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Prominent New Zealand Flags and Changing Notions of Identity

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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Malcolm George Davis Mulholland

Ngati Kahungunu

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ABSTRACT

Prominent flags have played an important role in signalling and generating collective identities in New Zealand's history, but to date there has been little scholarly research in this field. This thesis investigates factors that have shaped attitudes towards prominent flags in New Zealand, and to what extent have they changed over time. It does so with reference to their role in promoting national identity in general, as well as investigating the role of flags in Māori communities. As such, there is also a particular focus on the role of flags acting as symbols of unity and dissent.

The thesis argues that flags were adopted early by Māori and have continued to reflect a spectrum of Māori identities; that transnational influences are present regarding prominent flags in New Zealand, especially the influence of Australia; that the New Zealand Flag and Union Jack reflect a dual identity and a period of New Zealand identity coined as 'recolonization'; that the New Zealand Flag is an example of an 'invented tradition' that was particularly prominent in arguing against changing the New Zealand Flag during the 2015/2016 flag referenda; and finally, it argues that New Zealand could be identified as a 'teenager' of 'Mother Britain', given the increasing number of citizens who are comfortable replacing the current New Zealand Flag.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS	3
DEDICATION	8
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	9
INTRODUCTION	10
The Purpose of a Flag	14
Theoretical Perspectives on Flags and National Identity	19
Flags and Debates on ‘National’ versus ‘Transnational’ Histories of New Zealand	28
Māori Perspectives of History	32
Literature on Prominent New Zealand Flags	35
Primary Sources used in the Thesis	38
Personal Interest in the Topic	40
Chapter Structure	42
CHAPTER ONE: Transplanting Flags to New Zealand: 1642-1840	43
Collective Māori Identities	44
Trade and Christianity in Early New Zealand	46
Northwestern Europe Expansionism	48
Arrival of Flags to New Zealand: Abel Janzoon Tasman 1642	49

Union Jack Arrives in New Zealand: James Cook 1769	52
The Union Jack	54
Tricolour Arrives in New Zealand: Jean de Surville 1769	60
Māori and Flags	62
White for Peace, Red for War	64
First New Zealand Flag: Flag of the United Tribes 1834	66
Ngāi Tahu and the United Tribes Flag	79
Second New Zealand Flag: Union Jack 1840	80
Status Quo in Akaroa	86
Conclusion	90
CHAPTER TWO: New Zealand Flag 1865-1902	91
National Identity in New Zealand in the 1860s	92
Colonial Naval Defence Act 1865	94
‘NZ’ Flag 1867	99
New Zealand Flag on Water 1869	101
Southern Cross on the Flag	104
A Contest of Flags	107
New Zealand Identity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century	112
New Zealand Natives Association	114
Liberal Government 1891-1912: ‘New Zealand for New Zealanders’	115
King Dick: Nationalist Imperialist	118
Empire Fervour: Major British Empire Events 1897-1902	120
Legislating for the New Zealand Flag 1900-1902	123
Conclusion	134

CHAPTER THREE: Markers of Mana: Māori and Flags 1840-1970	136
Māori Identity: Assimilation and Nationalism	137
Contesting Sovereignty via Flags: Hōne Heke Pōkai 1844-1845	143
Taranaki	153
Kīngitanga	158
Hauhau	168
Te Kooti	180
Paremata Māori	190
Rua Kēnana Hepetipa	193
Ratāna	201
Māori and the Union Jack	205
Union Jack as Pall at Tangihanga	217
Māori and the Red Ensign	218
Gifting the Red Ensign after World War II	221
Conclusion	229
CHAPTER FOUR: Inculcating Patriotism	231
New Zealand National Identity 1900-1945	232
Hoisting the Flag in Britain and Australia	237
American Patriotism: Stars and Stripes	241
Teaching Patriotism in New Zealand	242
Hoisting the Flag in New Zealand	245
Flags in World War I	253
Union Jack or the New Zealand Ensign?	256

Flags in World War II	259
Resurgence of Flag-Hoisting Ceremonies	265
Refusal to Participate on Religious Grounds	267
Lack of New Zealand Flag Supplies	270
Confusion over Australia’s National Flag	272
Canada’s National Flag	274
Still Confused: Union Jack or the New Zealand Flag?	277
Conclusion	282
CHAPTER FIVE: Towards a “New Zealand” Identity	283
New Zealand Identity 1970-2020	284
Britain and the European Economic Community: 1973	286
ANZUS Suspended: 1986	287
Māori Identity 1970-2020	288
Pākehā New Zealanders	292
Pacific Peoples in New Zealand	296
Rise of Multiculturalism in New Zealand since 1987	299
Remembering the War Dead	304
Calls to Change New Zealand’s Flag	308
God Defend New Zealand Debate	321
Decline of Hoisting the Flag Ceremonies	323
Forced Nationalism Rejected	326
Māori Protest Flags	330
A Flag for Māori	334
Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill 1981	339

Sesquicentenary of the Treaty of Waitangi: 1990	341
Attempts to Change the Australian Flag	343
Morrison's Campaign to Change the Flag: 2004	345
The Search for an Alternative New Zealand Icon	348
New Zealand Flag Referenda 2015-2016	356
New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill 2015	358
Flag Consideration Panel	364
Opposing Changing the Flag	374
New Zealand Flag Remains Unchanged	375
Conclusion	378
CONCLUSION	380
BIBLIOGRAPHY	385
ILLUSTRATIONS	410
GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS	414
APPENDIX ONE: British Settlements/Colonies 1607-1769	416

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beautiful wife, Wiki.

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INTRODUCTION

On Monday, March 23, 2020, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Jacinda Ardern, at the Beehive Theatre, stated that in 48-hours, New Zealand would be placed into ‘lockdown’ due to the global pandemic Covid-19. Ardern stated:

These decisions [to place New Zealand into lockdown] will place the most significant restriction on New Zealanders’ movements in modern history... The worst-case scenario is simply intolerable. It would represent the greatest loss of New Zealanders’ lives in our country’s history.¹

There was one solitary item placed behind the Prime Minister during her proclamation – the New Zealand flag.

The following day, on the front page of the *New Zealand Herald*, New Zealand’s largest-selling newspaper, the headline read “A Whānau of 5 Million”, with a silver fern placed beneath. The editor wrote “History will consider this one of the most pivotal moments in our nationhood.”²

Both the Prime Minister and the *New Zealand Herald* were agreed that the Covid-19 pandemic posed the greatest risk to the lives of New Zealanders and, in order to halt the progress of the virus, the country must be placed into quarantine. They both appealed to the ‘nation New Zealand’ and, to use the words of the Prime Minister, “We will get through this together, but only if we stick together.”³

¹ ‘Jacinda Ardern’s Full Lockdown Speech’, *Newsroom*, 23 March 2020
<https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2020/03/23/1096999/pm-jacinda-arderns-full-lockdown-speech>
(accessed 10 August 2020).

² ‘A Whānau of 5 Million’, *New Zealand Herald*, March 24 2020, digital edition
https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12319272 (accessed 10 August 2020).

³ Mike Houlihan, ‘We’re all in this Together’, *Otago Daily Times*, March 24 2020
<https://www.odt.co.nz/news/national/%E2%80%98we%E2%80%99re-all-together%E2%80%99>
(accessed 10 August 2020).

Yet both the Prime Minister and the *New Zealand Herald* used different icons to convey the important message to all citizens to act in solidarity to combat Covid-19. The Prime Minister stood in front of the New Zealand flag, whereas the *New Zealand Herald* printed the silver fern, an icon that has long been considered a suitable replacement for the national flag.



Fig 1. *New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern during the press conference on March 23, 2020.*⁴



Fig 2. *Front page of the New Zealand Herald, March 24, 2020.*⁵

⁴ 'Coronavirus Lockdown: NZ to hit Alert Level 4 Wednesday Night', *Newstalk ZB*, 23 March 2020 <https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/news/national/coronavirus-covid-19-new-zealand-to-hit-alert-level-4-wednesday-night/> (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁵ 'A Whānau of 5 Million', *New Zealand Herald*. March 24, 2020, digital edition https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12319272 (accessed 10 August 2020).

Prominent flags are under-researched, particularly in New Zealand. Marvin and Ingle argue that, as flags carry political meaning, it would be reasonable to expect that they occupy a central place in the literature of political communication, yet such investigations are rare. They write:

If everyone knows what the flag means and how it is displayed, there is little for scholars to say. The totem taboo [the organising principle of enduring groups] may also be at work. In a culture conditioned not to examine its flag religion too closely, scholars may be no different from other citizens in subscribing to the notion of a sacred flag with an ideal, unvarying appearance and a meaning so sublime it resists full or final articulation.⁶

Yet flags can provide an insight into where people see themselves on a spectrum of national identity. Do they see a single national identity or multiple national identities? Do they see themselves portrayed within or outside a ‘nation’? Are flags symbols of unity or dissent? This thesis aims to provide insight into the history of prominent New Zealand flags and the identities they represent. The principal research question it seeks to answer is: “What factors have shaped attitudes towards prominent flags in New Zealand and to what extent have these changed over time?”

Unlike New Zealand, there has been considerable discussion of flags in other countries. It is appropriate, therefore, to briefly outline the key themes emerging from these studies in order to locate the specific focus of this research within the wider literature. Having examined flags and national identity in their international context, the literature on national identity in New Zealand, which this thesis draws upon, will also be evaluated.

Flags have been used historically as symbols of identity. Put best and most simply by the eighteenth century American politician Josiah Quincy, “A flag is the evidence of power.”⁷

⁶ Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.317.

⁷ Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty*, New York: Russell and Russell, 1967, p.133.

Within the New Zealand context, the Union Jack was introduced as a symbol of the British Empire. The current New Zealand flag, which incorporates the Union Jack, was adopted during a time of conflict, 'the New Zealand Wars', which were at their most intense between 1860 and 1872. The flag was legislated as officially representing New Zealand on both land and water at the turn of the twentieth century. The 1902 bill was passed as a result of politicians and the vast bulk of the population wanting to demonstrate allegiance to the British Empire, as the country sent its first contingent of troops to participate in the second Boer War.

For Māori, flags became cornerstones of both dissent and loyalty to the British Crown. Nowhere was this more so than during the New Zealand Wars, when Māori were divided as to the extent to which they supported the Crown and the reasons for doing so. The spectrum of Māori opinion would continue well into the twentieth century, with the Māori renaissance of the 1970s creating a receptive environment for what would become, in time, the national Māori flag. Yet some older Māori, as evidenced by the flag referendum hui, stated a desire not to part with the New Zealand flag because, for them, it symbolised the relationship entered into between Māori and the British Crown at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

For non-Māori, the majority would continue to see themselves strongly as having 'British ancestry', reflected via the New Zealand flag for much of New Zealand's history. The debate regarding the appropriateness of the Union Jack within the New Zealand flag became more prominent during the 1970s, when Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC) and New Zealand's Minister of Internal Affairs, Allan Highet, stated his preference to see the silver fern replace the Union Jack in 1979.⁸ What Highet was attempting to articulate was how best to embody a New Zealand identity within, firstly, an icon, and secondly, a flag.

⁸ 'Calls for a new flag', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/calls-new-flag>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 22-Feb-2016 (accessed 10 August 2020).

Since the 1970s, the search for a unique identity for people who now called New Zealand home, but who were not Māori, has seen a corresponding search for the quintessential icon that embodies that notion. The issue of an appropriate flag for New Zealand that symbolises that very expression of what it means to be a New Zealander reached its zenith in recent times during the 2015 and 2016 flag referenda. The process saw a clear preference for a flag with the silver fern as the most prominent alternative to the New Zealand flag. However, the majority of the population voted to retain the status quo that displays a Union Jack with the Southern Cross, a flag that clearly demonstrates New Zealand's British past.

