags were powerful tools and not just markers of identity. Their use, capture, and display, whether as gifts or acts of defiance, often told stories of conflict, loyalty, and resistance.²⁵

The main conflicts occurred in Taranaki, Waikato, the Bay of Plenty, and the East Coast.²⁶ Across these conflicts, there were groups of Māori who fought against the British Crown, and groups who were known as kūpapa or those who allied with the British Crown. Some groups stayed neutral.²⁷ Flags were used to display allegiance to the Crown, to the Kīngitanga, or to prophetic movements.²⁸

The Kīngitanga embraced flags to show their identity. Māori religious leaders also used flags as they well understood their symbolic power.²⁹ The Pai Mārire movement (which encompassed aspects of Māori spiritual practices, and Judeo-Christianity) gained popularity in the central North Island.³⁰ In part, this growth of religious faith by Māori during this time can be seen as a response to the British colonial government's repeated breaches of Te Tiriti.³¹ By this time, flags were well known by most Māori as symbols of mana, authority, sovereignty and identity.³² Consequently, multiple prominent flags were created by Māori during the New Zealand Wars to showcase their religious faith.³³

Important Examples of Flags During Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa, the New Zealand Wars

❖ The Flag used at Pukehinahina Gate Pā

The flag used at the Pukehinahina Gate Pā has a red background with three white symbols: a four-pointed star, a cross, and a crescent moon. It was used by Māori forces in their major victory over the British at Pukehinahina in 1864.

The military engineer behind the design of the pā was Pene Taka Tuaia who had learned his tactics during the earlier Northern War. He cleverly placed the flag some sixty yards behind their actual defensive position. This led some of the British gunners to assume that the flag marked the centre of the Māori defences was marked by the flag, and they directed their fire at it.³⁴ As a result, the flag drew British fire away from the defenders and helped lure British forces into a complex system of trenches and tunnels, contributing to their defeat.

Christianity had a strong influence on the Pai Mārire faith, which was practised in parts of Tauranga at the time of the battle and the symbols on the flag used at Pukehinahina are believed to have spiritual meanings. The star is often linked to the Star of Bethlehem, reflecting Christian (particularly Catholic) influences on Tauranga Moana iwi. The crescent moon may represent the Old Testament, while the cross is seen as a symbol of the New Testament.



Red Ensign gifted to Eruera Patuone



The Pukehinahina Gate Pā Flag

❖ Te Kooti's "Te Wepu" - The Captured Flag

During the Wars, in 1868, Te Kooti, a Māori prophet and military leader, captured the flag known as *Te Wepu* (The Whip). Te Wepu was originally made by Catholic nuns in Greenmeadows, Napier, for Ngāti Kahungunu, an iwi that was kūpapa to the Crown. This flag was large, over 15 metres long, and featured a range of Christian symbols. The crescent moon is likely to represent the Old Testament, and the cross is linked to the New Testament. The mountain may symbolise Aotearoa (New Zealand), and the bleeding heart could represent the suffering of Māori people. It is possible that the symbols took on new meaning once the flag was captured.

Te Wepu became a prized possession, but it was subsequently captured from Te Kooti by Captain Gilbert Mair in 1870. Mair gifted it to a museum, which cut it up for use as dusters.³⁵ Te Wepu can be viewed at [National Library](#).

Activity Four: Flag Research & Presentation Activity - Symbols of Conflict and Identity

The flags in this activity represent evolving identities, acts of resistance, complex alliances and remembrance during and after the New Zealand Wars.

1) Your teacher will assign your group one of the following flags or flag groups to research:

- ❖ Kīngitanga flags
- ❖ The Flag used at Pukehinahina Gate Pā
- ❖ The Aotearoa Flag (associated with *Jane Foley* or *Hēni Te Kirikaramu Pore*)
- ❖ Paimārire flags (*your group may be assigned a focus on either Te Ua Haumēne or Riwia Tītōkōwaru*)
- ❖ Te Kooti's war flag inspired by Te Wepu (The Whip)
- ❖ The Moutoa Flag
- ❖ Waipā District Council Flag of Remembrance

2) Create a Visual Presentation

Use a medium of your choice for example a poster, slideshow, short video, or illustrated handout, to teach the class about your flag or flags. Your goal is to **explain its origins, meaning, and historical significance**.

Remember to use resources that are reliable for your research.