The Purpose of a Flag

In the international context, a number of historians have paid particular attention to flags. Nick Groom, author of *The Union Jack: The Story of the British Flag*, characterised flags as:

... among the most ancient of deliberate human signs. Since Biblical times, they have served to identify persons and families of rank, as well as provinces, regions, and peoples. They began as rallying points – emblems or images around which allies could gather on the battlefield or at times of crisis – and so were from the beginning essentially signs of union and identity as well as being statements of distinction and exception.⁹

Historians have dated the usage of flags to 5000 or more years ago. Harold Gresham Carr located the origin of national flags in historical civilisations such as the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman Empires.¹⁰

⁹ Nick Groom, *The Union Jack: The Story of the British Flag*, London: Atlantic Books, 2007, p.1.

¹⁰ H. Gresham Carr, 'Introduction', in H. Gresham Carr, (ed.) *Flags of the World*, London and New York: Fredrick Warne and Co. Ltd, 1956, p.1. Carr was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

Of the latter, from which the term associated with the study of flags, vexillology¹¹, is derived, he typed, “the Roman vexillum was a square piece of material (usually purple or red, but sometimes white or blue), either plain or charged with devices, and frequently richly fringed.”¹² Raymond Firth provided an ethnography of flags. He stated “simple forms of flag have existed in many cultures... flags of cloth in modern form seem to have been an Oriental invention, transmitted to Europe probably by the Saracens.”¹³

In more modern times, flags have been associated with the rise of nationalism. Of national flags, Dr. Whitney Smith, the most prolific author of books detailing flags, argued that the most significant innovation of the eighteenth century was ‘the national flag’,¹⁴ which he argued is a nation’s foremost symbol. Thus, historical explanations of flags indicate that they were important identity markers that were designed to differentiate the holder from others and which became the most prominent symbol of a nation.

Particularly relevant to this thesis is the historical association between flags and battles. Going further and elaborating on the use of a flag during times of war, a flag raised in battle is a sign to demonstrate who the victor of the conflict is. Visual images of some of these moments have become particularly iconic. The six American marines who raised the American flag on Mount Suribachi at the Battle of Iwo Jima have been immortalised in stone in Arlington, Virginia,¹⁵ and their actions further imprinted on the public memory through the film *Flag of our Fathers*.¹⁶

¹¹ Whitney Smith, *Flags Through the Ages and Across the World*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975, p.14. As noted by Smith, he was the first to coin the word ‘Vexillology’ and it appeared in print for the first time in 1959.

¹² Smith, *Flags Through the Ages and Across the World*, p. 2.

¹³ Raymond Firth, *Symbols: Public and Private*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973, pp.329-330.

¹⁴ Smith, *Flags Through the Ages and Across the World*, p.51.

¹⁵ This is known as the US Marine Corps War Memorial. See: ‘History of the Marine Corps War Memorial’, <https://www.nps.gov/gwmp/learn/historyculture/usmcwarmemorial.htm> (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁶ *Flag of our Fathers* was directed by Clint Eastwood, produced by DreamWorks and released in 2006.

Another iconic photograph that captured the raising of a national flag during a conflict featured a scene from the Battle of Berlin, when Yevgeny Khaldei photographed Meliton Kantaria and Mikhail Yegorov hoisting the Soviet Flag over the Reichstag to represent ‘total victory’, on May 2, 1945, over Nazi Germany by Soviet Russia.¹⁷

Writing of the image of the raising of the American flag at Iwo Jima, *Life* printed:

Schoolboys wrote essays about it, newspapers played it for full pages and business firms had blow-ups placed in their show windows. There have been numerous suggestions that it be struck on coins and used as a model for city park statues.¹⁸



Fig. 3. *American marines raising the flag on Mt Suribachi, Iwo Jima.*¹⁹

¹⁷ See: Tom Parfitt, ‘Moscow Campaign to Honour Red Army Reichstag Flag Hero Grigory Bulatov’, *The Times*, July 6, 2017, digital edition <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/moscow-campaign-to-honour-red-army-reichstag-flag-hero-grigory-bulatov-jrrsw9bln> (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁸ “Life’s Reports: The Famous Iwo Flag-Raising.” *Life*, Vol.18, no.13, March 26, 1945, p.18 cited in Marvin and Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, p.167.

¹⁹ ‘Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima’, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Raising_the_Flag_on_Iwo_Jima.png (accessed 10 August 2020).



Fig. 4. *Meliton Kantaria and Mikhail Yegorov, Battle of Berlin.*²⁰

By extension, the unfurling of a flag upon land is an act of conquest; of claiming ownership rights over the said territory. In the instance of a European flag being hoisted upon land already occupied by an indigenous population, the act was the first deed of colonisation. As we shall see in relation to New Zealand, the introduction of the Union Jack to territories that would become British colonies usually took the form of a British officer deciding to hoist the flag on the land and dedicating the area to the British monarch of the time, regardless of the understanding or opinion of the indigenous people who belonged to the region.

The eighteenth century saw a rapid expansion of land and territories being claimed under the name of King George III for the British Empire by the usual practice of planting a Union Jack. John Byron, concerned about the Spanish claiming the Falkland Islands, wrote, on January 23, 1765, ‘... the Union Jack was erected on a high staff, and, being spread, the Commodore named the whole his Majesty’s isles, which he claimed for the crown of Great Britain, his heirs and successors...’.²¹

²⁰ ‘Raising the Flag over the Reichstag’, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raising_a_Flag_over_the_Reichstag (accessed 10 August 2020).

²¹ John Byron, *A Journal of a Voyage Across the World, in His Majesty’s Ship the Dolphin, commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron...By an Officer on Board the said Ship* (1767), p.76 cited in Groom, *The Union Jack: The Story of the British Flag*, p.194.

And on January 26, 1788, Captain Arthur Phillip and a group of British Officers landed in Sydney Cove and raised the Union Jack to signal that New South Wales was now a British colony.²²

The act of raising flags on land to claim the territory became a practice during the ‘Age of Discovery’,²³ when European expansionism resulted in exploration of different parts of the globe. When Europeans began making landfall in the Americas, flag-hoisting ceremonies, which claimed the territory upon which the flag was hoisted in the name of the European monarch they served, became common practice. On October 12, 1492, Christopher Columbus took two flags ashore to the island of San Salvador and claimed the island in the name of his sovereigns, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of the Kingdom of Leon and Castile.²⁴

The first flag to be flown on the American mainland, near Cape Breton, was that of the Kingdom of England (the red St George’s Cross on a white field), by John Cabot in 1497.²⁵ The lilies of France were raised in 1524, when Verranzo the Florentine did so on behalf of King Francis I in North America, and repeated in 1534 when Jacques Cartier claimed the land that later became known as Quebec.²⁶

Similarly, the lowering of a sovereign flag for a final time over the territory on which it is flown denotes the end of the constitutional or political power that the flag represents. A passage that describes the lowering of the Union Jack for the final time over British colonies reads:

²² An account of the English colony in New South Wales, David Collins, Vol. I, p.6 cited in John McLean, *A Mission of Honour: The Royal Navy in the Pacific 1769-1997*, Wellington: Winter Productions, 2010, p.46.

²³ The ‘Age of Discovery’ is also known as the ‘Age of Exploration’. The Age began in the early 15th century and ended until the 17th century. It is characterised as a time when Europeans explored the world by sea. See: Paul Herrmann (Trans. Arnold J. Pomerans), *The Great Age of Discovery*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.

²⁴ Carr, ‘Flags of the United States of America’, in Carr. (Ed.) *Flags of the World*, p.153.

²⁵ Carr, ‘Flags of the United States of America’, in Carr. (Ed.) *Flags of the World*, p.153.

²⁶ Carr, ‘Flags of the United States of America’, in Carr. (Ed.) *Flags of the World*, p.153.

The end was generally the same. At teatime, or thereabouts, in any case conveniently before sundowner time or the need to change for dinner, the flag on the flagpost at Government House was lowered for the last time.... A sergeant-major in the local regiment shouted the order. A soldier paid out the rope hand over hand, brought the flag down, folded it neatly and gave it to the sergeant-major, who gave it to the officer in charge, who gave it to the Governor, who gave it to the Sovereign's representative... Later that night, in the largest stadium in town, usually the football ground... a second ceremony was to be held for the people.²⁷

Theoretical Perspectives on Flags and National Identity

Only a few modern-day scholars have written about flags. Those who have written about the relationship between communities and flags often cite Emile Durkheim's 1915 work *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, in which he studied religion as a social phenomenon. Of particular interest was his research on totemism from the Aboriginal people of Australia.²⁸ For Durkheim, the totem is an emblem or a 'veritable coat of arms'.²⁹ Going further, Durkheim explains that they are much more than just emblems and that they are, in fact, part of the liturgy, and thus are sacred and religious in character.³⁰ Durkheim argues that the totem expresses and symbolises two different things:

In the first place, it is the outward and visible form of what we have called the totemic principle or god. But it is also the symbol of the determined society called the clan. It is its flag; it is the sign by which each clan distinguishes itself from the others, the visible mark of its personality, a mark borne by everything which is a part of the clan under any title whatsoever, men, beasts or things.³¹

²⁷ Brian Lapping, *End of Empire*, London: Granada Publishing, 1985, pp.1-2.

²⁸ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, (Joseph Swain, Trans.), 1915, reprinted 2012, EBook: #41360.

²⁹ Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, p.113.

³⁰ Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, p.119.

³¹ Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, p.206.

Anthony Smith, in *National Identity*, also borrows from Durkheim. While Smith's primary focus is not on flags per se, he does locate flags within the wider discourse of nationalism and argues that "national symbols, customs and ceremonies are the most potent and durable aspects of nationalism."³² He writes:

These concepts – autonomy, identity, national genius, authenticity, unity and fraternity – form an interrelated language or discourse that has its expressive ceremonials and symbols. These symbols and ceremonies are so much part of the world we live in that we take them, for the most part, for granted. They include the obvious attributes of nations – flags, anthems, parades, coinage, capital cities, oaths, folk costumes, museums of folklore, war memorials, ceremonies of remembrance for the national dead, passports, frontiers....³³

Raymond Firth argued that flags are social symbols and can be underpinned by strong sentiments, serving to represent the unity of a large body of people.³⁴ In explaining symbolism, Firth wrote:

The essence of symbolism lies in the recognition of one thing as standing for (re-presenting) another, the relation between them normally being that of concrete to abstract, particular to general. The relation is such that the symbol by itself appears capable of generating and receiving effects otherwise reserved for the object to which it refers – and such effects are often of high emotional charge.³⁵

Writing of the New Zealand and Australian flags, Firth asserted that the bearing of the Union Jack indicates a continuing connection to Britain and the Commonwealth (which Firth describes as a linkage), while the Southern Cross marks their autonomy (Firth calls this differentiation). What is interesting about Firth's observations is that he has adopted an interpretation of what he believes the flag represents, which, as we will see, is not historically accurate.

³² Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1991, p.77.

³³ Smith, *National Identity*, p.77.

³⁴ Firth, *Symbols*, p.328.

³⁵ Firth, *Symbols*, pp.15-16.

Historically, the Union Jack represented the ceding of a territory to the British Empire (not the modern-day evolution of the Empire in the form of the Commonwealth) and, in the absence of any historical documentation, it could be argued that the insertion of the Southern Cross on the New Zealand flag was motivated by events taking place in Australia at the time. The concept of differentiation can also not be construed to mean unique, as no less than four other flags contain the Southern Cross (Australia, Brazil, Samoa and Papua New Guinea).

In analysing the general symbolic value of national flags, Firth applied a sociological lens and asked what values and social acts were related to them.³⁶ While this thesis is located in the discipline of history, his analysis can explain phenomena associated with the flag and historical acts associated with the symbol. He approached the question by citing Durkheim in the first instance, that:

The idea of a thing and the idea of its symbol are closely united in our minds. The soldier who dies for his flag dies for his country, but as a matter of fact, in his own consciousness, it is the flag that has first place.³⁷

While Firth criticised Durkheim's observations by taking exception to the assumption that the flag may have been secondary in his judgement of what military actions may have needed to have taken place, he expanded upon Durkheim's thesis. First, he noted that a specific material object, a flag, is taken as being representative of a very general and abstract concept: a country. Second, the symbol becomes an object of sentiment, which is transferred from the country it represents. Third, the attitudes to the symbol are not just intellectual or emotional, they also tend to take shape in action. Finally, national flags tend to be placed in a special category – they represent 'society' in general.

³⁶ Firth, *Symbols*, p.338.

³⁷ Firth, *Symbols*, p.339.

A study of the American flag by Marvin and Ingle also borrowed from Durkheim and reinforced the views of Firth. They argued that the ‘totem’, defined by Durkheim as being, “... the sign by which each clan distinguishes itself from the others... It is at once the symbol of god and of the society”,³⁸ is in fact the American flag itself and is central to American identity. They asked, “How does the flag operate in American life? Religiously, in a word”,³⁹ and that such reverence for that flag stems from blood sacrifice, which binds the American nation together.

Marvin and Ingle claimed that the flag is not like religion; it is religion, and that “though nationalism does not qualify as religion in the familiar sense, it shares with sectarian religions the worship of killing authority, which we claim is central to religious practice and belief”.⁴⁰ In other words, what is worth killing for or what might citizens be compelled to sacrifice their lives for? Such questions are profoundly religious:

It is their presence that makes nationalism the most powerful religion in American culture. For despite a sturdy American tradition of separating sectarian faith from the state, national faith is inextricably wedded to governance, which is ultimately the question of who shall live and die. Only nationalism motivates the sacrificial devotion of citizens, without which there can be no effective governance.⁴¹

David Kertzer also reflected that the American flag is spiritual in nature and that it sits at the centre of America's ‘civil religion.’⁴² Kertzer also wrote that the meaning of the American flag can be just as valuable to civil rights marchers as it is to the Ku Klux Klan, hence why a flag can change, depending on the context.⁴³ Kertzer noted the absence of an analysis of symbols within modern states and politics, despite metaphors being utilised by politicians to treat concepts as things.

³⁸ Marvin and Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, p.10.

³⁹ Marvin and Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, p.2.

⁴⁰ Marvin and Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, p.9.

⁴¹ Marvin and Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, p.10.

⁴² David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, New York: Yale University, 1988, p.66.

⁴³ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, p.92.

He wrote, “A flag is not simply a decorated cloth, but the embodiment of a nation; indeed, the nation is defined as much by the flag as the flag is defined by the nation.”⁴⁴ He continued that a flag does not stand for a country, but is thought of as the same thing.⁴⁵

Kertzer’s analysis of the Nazi swastika also provides a useful insight into symbolism; into how a symbol can be utilised to create mass hysteria and belief. Kertzer wrote that Hitler devoted much time to creating National Socialist symbols and chose the colour red because it was the “most inciting colour”, with the swastika selected to give the movement its own unique identity.⁴⁶ The power of such symbolism was on display at mass rallies.

Nationalism is particularly relevant to flags. Billig’s concept of ‘Banal Nationalism’, which he defined as “cover(ing) the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced”, has also been applied to flags.⁴⁷ Reminiscent of Smith, Billig differentiated flags as being ‘mindless’ and ‘not mindless.’⁴⁸ Mindless, Billig argued, are flags that are unwaved, unsaluted and unnoticed, like many of the flags displayed in America. They are “banal reminders of nationhood” that would be noticed if they were absent or changed, and can act “...to turn background space into homeland.”⁴⁹ It is for this reason that the focus of this thesis is on prominent flags; that is, flags that have played a significant role in representing collective identity and were the subject of sustained public discussion.

Flags that are ‘not mindless’ call attention to themselves and their symbolic messages, and Billig cited examples of the Irish tricolour being flown in defiance of British sovereignty as such an example.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, p.7.

⁴⁵ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, p.16.

⁴⁶ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, p.164.

⁴⁷ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage, 2010, p.6.

⁴⁸ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, pp.40-41.

⁴⁹ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p.43.

⁵⁰ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, pp.40-41.

Similarly, Billig referenced the use of the Palestinian flag flying at Jerusalem, within a speech made by Yassar Arafat, as a metonym that represents Palestinian nationhood.⁵¹ Examples of the power of flags can also be found in Billig's work, utilised in a fashion argued by Marvin and Ingle. Speaking of the Iraq War of 1991, Billig commented:

Britain's largest selling newspaper, the *Sun*, carried a full colour front page, depicting a Union Jack with a soldier's face at its heart; readers were invited to hang the display in their front windows... He [President George H. Bush] spoke of flags: "Tonight the Kuwaiti flag once again flies above the capital of a free and sovereign nation and the American flag flies above our embassy... The episode illustrated the speed with which Western publics can be mobilized for flag-waving warfare in the name of nationhood."⁵²

Eric Hobsbawm claimed that national flags are in fact 'invented traditions.' Invented traditions, as defined by Hobsbawm, are:

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.⁵³

Hobsbawm posed the question, "What benefit can historians derive from the invention of tradition?" He answered that it is an important indicator of problems and developments that are difficult to identify and date, that it illuminates the human relation to the past, and it is highly relevant to the historical innovation of contemporary times, the 'nation', and associated phenomena.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, pp.40-41.

⁵² Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p.2.

⁵³ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p.1.

⁵⁴ Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', pp.12-14.

From the discipline of history, Hobsbawm's observations are important. First, he states that new symbols and devices (such as the national anthem, the national flag, or the personification of 'the nation') emerged from national movements and states.⁵⁵

Anthony Smith wrote of the development of nationalism:

For most scholars, nationalism, the movement and ideology, can be dated to the late eighteenth century. Before the period leading up to the French Revolution we have only fleeting expressions of a national sentiment, and vague intimations of the central ideas of nationalism, with its emphasis on the autonomy of culturally distinctive nations. Even the nation is a purely modern construct, though here there is considerable disagreement among 'modernists' as to the period of its emergence in Europe, with some favouring the eighteenth century or earlier and others preferring the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when the masses were finally 'nationalized' and women enfranchised.⁵⁶

Second, Hobsbawm observes that the content of patriotism was ill-defined, yet the practices were virtually compulsory, such as flag rituals. He observes, "The crucial element seems to have been the invention of emotionally and symbolically charged signs of club membership rather than the statues and objects of the club."⁵⁷

Symbols, including flags, have been at the forefront of two publications released in 2005, which examine their relationship with Irish society. Morris, in his book *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth Century Ireland*, wrote:

Such conflicts over symbols occur because, far from being incidental to politics, symbols are intrinsic to it. Symbols make it possible to imagine abstract entities such as nations and states, and they play an important role in creating emotionally charged bonds of social solidarity.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', p.7.

⁵⁶ Smith, *National Identity*, p.44.

⁵⁷ Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', p.11.

⁵⁸ Ewan Morris, *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, Ireland: Irish Academic Press, 2005, p.1.

Morris detailed the rise of the Ulster Unionists and their loyal connection to the Union Jack, as well as the Irish republicans or nationalists and their deep bond to the Irish tricolour. Morris observed that where the sovereignty of the state is secure and unchallenged, nationalism has become ‘banal’, whereas in new states that have undergone a revolution, national symbols are still ‘hot.’ To illustrate his point, Morris quoted Billig:

One might predict that, as the nation-state becomes established in its sovereignty, and if it faces little internal challenge, then the symbols of nationhood, which might once have been consciously displayed, do not disappear from sight, but instead become absorbed into the environment of the established homeland.⁵⁹

Morris conducted some interesting examinations of symbols at the time of the state being formed. In the early years of the Irish Free State, commented Morris, symbols that may have been considered by some to be inappropriate, accentuated anxiety; whereas symbols could also have the opposite effect of relaxing the fears of citizens and providing a ‘comforting sense of continuity.’ In the longer term, symbols assisted with the ‘political stabilisation of the state.’⁶⁰

From 1932, nationalism in the independent Irish state became banal, with the political party, Fianna Fa’íl (the nationalist party), coming into power. Symbols, such as the Irish tricolours that represented the nationalist movement, were no longer seen as politically aligned, but as representing the state. In contrast to the Irish Free State, in Northern Ireland there was no shared sense of national identity and each election was fought between the Union Jack and the tricolour. Such symbols never became banal, and instead, were viewed by both loyalists and nationalists as divisive.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Morris, *Our Own Devices*, p.219.

⁶⁰ Morris, *Our Own Devices*, p.220.

⁶¹ Morris, *Our Own Devices*, p.221.

Bryan and Gillespie, in their analysis of flags and emblems in modern day Northern Ireland, made some important observations that are of use to this thesis.⁶² They noted that symbols are “multi-vocal” and therefore have “layers of meanings.” By this, they mean “they do not communicate a single proposition, but rather a collection of propositions, ideas and emotions. Different people will invoke different meanings in the same symbol.”⁶³

They recorded that the context in which symbols are used is all-important; that the same symbol used in a different space can alter its meaning. Bryan and Gillespie also discerned that meanings of symbols are not static and that they can change, sometimes dramatically over time, according to how they are used and who is using them.⁶⁴ Finally, they wrote that “Because symbols have layers of meanings and have different meanings for different peoples they can be used to represent a diverse group of people who may share almost nothing in common.”⁶⁵ In turn, these symbols work best when they are ill-defined, as they provide the diverse group that any symbol represents with an opportunity to define it for themselves.

For the purposes of this thesis, six key observations can be discerned from theorists’ perspectives on flags. First, flags identify a group of people – in many instances, a nation. Second, they evoke a strong sentiment from those who believe they belong to that group and can be the most emotional expression of that group, at times bordering on religious. Manifestations of such expressions can include members strongly relating to one another, or – during times of war or conflict – killing a member of another group. Third, flags are constant reminders of belonging to a wider group of people and, in many instances, this is subconsciously conveyed. Fourth, flags represent the relatively recent development of nations.

⁶² Dominic Bryan and Gordon Gillespie, *Transforming Conflict: Flags and Emblems*, Institute of Irish Studies and Queen’s University of Belfast, 2005.

⁶³ Bryan and Gillespie, *Transforming Conflict*, p.13.

⁶⁴ Bryan and Gillespie, *Transforming Conflict*, p.13.

⁶⁵ Bryan and Gillespie, *Transforming Conflict*, p.13.

In order to connect many modern-day states to the past, traditions surrounding flags have been invented for continuity and to ensure the membership of the nation remains strong and emotive. Fifth, flags can change their meaning, depending on context, and can be both threatening or supportive in nature. This is not just having the member of another group viewing a flag of an opposing group, but the same flag being said to be representing the two groups. Finally, a flag's meaning can evolve over time, especially following a successful revolution. What symbol may have once been threatening to one group of people may, over time, come to be accepted – and even admired – by that same group of people.