Your presentation must include:

- a) **Who used this flag/ these flags?** Briefly introduce the group, person, or movement.
- b) **When and why was the flag/s created or used?** What historical events or beliefs led to its creation?
- c) **What does the design mean?** Explain the colours, symbols, and any patterns.
- d) **How has the flag been used or remembered over time?** Is it still recognised today, or has its meaning changed?

Activity Five: Auckland Museum Visit

Use the [Flags of the Past booklet](#) to guide your visit to the Auckland Museum. Use the information from this unit and the information available at the museum to help you explore the significance of flags during *Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa* - the New Zealand Wars

If you are unable to visit the Museum in person, you can still complete the tasks using the images and information included in the booklet.

Te Kara (United Tribes Flag) Over Time: Symbols in History and Today

The power of flags has continued into the 20th and 21st century. Te Kara is a good example of this. It tells a story of identity, power, and changing meanings. Originally a symbol of Māori unity and mana, it has been used both to express Māori pride and resistance, and by others in ways that undermined or changed its meaning. Over time, different groups have used Te Kara in different ways, sometimes with very different meanings. The [original](#) is held at Te Papa Museum.

Māori have used the flag in a range of ways, for example:

- In 1856, the flag was flown at Lake Taupō during talks about forming a Māori King Movement (Kīngitanga).
- The Kotahitanga (unity) movement in the early 1900s used the flag to express Māori political strength and independence.
- In 1888–89 the New Zealand 'Native' rugby team toured Britain, Australia and New Zealand. Most of its players were Māori, with several Pākehā included. The flags behind them in [this photo](#) are the Union Jack and a flag based on the United Tribes' flag of 1834.
- From the 1980s onwards, Māori protest groups have used *Te Kara* to express pride, resistance, and demands for justice and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination).



Te Kara can be seen behind and next to the Tino Rangatira Flag at a protest against the Foreshore and Seabed Bill. Photograph by James McDonald published in Te Ao Māori News. (2024, May 5). 'Māori Seabed, For Shore!' – Two decades on from the largest hīkoi in a generation. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/35196/united-tribes-flag-the-1888->

Pākehā have used, or responded to the flag, in a range of ways, for example:

- In 1840, the New Zealand Company, raised Te Kara at Petone to claim land and authority in New Zealand. This ignored its original meaning as a Māori symbol of sovereignty.
- Governor William Hobson saw the New Zealand Company's use of the Te Kara flag as a direct challenge to his authority. After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, he sent an armed party to remove the flag on 3 June 1840 and replaced it with the Union Jack.
- In 1858, a British shipping company (Shaw Savill Line) used a version of Te Kara as their logo while transporting British settlers, a commercial use that conflicted with the flag's original purpose.³⁶

Activity Six: Design a Flag

3) **Create:** Design a flag that represents your identity and an important connection to your past. Your flag should:

- Use symbols, colours, and design elements that express your values, beliefs, or whakapapa.
- Include a reference to a personal, family, or cultural story that shapes who you are.
- Provide a written or oral explanation for your design

To Support Your Design:

- Revisit the way flags were used by Māori and British figures in the 1800s, as signs of identity, resistance, and alliance.

1.1. Consider how Maureen Lander and Ati Teepa use materials, placement, and symbolism to layer meaning into their artworks (see the [Flags of the Past Museum Booklet](#))

- Think about how your personal story connects to wider histories, communities, or events.

2) **Reflect:** Check your design against the [checklist and marking rubric](#) and consider any changes that you can make before submitting your final design.

Teacher Resources:

A: Resources for each activity

1. Activity One: Prior Knowledge Brainstorm
 - 1.1. No download
2. Activity Two: The Road to Te Kara
 - 2.1. [Te Kara: The Story and its Meaning?](#)
3. Activity Three: Understanding the Flagstaff Conflict: Te Kara replaced by the Union Jack
 - 3.1. [Vocabulary support worksheet](#)
 - 3.2. [Comprehension questions worksheet](#)
4. Activity Four: Research and Group Presentation
 - 4.1. No download
5. Activity Five: Museum Visit
 - 5.1. [Flags of the Past Museum Booklet](#)
6. Activity Six: Flags as Carriers of Memory and Meaning
 - 6.1. [Marking Rubric](#)

B: Kete of Notes and Sources

[Flags of the Past: Exploring Symbols of occupation, sovereignty, identity, religious faith, and military alliance, in the New Zealand Wars Kete](#)

This kete of notes and sources was compiled by Ben Bonne

Recommended Further Reading and Useful Sites

Anderson, Atholl, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Wellington, 2014, p.284.