Flags and Debates on ‘National’ versus ‘Transnational’ Histories of New Zealand

This thesis contextualises the developments of prominent flags and national identity within New Zealand, from the perspective of transnational history. That is, it places some developments regarding prominent flags and national identity in New Zealand in relation to events occurring around the globe at particular times. It does not seek to explain responses to flags solely with reference to developments occurring within New Zealand, but also acknowledges, where appropriate, phenomena taking place overseas. Predominately, this includes Australia, Canada, other members of the British Empire or Commonwealth, and the United States of America.

Dubinsky, Perry and Yu have noted the rise in questioning the primacy of the nation state as the primary unit of scholarly analysis among historians within the past three decades, and the increasing use of the term “transnational”.⁶⁶ They wrote:

⁶⁶ Karen Dubinsky, Adele Perry, and Henry Yu, ‘Introduction: Canadian History, Transnational History’, in Karen Dubinsky, Adele Perry, and Henry Yu, *Within and Without the Nation: Canadian History as Transnational History*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015, pp.8-9.

However it is defined, the term transnational prompts historians to look beyond the nation for levels of analysis. If the bounded nation was an inadequate geographic container for history, then how could other perspectives – local, regional, continental, oceanic, global – work better?⁶⁷

Denis McLean, in his study of nationalism in Australia and New Zealand, reinforced the importance of looking further afield when researching New Zealand's history of identity, proffering that:

An important strand in their [Australia and New Zealand's] sense of identity was then fashioned by the swagger of the British Empire at the height of its power. This much was shared. The very pervasiveness of the British heritage stunted personality growth, leaving the two countries almost dependent on an Imperial connection, for want of anything else.⁶⁸

Most historians agree that the emergence of a New Zealand national identity on a notable scale took place at the turn of the twentieth century, as evidenced in part by the advent of the New Zealand Native Association. Keith Sinclair noted that the census of 1886 revealed that, for the first time, the number of New Zealand-born Europeans outnumbered those born outside New Zealand (more than 300,000, in a population of more than 578,000). He further argued that the aims of the Association were “to stimulate patriotism and national sentiment; to provide for social intercourse; and to unite all worthy sons of New Zealand in one harmonious body throughout the Colony.”⁶⁹

Palenski, in his book *The Making of New Zealanders*, based on his doctoral thesis on New Zealand identity, argued that:

⁶⁷ Dubinsky, Perry, and Yu, 'Introduction: Canadian History, Transnational History', pp.8-9.

⁶⁸ Dennis McLean, *The Prickly Pair: Making Nationalism in Australia and New Zealand*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003, p. 13.

⁶⁹ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin in association with The Port Nicholson Press, 1986, p.37.

by the turn of the [twentieth] century, a sense of national identity had become well established in the minds of New Zealanders... a sense of national identity evolved in New Zealand through the latter half of the nineteenth century via a multiplicity of agencies and actions.⁷⁰

For Palenski, this development had its genesis during the 1880s, when a new generation of men and women had been born in New Zealand. While some historians argue that a greater sense of national identity was emerging in the late nineteenth century, others argue that it coincided with a strengthening of ties with Britain. Belich proffers that the period between the 1880s and the 1960s can be interpreted as the beginning of 'recolonisation'. For Belich, recolonisation was the:

renewal and reshaping of links between colony and metropolis after an earlier period of colonisation. In New Zealand's case, it reshuffled and tightened links with Britain between the 1880s and 1900s.⁷¹

Of interest to this thesis is Belich's analysis that national identity could be termed 'recolonial collective', as opposed to being 'nationalist' per se. Rather, he views national identity during this period as being 'subnationalist' or 'dominionist'; that New Zealand's identity fitted within a wider British notion of identity.⁷² The concept lends itself better to the views expressed by many at this time, when viewing the national flag and the expression of notions of identity; a theme that will be explored in this thesis.

Drawing upon Belich's perspective are more recent developments by New Zealand historians such as Peter Gibbons, Katie Pickles, Giselle Byrnes, Tony Ballantyne, and Phillipa Mein Smith, who question 'nationalist' histories, arguing that they focus on where New Zealand history was different to what was occurring overseas.

⁷⁰ Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012, p.4.

⁷¹ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders – From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001, p.29.

⁷² Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.30.

Rather, they contend that New Zealand history should be ‘decentred’, so that people can see the similarities between New Zealand history and other countries. Gibbons argued that New Zealand historians ought to be less preoccupied with asserting national identity and writing on “New Zealand’s place in the world”, and focussed more on “the world’s place in New Zealand.”⁷³ He implored scholars to step away from frameworks of “cultural nationalists” and to look more closely at macro-historical accounts. Pickles and Coleborne asserted that nation-centred approaches to New Zealand history have under-emphasised connections between New Zealand and the rest of the world.⁷⁴

They continue:

With historians building upon and revisiting existing approaches to New Zealand history, there is now literature that traverses nation and empire, variously placing New Zealand as part of a ‘British world’, a ‘Tasman world’, an ‘Anglo World’, and networked ‘Webs of Empire.’⁷⁵

Ballantyne agreed with Pickles and Coleborne that colonialism in New Zealand should be seen as part of the “larger dynamics of British empire-building”⁷⁶ and, in 2009, Byrnes urged historians to revise New Zealand history “... because appeals to ‘nation’, ‘national identity’, and ‘nationalism’ have, in recent years, been found seriously wanting.”⁷⁷ Stating that the notion of a single identity is problematic, Byrnes pleaded with historians to look at what history is shared with other countries and said that a country’s history could no longer be the sole domain of the ‘nation’, but rather was ‘transnational’, especially in terms of the British Empire.⁷⁸

⁷³ Peter Gibbons, ‘The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History’ *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37, 1 (2003), pp.38-49.

⁷⁴ Katie Pickles and Catharine Coleborne, ‘Introduction: New Zealand’s Empire’ in Katie Pickles and Catharine Colebourne (eds.), *New Zealand’s Empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016, p.1.

⁷⁵ Pickles and Coleborne, ‘Introduction: New Zealand’s Empire’, p.1.

⁷⁶ Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand’s Colonial Past*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012, p.12.

⁷⁷ Giselle Byrnes, ‘Introduction and Reframing New Zealand History’ in Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, p.8.

⁷⁸ Byrnes, ‘Introduction and Reframing New Zealand History’, p.8.

Mein Smith also accommodated the more recent Asian influence on New Zealand identity in *A Concise History of New Zealand*. She wrote:

neither is this an isolated history; the aim is to place New Zealand history in a global and Pacific context. This requires a comparative element, especially concerning Australia. Globalisation is a core theme of this book: first driven by the British Empire, then by the United States, and now by China.⁷⁹

Such analyses are particularly true when discussing the history of the New Zealand national flag. The history of the flag should not be seen as being peculiar to the New Zealand experience, but should be seen within the larger context of the British Empire and the influence of American culture on New Zealand identity. This thesis will, where relevant, focus on historical developments involving the British Empire, to provide an appreciation of the place of flags in New Zealand.

Māori Perspectives on History

As well as accommodating the influence of overseas developments when discussing New Zealand national identity and prominent flags, this thesis is part of a continuum by successive Māori historians to provide a Māori perspective in what has traditionally been a field dominated by Pākehā. Such historians include Ranginui Walker and Aroha Harris. David Beatson, in the Foreword to *Nga Tau Tohetohe: Years of Anger*, wrote of Walker's selection of his *New Zealand Listener* articles:

Any suggestion that New Zealand was not a racially harmonious society – that Maoris were afforded second-class citizenship – inevitably generated outrage. Ranginui Walker has been courageous enough to risk the outrage. The splinter-sharp perspective he has offered in his 'Korero' in the *Listener* has offended and informed.

⁷⁹ Philippa Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, (2nd Ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, xviii.

In *Nga Tau Tohetohe* he continues to challenge all Pakeha New Zealanders to confront our racism. At the same time, he offers one of the few beacons of hope in a rapidly darkening landscape.⁸⁰

Walker went on to write *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, arguably the first Māori national history of New Zealand, which provided a history of New Zealand from a Māori perspective, from the foundations of Māori society until 1990 (and 2004 in the reprinted edition).⁸¹

Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History was co-authored by Atholl Anderson (Ngāi Tahu), Judith Binney and Aroha Harris (Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi).⁸² They wrote in the introduction:

Six years ago [2008] we gathered in Wellington to consider writing a history with the experiences and perspectives of Māori (including Moriori) at its centre: a book intended for a wide audience, comprehensive in its view and broad in time and place, but particular and grounded in its pauses on individual Māori locations, stories, peoples and events.⁸³

Nic Low, reviewing *Tangata Whenua* for *Metro*, opined “Tangata Whenua has been lauded as the definitive statement on Maori history, and with good reason.”⁸⁴ This thesis draws on the work of Māori historians to examine Māori identity, as well as to interpret the historical significance of prominent flags in New Zealand.

⁸⁰ David Beatson, Editor of *New Zealand Listener*, in Ranginui Walker, *Nga Tau Tohetohe: Years of Anger*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987, p. 9.

⁸¹ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, Auckland: Penguin, 1990, reprinted 2004.

⁸² Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014.

⁸³ Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, p.10.

⁸⁴ Nic Low, ‘Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History – Review’, May 18 2015, <https://www.metromag.co.nz/arts/arts-books/tangata-whenua-an-illustrated-history-review> (accessed 10 August 2020).

In more recent years, there has been some debate regarding the nature and form of Māori history.⁸⁵ Keenan observes that certain historians, such as Ranginui Walker, have authored ‘grand-narrative’ or ‘macro’ versions of Māori history that have focussed on shared experiences. In contrast, historians such as Sir Tipene O’Regan, stress the importance of the place of the tribe and whakapapa in presenting history that involves Māori and expresses a preference to concentrate on the presentation of ‘micro’ accounts. The importance of locating history within the context and framework of whakapapa is highlighted also by Arini Loader,⁸⁶ and Michael Stevens is keen to position Māori as active agents in their own histories rather than passive bystanders.⁸⁷ This is further supported by Melissa Williams, who offers a critique of urbanisation based on her study of the people of Panguru, as not allowing for Māori who engaged creatively with the process.⁸⁸

This thesis endorses the view of Keenan, that both processes and frameworks by which Māori representations of history are made are valuable.⁸⁹ Simply put, there is utility in both approaches. Overarching accounts of Māori history, often presented within the framework of a counter-narrative such as Walker’s *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*,⁹⁰ provide an analysis of Māori experiences based on a thematic approach. Equally, such grand-narratives can miss nuances and do not necessarily ‘fit neatly’ within a more detailed look at history. The framework of this thesis is based largely on widely used thematic descriptions often based on Māori interaction with the British Crown and the New Zealand Government, such as assimilation, urbanisation and biculturalism.

⁸⁵ Danny Keenan, ‘Predicting the Past: Some Directions in Recent Māori Historiography, in *He Pouhere Korero*, Vol. 1: No.1, March 1999, pp.24-35.

⁸⁶ Arini Loader, *Haere Mai Me Tuhituhi He Pukapuka; Muri Iho Ka Whawhai Ai Tātou: Reading Te Rangikāheke*, A thesis presented to the Victoria University of Wellington in fulfilment of the requirements for a degree of Master in Arts in Māori Studies, 2008.

⁸⁷ Michael J. Stevens, ‘A Defining Characteristic of the Southern Peoples’: Southern Māori Mobility and the Tasman World, in Rachel Stanfield (ed.) *Indigenous Mobilities: Across and Beyond the Antipodes*, ACT: ANU Press and Aboriginal History Inc., 2018, pp.79-115.

⁸⁸ Melissa Williams, *Panguru and the City: Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua: An Urban Māori History*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015.

⁸⁹ Danny Keenan, ‘Predicting the Past: Some Directions in Recent Māori Historiography, in *He Pouhere Korero*, Vol. 1: No.1, March 1999, p.31.

⁹⁰ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, Auckland: Penguin, 2004.

Yet, where appropriate, tribal narratives and, where relevant those of pan-tribal organisations such as Kotahitanga, are examined through the lens of certain flags.

For myself, such a framework can be found within the experiences of my marae, Papawai. Papawai is known as the home of the Māori Parliament after it hosted the 1897 and 1898 sessions of the movement within a purpose-built complex labelled ‘Aotea-Te Waipounamu’ (to represent both the North and South Islands of New Zealand). Local concerns, such as the retention of land and hygiene, were escalated to be discussed at the Parliament where the experiences were found to be shared and common by numerous hapū and iwi. As such, much of the attempts made to address those issues were legislated for by the Government under the Māori Lands Administration and Māori Councils Acts of 1900.⁹¹ Flying at Papawai during that time were flags that represented the local community, such as the flag of the prophet of Paora Potangaroa, and a Union Jack. Thus, flags can represent both tribal and national interests, which this thesis explores.

Literature on Prominent New Zealand Flags

With regard to literature concerning flags in New Zealand, there are very few secondary publications on the topic and, to date, there exists no over-arching historical analysis of flags in New Zealand society. Only four small publications have been published that discuss flags used within New Zealand, including the national flag: *Flags of Early New Zealand*, by the Shell Company, published in 1958 [9 pages]; *Flags of New Zealand*, by Allan Sutherland, and published in 1959 [21 pages]; *The New Zealand Ensign*, by W.A. Glue, and published in 1965 by the Department of Internal Affairs [30 pages]; and *The New Zealand Flag: A Guide to the Display of the New Zealand Flag*, published in 1986 by the Department of Internal Affairs [36 pages].

⁹¹ Richard Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004, pp.47-62.

In addition to the above texts, the entry on flags in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* [10 pages], written by Bernard Foster, provides a useful overview of prominent flags in New Zealand, after having identified 1500 such flags, including sections on New Zealand government, Māori, and company flags.⁹² Given the high number of flags identified by Foster, this thesis only focuses on the more prominent flags. Foster's entry is informed by his substantial research on New Zealand flags, which can be found in the National Library. Some of his illustrations of certain flags can be found within this thesis.

An analysis of these publications is that each is small and government-specific, and provides very little, if any, historical analysis of the context in which various flags have been designed and utilised. The most significant publication of the four, Bill Glue's *The New Zealand Ensign* was politically influenced and, as this thesis will demonstrate, involved bureaucratic interference at the highest level, to alleviate any potential fallout or insult.

Palenski provides a brief overview [6 pages] of the historical developments involving the adoption of flags to represent New Zealand.⁹³ Of particular interest for Palenski is the legislating of the current New Zealand flag, which took place in 1900 and 1901. Given the focus of his study was the time period in which the bill was passed, he provides very little historical context of the events surrounding the approval of the four flags that represented New Zealand prior to the passing of the Act (the United Tribes Flag, the Union Jack, the 'NZ' Flag, and the current New Zealand flag).

Paul Christoffel's article on the history of the New Zealand flag in *The Journal of New Zealand Studies* provides a useful overview of developments regarding the official flags of New Zealand.⁹⁴

⁹² Bernard Foster, 'Flags', in A.H. McLintock, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Vol.1, Wellington: Government Printer, 1966, pp.693-703.

⁹³ Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, pp. 99-104.

⁹⁴ Paul Christoffel "'We are not changing it": A Reassessment of the History of the Flag', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 24 (2017), pp. 25-42.

Noting the historical interest in the New Zealand flag due to the 2015/2016 referenda, Christoffel focuses on the *New Zealand Ensign Act 1901*. He argues that the Union Jack was never recognised as New Zealand's flag, according to the legislation, and that there was no abrupt change of the flag at the turn of the twentieth century. With respect to Christoffel's article, it will be argued in this thesis that within official channels, such as the New Zealand government, and the wider public, the Union Jack was regarded as representing New Zealand on land until the Act was passed in 1902. It does, however, agree that a bureaucratic bungle was a significant factor in the need to pass legislation to identify which flag represented New Zealand.

For the chapter titled *Markers of Mana: Māori and Flags 1840-1970*, a number of secondary sources need to be acknowledged. Paul Moon's material regarding Hōne Heke Pōkai and his felling of the flagstaff at Kororāreka in *FitzRoy: Governor in Crisis 1843-1845*⁹⁵ helped inform that section of the thesis, as did O'Malley's chapter on the future of the flagstaff titled *A Living Thing: The Whakakotahitanga flagstaff and its place in New Zealand history* within *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*.⁹⁶

Margaret Orbell provided a brief article on Māori flags in one edition of *Te Ao Hou* [4 pages]⁹⁷, with the article focussing largely on the advent of flags associated with the Hauhau, Te Kooti and the Kīngitanga. Regarding the latter, Ron Crosby's *Kūpapa: A Bitter Legacy of Māori Alliances with the Crown* greatly assisted in detailing the hui that occurred at Paetai in 1857, which discussed the merits of having a Māori King and the presentation of flags that occurred at the gathering.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Paul Moon, *FitzRoy: Governor in Crisis 1843-1845*, Auckland: David Ling Publishing, 2000.

⁹⁶ Vincent O'Malley, 'A Living Thing: The Whakakotahitanga flagstaff and its place in New Zealand history', in *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014, pp.196-213.

⁹⁷ Margaret Orbell, 'Maori Flags and Banners', in *Te Ao Hou: The New World*, No.50 (March 1965), Wellington: Department of Maori Affairs, 1965, pp.32-36.

⁹⁸ Ron Crosby, *Kūpapa: A Bitter Legacy of Māori Alliances with the Crown*, Auckland: Penguin, 2015.

The works of Judith Binney, including *Tūhoe (Encircled Lands: Te Urewera 1820 – 1921)*⁹⁹, *Te Kooti (Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki)*¹⁰⁰ and *Rua Kēnana Hepetipa (Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu)*¹⁰¹, were also valuable resources. Keith Newman's edition of *Ratana: The Prophet*¹⁰² aided in identifying the numerous flags employed by the Māori leader. *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*¹⁰³ provides some useful material and context regarding Māori and flags, including the United Tribes Flag, the flagstaff at the centre of the protestations of Hōne Heke Pōkai, the gifting of the New Zealand red ensign to Māori, the flags of Māori prophetic movements, and the Tino Rangatiratanga flag.

For material regarding the Aboriginal flag, Gallois' doctorate on the subject was a valuable resource.¹⁰⁴ Ewan Morris' paper on the Tino Rangatiratanga flag being chosen to represent Māori provided useful insights into the debate and eventual selection of the flag.¹⁰⁵

Primary Sources used in the Thesis

The majority of the sources used in this thesis are archival. Main sources of archival material included the Auckland and Wellington offices of Archives New Zealand; the Alexander Turnbull Library at the National Library of New Zealand; the Sir George Grey Special Collection at Auckland Public Library; State Archives and Records of the Mitchell Library at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, and the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London.

⁹⁹ Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera 1820-1921*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2009.

¹⁰⁰ Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Auckland: Auckland University Press and Bridget Williams Books, 1995.

¹⁰¹ Judith Binney, Gillian Chapman and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu*, Auckland: Auckland University Press and Bridget Williams Books, 1979.

¹⁰² Keith Newman, *Ratana: The Prophet*, Auckland: Raupo, 2009.

¹⁰³ Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*.

¹⁰⁴ Matthieu Gallois, 'The Aboriginal Flag', PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, 2017.

¹⁰⁵ Ewan Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 9, (2010), pp. 115-134.

Archives New Zealand holds a rich repository of files relating to the New Zealand flag and flags gifted to Māori across a range of ministries, including Internal Affairs, Maori Affairs, Education, Marine, and the Military. In particular, the two files from the Marine Department and Internal Affairs that detailed the development and legislation of the New Zealand flag were an extremely valuable source.¹⁰⁶

The Alexander Turnbull Library holds files of newspaper clippings regarding the New Zealand flag, and a compendium titled *Flags of New Zealand* that was prepared by Bernard Foster for the *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* entry on New Zealand flags.¹⁰⁷ The most valuable resource in the Alexander Turnbull Library, on prominent New Zealand flags, was the James Laurenson Papers.¹⁰⁸ The Sir George Grey Special Collection at the Auckland Public Library holds the prayer book of Te Ua Haumēne and sketches of various flags flown by the Hauhau movement.¹⁰⁹ The digital resource *Papers Past* provided beneficial understandings into the thinking of members of the public regarding prominent flags – in particular, the Union Jack.

The State Archives and Records at the Mitchell Library, in the State Library of New South Wales, contained important information regarding the detainment of the *Sir George Murray* and the development of the 1834 United Tribes flag. The National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London, held the private papers of Albert Hastings Markham.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ M1 1229, 25/2483, Part 1 & IA 1 Box 1839, 81/1, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁰⁷ 'Flags of New Zealand' (Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags, 1962-1963, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand. Bernard Foster, 'Flags', in A.H. McLintock, *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, pp. 693-703.

¹⁰⁸ See: MS-Papers-0009, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand. Laurenson was an avid amateur flag historian. He emigrated from Scotland in 1898 and was heavily involved in the Waterside Workers Union.

¹⁰⁹ Te Ua Haumēne, 'Ua Rongo Pai', GNZ MMSS 1, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Public Library.

¹¹⁰ See: Sir Albert Hastings Markham, MRK/1-49, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

Personal Interest in the Topic

My interest in flags and identity first began in 2010, when I edited and contributed to *Weeping Waters: The Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change*, in which the chapter *Symbols of Nationhood* was published.¹¹¹ The chapter looked at the origins of three symbols of New Zealand nationhood – the name ‘New Zealand’, the national anthem, and the national flag – and asked the question: “Were Māori involved in the decision-making process?” The chapter concluded that Māori were not and that, as such, having a constitution based on the Treaty of Waitangi would require revisiting these symbols and including Māori as part of the decisions made.

The work gained some media interest, including comment from then Prime Minister John Key, which resulted in being invited to provide the keynote address at a conference titled *Symbolising New Zealand* that was hosted by the Centre for Research on National Identity at the University of Otago. Conference proceedings state:

Among the many voices that have begun to protest this situation, one of the most arresting has been that of Malcolm Mulholland, a Māori academic, who, in his book *Weeping Waters: The Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change* (2010), has called for New Zealand to adopt a new flag, a new national anthem, and a new name...

Mindful of the likelihood that this constitutional review [as part of the 2008 Confidence and Supply Agreement between the Māori Party and the National Party] will encompass the issues raised by Malcolm Mulholland concerning the country’s national symbols, the Centre for Research on National Identity at the University of Otago decided to hold a colloquium for the purpose of examining not only the appropriateness of New Zealand’s existing national symbols, but also the impulses and mechanisms that condition the process of symbolism itself.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Malcolm Mulholland. ‘Symbols of Nationhood’ in Malcolm Mulholland and Veronica Tawhai (eds.) *Weeping Waters: The Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change*, Wellington: Huia, 2010, pp.233-251.

¹¹² Alistair Fox ‘Introduction’ in Alistair Fox (ed.). *Symbolising New Zealand*, Dunedin: Centre for Research on National Identity, University of Otago, 2011, p.7.