Auckland Museum, *Visit Atarau: Stories of the New Zealand Wars*, n.d., accessed at <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/visit/galleries/level-two/atarau>

Belich, James, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland, 1986.

Cairns, Puawai, 'Traces of Puhekinakina/The Battle of Gate Pā in Te Papa – the New Zealand Wars', *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*, 2014, accessed at <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2014/04/28/the-new-zealand-wars-150th-anniversary-of-puhekinahina-the-battle-of-gate-pa/?cn-reloaded=1>

Gibson, Stephanie, Matariki Williams, and Puawai Cairns, *Protest Tautohetohe: Objects of Resistance, Persistence and Defiance*, Wellington, 2019. pp23-37

Gibbons, Peter, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1, 2002, pp.5-17.

Mulholland, Malcolm, *Prominent New Zealand Flags and Changing Notions of Identity*, Doctoral Thesis, Massey University, 2020.

Malcolm Mullholland, Ngā haki – Māori and flags – Māori religious movements and flags, *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/artwork/35202/ringatu-flags-te-wepu>

New Zealand History, 'Flags of New Zealand', n.d., accessed <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/flags-of-new-zealand/united-tribes-flag>

New Zealand History, 'New Zealand Red Ensign', n.d., accessed at <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/new-zealand-red-ensign>

O'Malley, Vincent, *The Invasion of Waikato: Te Riri Ki Tainui*, Wellington, 2024.

Phillips, Jock. *A History of New Zealand in 100 Objects*. New Zealand, 2022.

Endnotes:

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- ¹Mulholland, Malcolm, *Prominent New Zealand Flags and Changing Notions of Identity*, Doctoral Thesis, Massey University, 2020. pp.14-15.
- ² Ibid., p.13.
- ³ Ibid., p.17: Anderson, Atholl, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Wellington, 2014, p.284.
- ⁴ Gibson, Stephanie, Matariki Williams, and Puawai Cairns, *Protest Tautohetohe: Objects of Resistance, Persistence and Defiance*, Wellington, 2019, p.24
- ⁵ Mulholland, p.43.
- ⁶ Phillips, Jock. *A History of New Zealand in 100 Objects*. New Zealand, 2022, p.89
- ⁷ Patuone.com accessed July 2025 http://www.patuone.com/files_life/commerce.html
- ⁸ Phillips, p. 90
- ⁹ Phillips, p. 91.
- ¹⁰ Mulholland, p.62, Anderson et al, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Wellington, 2014, p.284.
- ¹¹ New Zealand History, 'Flags of New Zealand', n.d., accessed <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/flags-of-new-zealand/united-tribes-flag>; Mulholland, p.66.
- ¹² Binney, Judith., O'Malley, Vincent., & Ward, Alan. *Tangata whenua: An illustrated history: Te Ao Hou, The New World 1820–1920*. Wellington, 2018, Bridget Williams Books. p.108
- ¹³ King movement flags, URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/king-movement-flags>, (Manatū Taonga — Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 13-Sep-2024
- ¹⁴ Binney et al., p.109
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland, 1986, p.29.
- ¹⁸ Gibson et al., *Protest Tautohetohe: Objects of Resistance, Persistence and Defiance*, p.23.
- ¹⁹ Maiki Hill Information Panel. (n.d.). *Kororāreka – The Flagstaff and Hōne Heke's protest*. Viewed April 15, 2025, at Maiki Hill, Russell, New Zealand.
- ²⁰ Belich, p.29.
- ²¹ Mulholland, p.143.
- ²² On display at the Auckland War Memorial Museum: *Atarau: Stories of the New Zealand Wars* exhibition
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Auckland War Memorial Museum, object 101180, accessed via gallery listing, <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/collection/object/101180#gallery>
- ²⁵ Binney et al., *Tangata Whenua: An illustrated History* p.109
- ²⁶ Mulholland, p.142.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Gibson et al., p.24.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Ibid., p.25.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ The New Zealand Wars 150th Anniversary of Pukehinahina (the Battle of Gate Pa), "Te Papa blog, April 28, 2014, <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2014/04/28/the-new-zealand-wars-150th-anniversary-of-pukehinahina-the-battle-of-gate-pa/>)
- ³⁵ Malcolm Mullholland, Ngā haki – Māori and flags – Māori religious movements and flags, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/artwork/35202/ringatu-flags-te-wepu> (accessed 30 July 2025).
- ³⁶ Phillips, p.291.