Three years later, I wrote another chapter on the subject of symbols of nationhood, based on my seminar at the Manu Ao Academy. Labelling the for-change argument ‘The Treaty of Waitangi’ and the against-change argument ‘Sentimentality’, I stated about the latter:

For those who reflect on the sacred nature of such symbols during times of war, I pose two questions. First, did our forefathers fight for the symbols themselves, or for what the symbol represented? Second, did they not also fight for the right of the country they represented to evolve in terms of identity, rather than being bound to symbols simply due to the passage of time?¹¹³

I also observed:

One unexpected outcome of the national debate about our symbols of nationhood has been that a focus on such tangible symbols has, for many, solidified what a largely abstract concept such as constitutional change entails.¹¹⁴

In 2015, I was invited to be a member of the Flag Consideration Panel that was charged with overseeing the New Zealand flag referendum process, including identifying four alternative flag designs for New Zealand.¹¹⁵ During the process, I was engaged by the panel to provide historical facts regarding the history of the New Zealand flag, including a three-minute online video that was widely distributed.¹¹⁶ I was also approached by the panel to research and author an online resource titled *New Zealand Flag Facts* [150p] that was released in February 2016.¹¹⁷ This publication was descriptive in nature and aimed at a general readership. A scholarly analysis of flags in New Zealand was outside the scope of the publication and this thesis intends to address that gap in the literature.

¹¹³ Malcolm Mulholland ‘Revisiting Symbols of Nationhood’ in Selwyn Katene and Malcolm Mulholland (Eds.) *Future Challenges for Māori: He Kōrero Anamata*, Wellington: Huia, 2013, p.16.

¹¹⁴ Mulholland, ‘Revisiting Symbols of Nationhood’ in Katene and Mulholland (eds.) *Future Challenges for Māori: He Kōrero Anamata*, p.17.

¹¹⁵ Manatū Taonga: Ministry for Culture and Heritage, ‘Flag Consideration Panel Members Announced’, 26 February 2015, <https://mch.govt.nz/news-events/news/flag-consideration-panel-members-announced> (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹¹⁶ Manatū Taonga, ‘Answers to Common Questions’, <https://mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/flags/answers-common-questions> (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹¹⁷ ‘New Zealand Flag Facts Book’, 21 February 2016, <https://www.silverfernflag.org/press/new-zealand-flag-facts-book> (accessed 10 August 2020).

While it is important to note that I was a member of the Flag Consideration Panel, it is not the intention of this thesis to detail the referendum process itself, but rather to examine the public discourse and debates that were had regarding prominent New Zealand flags and alternatives at the time. I also note that, to some extent, the section of the thesis that discusses the referenda places myself as an insider and clearly a participant of a panel that was at times criticised, including myself. Yet, despite my own positioning during this process, it is equally important to observe that I was appointed to the panel because of my high interest in prominent flags within New Zealand, as an independent historian and academic.

Chapter Structure

This thesis is structured chronologically and details the developments associated with prominent ensigns to have represented New Zealand, including the United Tribes, Union Jack, 'NZ', and current flags. The first chapter discusses the introduction of flags to New Zealand culminating in the Union Jack becoming New Zealand's flag in 1840. The second chapter discusses the evolution of the current New Zealand flag. Chapter Three: 'Markers of Mana: Māori and Flags 1840-1970', analyses prominent Māori flags and the ways in which they served as both assertions of mana and indicators of relationships with the Crown. Chapter Four: 'Inculcating Patriotism', focuses on the 'hoisting the flag' movement and the flags under which New Zealand armed forces served. The fifth chapter discusses the debates over the flag since 1970, culminating in the selection of a national Māori flag and the 2015/2016 flag referenda.

Each chapter contains contextual material, relating the development of flags in New Zealand to wider processes occurring both domestically and overseas. They also provide sections that focus on national or Māori identity, specific to the time period being examined. Theory has been utilised, where appropriate, to gain greater insights and understandings of the flags, symbolism, or the role that they played at the time. The conclusion details the findings made in relation to the key research questions.

CHAPTER ONE

Transplanting Flags to New Zealand 1642-1840

Between 1642 and 1840, flags were introduced into New Zealand and the first ‘national flags’ were adopted. There is a brief reference to a Māori using a white flag in Tasman’s journals, which may indicate some Māori were already aware of them and their use. However, the information is scant and, subsequently, there is no ability to test the veracity of the claim made by Tasman.¹

From the outset, Māori quickly recognised the significance of flags as markers of identity. Identity and symbolism were an integral aspect of Māori society in pre-European times and were expressed through a variety of mediums such as tā moko (facial tattoos) or whakairo (carvings). Flags, in European society, were one of the main modes of identity for nation-states and wider processes of nationalism that began in earnest with the French revolution of 1789, only twenty years after Cook’s first visit to New Zealand. It was that same year that the French tricolours made its first appearance, as the red and blue of Paris were mixed with the royal white when the Bastille was stormed.²

With the introduction of flags to New Zealand by European explorers, Māori adopted flags to further Christianity and trading opportunities. They wanted to trade with Sydney, which promoted questions about the official status of New Zealand and the jurisdiction of New South Wales. This, in turn, led to a collective of Māori chiefs selecting the first flag to represent New Zealand. The annexation of New Zealand to Britain in 1840, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, resulted in the Union Jack – a symbol of the British Empire – becoming New Zealand’s second flag.

¹ J.E. Heeres and C.H. Coote, (eds.), *Abel Jansz. Tasman’s Journal of his discovery of Van Diemens Land and New Zealand in 1642, with documents relating to his exploration of Australia in 1644*, Amsterdam: Fredrik Muller and Co., 1898.

² ‘France’, *Flags of the World*, 12 December 2013, <https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/fr.html> (accessed 10 August 2020).

The change of flag for New Zealand also represented a changing identity for the nation, which had consisted solely of Māori two hundred years previously, to incorporate an increasing number of Europeans within the new British colony. This chapter begins with a discussion of the transplantation of flags to New Zealand and Māori responses to these new markers of identity. It then examines the historical context in which New Zealand's earliest national flags emerged.

Collective Māori Identities

Prior to the arrival of the first European to New Zealand in 1642, the collective identity of New Zealand was based solely on a racial grouping known today as Māori with a population estimated to be approximately 100,000.³ Walker explains that Māori had no single term for themselves and thus used the term which means “normal, usual or ordinary.”⁴ The word “Pākehā” was used to differentiate Māori from the incoming settlers, the word being a derivation of “pakepakehā” or “pakehakeha” which, defined by the *Williams Dictionary*, is “imaginary beings resembling men, with fair skins.”⁵

Salmond recalled a debate in *Te Pipiwharauroa* in 1910 between Te Waaka Te Ranui and Nikora Tautau regarding the origin of the words “Māori” and “Pakeha.”⁶ Te Ranui claimed that when Cook landed at Tūranganui in 1769, he asked if the locals had any potatoes, to which they responded they had a similar root called “maori” (ordinary), to which Cook turned to his people and said, “These people are maori.”⁷ When the local people saw the faces of the Europeans with Cook, they thought they were as pale as their garments and so called them “Pakeha” after a type of flax.⁸

³ Ian Pool, *Colonization and Development in New Zealand between 1769 and 1900; The Seeds of Rangiatea*, Springer International, 2015, p.12.

⁴ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.94.

⁵ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.94.

⁶ Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815*, Auckland: Viking (Penguin), 1997, p.21-22.

⁷ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p.21.

⁸ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p.21.

Tautau disagreed, and said that “maori” was a word for ancient things, ordinary things, things from inland and for local people. As for “Pakeha”, this, he claimed, was an ancient term for pale-skinned people who were also titled “tuurehu, patupaiarehe, urukehu, or pakepakeha.”⁹

In the next edition of *Te Pipiwharauora*, Mohi Turei supported the account provided by Te Ranui, and explained that the term “maori” was ancient, as in the old days there were two people: the “tribe of atua” and the tribe of “taangata maori” (ordinary maori). As for Pākehā, Turei believed that a haka had been performed for the arrival of a boatload of pale-skinned people, long before Cook, in which they were called “pakepakeha.”¹⁰

Having first arrived to the southern landmass in approximately the ‘14th century’,¹¹ migrations of Māori came to New Zealand via waka (canoe) and established familial groupings according to iwi (tribe), hapū (sub-tribe), and whānau (family).¹² Iwi and hapū were stratified into three classes: rangatira (chief), tūtūā (commoners), and taurekareka (slaves).¹³ Identity within Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) was determined, primarily, by whakapapa (genealogy). Genealogical links, such as waka, iwi, hapū, and whānau, determined one’s social class. However, exceptions can be found, such as having non-familial members living in the locality of the hapū, owning or having access to local resources, participating in hapū activities, or demonstrating leadership qualities.¹⁴

⁹ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p.21.

¹⁰ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p.22.

¹¹ Geoffrey Irwin, ‘Voyaging and Settlement’, in K.R. Howe (ed.), *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors*, Auckland: David Bateman, 2006, p.89.

¹² See: Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014 and Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*.

¹³ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.65.

¹⁴ Atholl Anderson, ‘Emerging Societies, AD 1500-1800’, in Anderson, Binney, and Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, p.106.

Tribal identity was particularly important within Māori society, which expressed collective identity in a number of ways. Symbolism within Māori artistry was detailed and often gave rise to a creative form of expressing identity, with the materials employed ranging from products fashioned from the natural environment to the human skin.¹⁵

One of the earlier studies of tā moko by amateur ethnographer Horatio Gordon Robley observed that moko was a ‘sign of distinction’ to differentiate chiefs (who wore a moko) from their slaves.¹⁶ By the time of contact with Europeans, Māori had experienced some three hundred years of artistic development and would continue their advances in this area with the advent of European tools and creative expressions. However, the one constant theme underpinning these improvements was identity, with the eventual advent of flags being no exception.

Trade and Christianity in Early New Zealand

The adoption of a flag to represent New Zealand in 1834 by Māori occurred within the wider context of the two main spheres of interaction between Māori and Europeans, trade and religion, in the Far North of New Zealand (in particular, the Bay of Islands). During the early contact between missionary and Māori, trade and religion were not necessarily seen as independent of each other, as Māori engaged with religionists in order to obtain material goods.¹⁷

During the 1830s the relationship between Christianity and Māori strengthened. Among a range of reasons for Māori conversion, Belich places much weight on the ability of the missionaries to teach the indigenous people literacy.¹⁸

¹⁵ For further information see: Julie Paama-Pengelly, *Māori Art and Design: Weaving, Painting, Carving, and Architecture*, Auckland: New Holland Publishers, 2010 and Sidney Moko-Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo: The Art of Maori Carving*, Auckland: Reed, 1986.

¹⁶ H.G. Robley, *Moko: The Art and History of Maori Tattooing*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1986, p.23.

¹⁷ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Like Them That Dream: The Maori and the Old Testament*, Auckland: Reed, 2000, p.18.

¹⁸ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders – From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996, p.165.

Belich also notes the industrial revolution “...was the ultimate push behind settlement of New Zealand by British people and capital.”¹⁹ With industries emerging in New Zealand such as whaling, sealing, timber, and flax, Māori were also keen to trade with the new immigrants.

Belich continues:

Maori determined that large nails should be the most prized item in the 1770s, iron tools in the 1790s and 1800s, and guns thereafter. As competition among European traders increased, Maori preferences began to help determine the goods on offer.²⁰

Increased trade between Māori and European settlers and traders is also explained in the rise of the European population in New Zealand. The first permanent white settlement in New Zealand was at the Bay of Islands in 1814, led by the missionary Samuel Marsden.²¹ Five years later, missionary Thomas Kendall reported that Europeans residing in New Zealand consisted of 52 people: the mission establishment and seven members of the Hanson family.²²

By the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Māori population was between 70,000 and 90,000 (the decline was due to the Musket Wars and introduced diseases), with the European population being 2000.²³ New Zealand’s identity was still predominately Māori, with many texts penned about New Zealanders clearly associating that term with Māori, rather than Europeans.²⁴

¹⁹ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.126.

²⁰ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.149.

²¹ Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact*, Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1959, p.22.

²² Letter of Kendall to Bigge, November 8, 1819, HRNZ, 1, 44 cited in Wright, *New Zealand, 1769-1840*, p.23.

²³ Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, p.58.

²⁴ For example, see: George Craik, *The New Zealanders*, 1830, London: Charles Knight, Pall Mall East; Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, Paternoster Row; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Robertson and Atkinson, Glasgow; Wakeman, Dublin; Willmer, Liverpool; Baines and Co, Leeds; G. and C. Carvill, New York, Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1854, and Rev. Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui: New Zealand and It's Inhabitants*, London: Wertheim and MacIntosh, 1855.

Such volumes, written by the British, labelled Māori as ‘savages’ and made some attempt to provide the reader with a descriptive understanding of Māori life and culture. They also wrote of the need to ‘civilise’, ‘Christianise’ and ‘colonise’ Māori. Pens Nicholas, who accompanied the Reverend Samuel Marsden during his travels of New Zealand in 1814 and 1815:

In his peaceful pursuits, the New Zealander appears social, cheerful, friendly and hospitable, disposed to kind offices, and faithful to his engagements; but war effects a total transformation in the man, and it is only then that he becomes a cruel, furious and untameable savage... an English colony in New Zealand might soon become flourishing and happy...²⁵

The adoption of flags by Māori occurred at a time of rapid societal change, particularly in the period between 1820 and 1840, when Māori society was transformed by a range of new technologies and practices that significantly disrupted the lives of many Māori. The embracing of flags was one means of adapting to this changing world.

Northwestern European Expansionism

The arrival of flags in New Zealand was a consequence of wider global processes. Notably, the expansion of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, leading to the arrival of the Dutch, British and French to New Zealand. The arrival of these peoples was underpinned by the desire to find new territories, for trading opportunities.

Stavrianos wrote in his volume of *A Global History*:

²⁵ John Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, Vols. I & II, 1817, London: James Black and Son, pp. 312-314.

In the period between 1600 and 1763 Spain and Portugal were overtaken and surpassed by the powers of northwestern Europe – Holland, France and Britain. This development was of great significance for the entire world. It made northwestern Europe the most influential and dynamic region in the globe. And the countries of northwestern Europe were to dominate the world – politically, militarily, economically, and, to a certain degree, culturally...²⁶

While noting the Dutch as being the pathfinders in promoting a commercial empire, and the rise of the French in supplanting those from the Netherlands, as Britain's major threats, historian Nicholas Canny concluded that the 17th century could indeed be considered the origins of the British Empire.²⁷

Arrival of Flags to New Zealand: Abel Janszoon Tasman 1642

Tasman sailed for the Dutch East India Company, competing against the Portuguese, who had established trading routes to the East Indies.²⁸ England also established an East India Company at the turn of the seventeenth century²⁹, with the French creating their East India Company in 1664.³⁰ India was regarded by many as 'the jewel of the British Crown', with the subcontinent providing many raw materials that could be traded by the British. Sir Charles Dilke's prophetic assessment of India's independence from Britain in 1947 was that "...from the larger British imperial point of view the loss of India would be a crushing blow to our trade."³¹

²⁶ L.S. Stavrianos, *A Global History: From Prehistory to the Present*, 5th Ed., New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991, p.417.

²⁷ Nicholas Canny, 'The Origins of Empire' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Origins of Empire*, Oxford University Press, 1998, p.32.

²⁸ H. Schouten, *Tasman's Legacy: The New Zealand-Dutch Connection*, Wellington: New Zealand-Netherlands Foundation, 1992, p.13.

²⁹ J.I. Hetherington, *New Zealand: Its Political Connection with Great Britain*, Vol. I', Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd, 1926, p.8.

³⁰ Philip B. Calkins, A.L. Srivastava, et al., 'India', *Encyclopædia Britannica*: <https://www.britannica.com/place/India> (accessed 10 August 2020).

³¹ Charles Dilke, 'Problems of Greater Britain', Vol I., London, 1890, p.3, cited in Andrew Porter, 'Introduction: Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth Century', in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century: The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, p.6.

Instructions to Tasman stated that lands that he may discover could be taken possession of, on behalf of the States General of the United Provinces, by either erecting a memorial stone or by planting the flag of the Prince, where the territory was uninhabited or where there was no sovereign. In situations where the territory was populated, the permission of people or the person representing them needed to be obtained by ‘friendly persuasion.’

Again, it was noted that Tasman’s instructions required him to plant a tree, erect a memorial, or plant the Prince’s flag “in commemoration of their voluntary assent or submission.”³² Justus Schouten, a member of the Batavia Council of the Dutch East India Company, instructed Tasman to fly the Dutch flag from the main topmast.³³ Anderson was under no misapprehensions as to the real purpose behind the Dutch East India Company wanting to search for the Great Southern Continent Land:

Profit, greatly exceeding the cost of exploration, and control of trade with newly discovered territories ahead of competitors, lay at the heart of their purpose, and the business of adding to the map of the world was a secondary motive.³⁴

After having sailed northwards, tracking the West Coast of the North Island, Tasman and his men left New Zealand in early January the following year.³⁵ During Tasman’s visit to New Zealand, neither he nor his men planted a flag onshore. However, Māori would have viewed the ‘V.O.C.’ (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) flag and most likely the Princevlag that represented the Dutch monarchy, as he followed the West Coast of the country.

³² J.I. Hetherington, *New Zealand: Its Political Connection with Great Britain*, Vol. I, Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1926, p.9.

³³ Grahame Anderson, *The Merchant of the Zeehaen: Issac Gilsemans and the Voyages of Abel Tasman*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2001, p.70.

³⁴ Anderson, *The Merchant of the Zeehaen*, pp.68-69.

³⁵ Anderson, *The Merchant of the Zeehaen*, p.101.



Fig 5. *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie Flag*.³⁶



Fig 6. *Princevlag*.³⁷

As has been previously stated in this chapter, Tasman does record Māori using, what he describes as a “flag.”³⁸ After four Dutchmen had been killed during the first interaction between Europeans and Māori at what Tasman named ‘Murder’s Bay’ (Golden Bay) on December 19 1642, Tasman set sail.³⁹

³⁶ Rob Raeside, ‘Netherlands East India Company’, 15 December 2015, <https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nl-indco.html> (accessed 10 August 2020).

³⁷ Rob Raeside, ‘The Princevlag’ (The Netherlands), 15 December 2015, https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nl_prvlg.html#pr (accessed 10 August 2020).

Upon doing so, the *Zeehaen* fired a shot and hit a Māori in a canoe “who held a small white flag in his hand.”⁴⁰ No further description or information regarding the ‘small white flag’ is provided.

Union Jack Arrives in New Zealand: James Cook 1769

The introduction of the Union Jack, a key feature of the present New Zealand flag, is attributed to Captain James Cook, who was the next European explorer to visit New Zealand after Tasman. Cook was to set sail to Tahiti to observe the ‘Transit of Venus’, following the pleas of astronomer William Halley that English scientists should be stationed on different parts of the globe to measure the passage of Venus in 1769.⁴¹ From such surveillances, the distance of the sun from the earth and Venus could provide a calculation of the size of the universe. Halley’s comments were made within the period of ‘Enlightenment Science’, which included the study of stars, classifying the earth’s flora and fauna, and mapping all the lands of the world.

Cook’s second set of instructions were secret, and referencing Tasman’s find, instructed him to search for the ‘Great Unknown Southern Continent’, otherwise known as New Zeland [sic].⁴² Cook was to gain the consent of the inhabitants and take possession of the country for King George III. He repeated a world-wide ritual when he hoisted the British flag in New Zealand.⁴³

During his first voyage to New Zealand in 1769, Cook hoisted the Union Jack at different locations and laid claim to the land for King George III. On January 31, 1770, Cook landed at Motuara Island in Queen Charlotte Sound, Marlborough. He wrote in his diary:

⁴⁰ Heeres and Coote, (eds.), *Abel Jansz. Tasman’s Journal of his discovery of Van Diemens Land and New Zealand in 1642*, pp.19-20.

⁴¹ Anne Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas*, Auckland: Penguin, 2003, p.25.

⁴² Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog*, p.32.

¹⁵⁵ Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog*, p.32.

We took [the pole] up to the highest part of the Island and after fixing it fast in the ground hoisted thereon the Union flag⁴⁴ and I dignified this Inlet with the name of Queen Charlottes Sound and took formal possession of it and adjacent lands in the name and for the use of his Majesty.⁴⁵

Cook departed New Zealand on March 31, 1770.⁴⁶ He would return to New Zealand in 1773 and 1777.⁴⁷

Cook's first journey to New Zealand transpired within a wider context of British exploration. Although Cook and the crew of the *Endeavour* had received instructions to observe the 'Transit of Venus' and to search for the great Southern Continent before departing London,⁴⁸ Britain's Empire was already ever-expanding, motivated largely by economic needs. Between 1607 and 1769, Britain had founded no less than 36 settlements or colonies throughout the world, the vast majority existing in North America, including the West Indies.⁴⁹

A constitutional dilemma arose after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, with regard to 'Cook's Discovery.' Captain William Hobson had been asked to acquire the cession of the entire country, and yet he proffered the opinion that the British could claim the South Island on account of Cook's discovery, as the 'natives' were too few and backward to make any such agreement valid.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ The 'Union flag' being referred to by Cook is a reference to the Union Jack. As Groom writes 'The Union Flag has, however, been known as the Union Jack since the seventeenth century'. See: Groom, *The Union Jack*, xi.

⁴⁵ James Cook, Captain Cook's Second Voyage Round the World, in the Years MDCCLXXII, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXV (1776), p.35 in Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.195.

⁴⁶ Salmond, *Trial of the Cannibal Dog*, p.150

⁴⁷ See: Salmond, *Trial of the Cannibal Dog*.

⁴⁸ Salmond, *Trial of the Cannibal Dog*, p.31.

⁴⁹ See: *Appendix One: British Settlements/Colonies 1607-1769*.

⁵⁰ Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847*, Auckland: Auckland University Press and Oxford University Press, 1977, pp.156-157.

The Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Normanby (Constantine Henry Phipps), responded that it should be done by treaty, but if that was not possible, the territory could be claimed by ‘right of discovery.’ James Stephen, the Under-Secretary to Normanby, contradicted Normanby’s stance, as he drew attention to New Zealand being ‘discovered’ by Abel Tasman and said that if Cook did proclaim British sovereignty, he had done nothing to maintain his claim. Hobson did indeed lay claim to the South Island by citing Cook’s discovery, but followed this action with negotiations with South Island chiefs to strengthen British rights over the South Island.⁵¹

The Union Jack

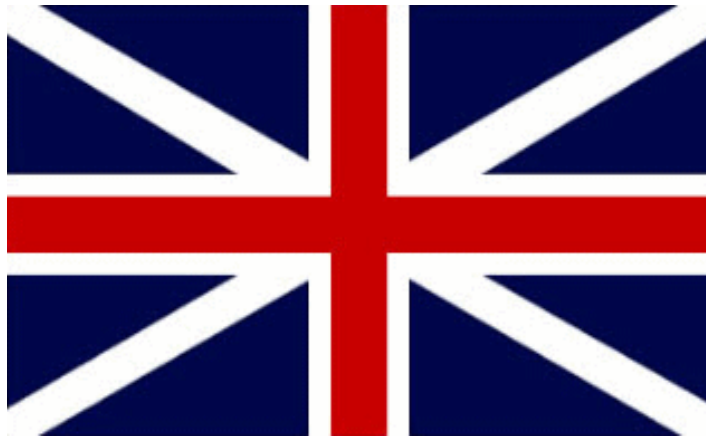


Fig 7. *British Union Flag until 1801.*⁵²

The Union Jack was already a well-established symbol of Britain by the time Cook arrived in New Zealand. Given its prominent use within New Zealand, including being on the current New Zealand flag, an overview of its history and development is included in this thesis. The design of the Union Jack evolved between Cook’s first visit in 1769 and its adoption as New Zealand’s national flag in 1840, with these changes reflecting political and social changes in Britain.

⁵¹ Adams, *Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847*, pp.156-157.

⁵² Rob Raeside, ‘History of British Naval Ensigns Part 1 (Great Britain)’, 21 March 2020, <https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/gb-enshs.html#union> (accessed 10 August 2020).

The Union Jack hoisted by Cook was void of the red diagonal cross that is used in the Union Jack of today, which represents the Patron Saint of Ireland, St Patrick.⁵³ The addition of representing Ireland within the Union Jack design would not take place until 1801, under the ‘Act of the Union with England (Wales), Scotland, and Ireland’, with the legislation creating the ‘United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.’⁵⁴



Fig. 8. *Union Jack Flag after 1801.*⁵⁵

Almost one hundred years prior, the ‘Act of Union’ between England and Scotland had given birth to the first iteration of the Union Jack, a combination of the flags representing the Patron Saint of England, St. George (symbolised by a red cross on white background), and the Patron Saint of Scotland, St. Andrew (denoted by a silver saltire on a blue background).⁵⁶ The Union Jack represented the emergence of Great Britain as a polity, while also drawing on a range of traditional icons, although some of the stories associated with these were what Hobsbawm would describe as ‘invented traditions.’

Groom states:

⁵³ See: ‘Flags of New Zealand’ – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.2. 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁵⁴ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.199.

⁵⁵ ‘Flag of the United Kingdom’, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union_Jack (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁵⁶ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.200.

In fact, the story of the Union Jack in the nineteenth century is predominately the story of the British Empire, the Empire on which the sun never set. At its greatest extent, this covered about a quarter of the globe's land territory (12.7 million square miles), one in five of the global population lived and worked under British rule (444 million people), and three-quarters of the world's shipping sailed under its flag.⁵⁷

Groom also remarks that the symbolism of the Union Jack was hugely significant. "If one thing could have been said to have bound the nineteenth-century Britain and the British Empire together, it was the instantly recognizable Union Jack."⁵⁸

The Saint George Cross on the Union Jack was itself a symbol of military conquest. Saint George was not adopted as the patron saint of England until the time of the military crusades against the Middle East between 1096 and 1271, with the figure of St George appealing to soldiers and military leaders.⁵⁹ Groom suggests that George's origins are most likely Palestinian, during the reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian from AD 284 to 305, although he also notes that George could have also been a citizen of the Turkish city of Nicomedia or from the Nile River.⁶⁰ St George was a Christian martyr of the Roman Army who refused to honour the Roman gods. The sick, who St George heals, convert to Christianity before the emperor, Dacian, tortures him repeatedly.⁶¹

The narrative of George being a dragon slayer appears to have emerged some centuries later.⁶² George's cult grew in popularity throughout Europe during the sixth century and, as Groom wrote:

There was, then, evidently a strong sense of English identity within the Church of Rome, focused on individual national saints and expressed through hagiographies and sermons, feast days and insignias.

⁵⁷ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.212.

⁵⁸ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.215.

⁵⁹ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.51.

⁶⁰ Groom, *The Union Jack*, pp.49-50.

⁶¹ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.45.

⁶² Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.48.

But over the next 250 years of Crusades and then the Hundred Years War with France and her allies, George replaced Edmund, Edward, Alban, and Gregory to become the undisputed patron saint of England, and his bloody cross became the nation's standard. By the end of the Middle Ages almost two hundred parish churches were dedicated to him.⁶³



Fig 9. *St George's Cross*.⁶⁴

Saint Andrew was originally a fisherman and had been a disciple of John the Baptist, and with his brother, Simon (latterly Peter), was the first of Jesus' apostles to be called. Following the crucifixion of Jesus, Andrew became a missionary and was responsible for evangelising the north as far as Russia. During the 840s, the first King of Scotland, Kenneth I MacAlpin, united the kingdoms of the Picts and the Gaels with Albany, calling the territory Alba (both Scotland and Britain). Kenneth's land was identified by a single flag: the cross of St Andrew.⁶⁵

⁶³ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.57.

⁶⁴ 'St George's Cross', https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint_George%27s_Cross (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁶⁵ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.82.

The Union Jack also featured the cross of St Andrew, which was declared the national emblem by the Scottish Parliament in 1385 and was worn by the Scottish and French soldiers when the English invaded Scotland (Richard III ordered British troops to wear St George's Cross).⁶⁶



Fig 10. *St Andrew's Cross*.⁶⁷

By 1840, the Union Jack had incorporated St Patrick's Cross, representing Ireland. Groom writes of Saint Patrick's Cross:

Historians have claimed that this cross has nothing specifically to do with St Patrick and even that it did not exist prior to its 'incorporation' into the Union Flag. Indeed the link with St Patrick is at best tenuous, at worst a convenient fiction, and certainly has no hagiographical authority; strictly speaking, only crucified martyrs are entitled to crosses, yet Patrick died peacefully.⁶⁸

Patrick (Patricius) was a Romano-Briton born to the son of a deacon and the grandson of a priest.⁶⁹ Enslaved by Irish pirates, Patrick was visited by an angel in a dream, informing him that he would return to his country.

⁶⁶ Groom, *The Union Jack*, pp.95-96.

⁶⁷ 'Flag of Scotland', https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_of_Scotland (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁶⁸ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.99.

⁶⁹ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.100.

Angels continued to visit Patrick, asking him to be ‘the voice of the Irish’ and to return to his homeland in Ireland, which he did, converting many to Christianity.

Over time, Patrick became the most popular of Irish saints, replacing St Brigit (Bride), who was Ireland’s best-known saint until the late seventeenth century.⁷⁰ Groom believes that the red saltire of St Patrick emerged from the rebellion of the Earl of Kildare against Henry VIII in 1534, a number of Irish rebellions during the 1590s, and perhaps from Irish piracy.⁷¹



Fig 11. *St Patrick's Saltire*.⁷²

An analysis of the national standards of England (Wales), Scotland, and Ireland, demonstrates that, in the case of St George for England and St Patrick for Ireland, they have, over centuries, replaced other saints to represent their respective countries. Despite both George and Andrew not being native-born, this has not detracted from their place of national deference, and with the addition of Patrick, perhaps if anything, they highlight the role and strength that religion has played in the historical development of the British Isles.

⁷⁰ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.102.

⁷¹ Groom, *The Union Jack*, pp.108-109.

⁷² ‘Saint Patrick’s Flag’, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint_Patrick%27s_Saltire (accessed 10 August 2020).

The narrative of St George being a ‘dragon slayer’ and being popularised in later centuries (with the dragon being depicted as the devil), formed the basis of the theological justification of the Crusades, which in turn, led to St George being adopted as Britain’s patron saint.⁷³ St George’s depiction as the dragon slayer is also an insightful example of what Hobsbawm has labelled ‘invented traditions.’ In this instance, St George (Christianity) is good, and the dragon (Islam) is evil, despite the fact that claims George slayed a dragon in times past is highly dubious.

Tricolour Arrive in New Zealand: Jean de Surville 1769

The adoption of the Union Jack as the national flag of New Zealand was, in part, spurred by concerns France might lay claim to some or all of its territory. Passing Cook as he sailed northward from New Zealand in late 1769 was Frenchman Jean de Surville, aboard the *St Jean Baptiste*. De Surville’s operations were previously under the jurisdiction of the French India Company (Compagnie des Indes), a business that suffered following the defeat of the French Empire in India as a result of the seven-year war.⁷⁴ During the time of the company being abolished and dissolved in 1769-70, de Surville was keen to continue pursuing trading opportunities with the East.

Fuelled by reports of the discovery of an island in the South Seas by an English vessel, de Surville was motivated to find the land, both to advance trade and to add to the territories of the French Empire.⁷⁵ The island, known as ‘Davis or David’s Land’ was reported possibly to be Terra Australis Incognita (unknown south land).⁷⁶

⁷³ Groom, *The Union Jack*, pp.48-51.

⁷⁴ John Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific, Vol. I: The Eighteenth Century*, London: Oxford University Press, 1965, p.114.

⁷⁵ Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific, Vol. I*, p.117.

⁷⁶ Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*, Auckland: Penguin, 1991, p.312.

During his journey, de Surville abandoned his plans to reach Davis Land and searched for any land in the South Pacific, as his men were suffering from scurvy. Desperate, de Surville relied upon the maps from Tasman, the only explorer to have penetrated 20 degrees south in this part of the Pacific Ocean, and headed for New Zealand.⁷⁷ On December 12, de Surville and his men spotted land to the east, land just south of the Hokianga Harbour, and after having sailed around North Cape, landed in Doubtless Bay on December 17 (it was named by the French as Lauriston Bay).⁷⁸

Following de Surville's departure from New Zealand the following year, a French colony did exist in New Zealand, in Akaroa, between 1838 and 1843. For five years, some 300 French settlers and naval personnel resided at Akaroa under French law and custom. However, as stated by Belich, "the French Empire in New Zealand died in its infancy."⁷⁹ This episode of New Zealand history will be explored in the following chapter of this thesis.

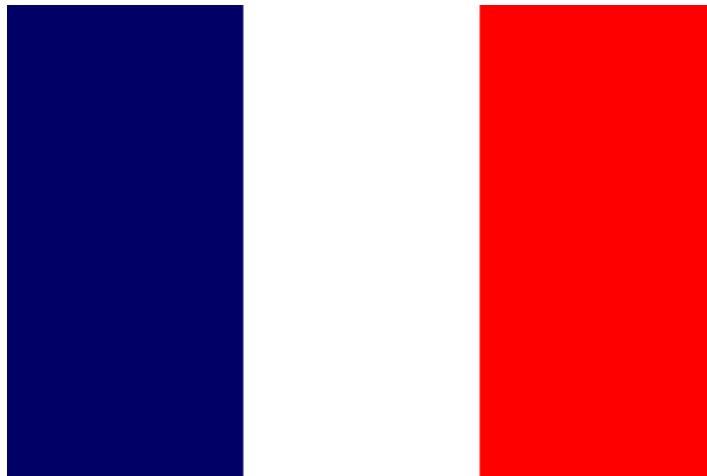


Fig 12. *French Republic Flag*.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific, Vol. I*, p.146.

⁷⁸ Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific, Vol. I*, p.149.

⁷⁹ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.180.

⁸⁰ Ivan Sache, 'France', 12 December 2013, <https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/fr.html> (accessed 10 August 2020).

Māori and Flags

Māori soon realised the symbolic meanings attached to flags and had some agency in their adoption, form and dissemination in New Zealand. Māori called flags one of two names: 'kara' for 'colour' or 'haki' for 'Jack', an abbreviation of 'Union Jack'.⁸¹ Predominately, however, flags were flown in the early contact period to advertise Sundays as being religious days.

In 1805, the Governor of New South Wales, Philip King, explained to the Bay of Islands chief, Te Pahi, the different nations represented by the American and British flags.⁸² One of the first recordings of Māori possessing a flag was from 1812, when Ngāpuhi chief and nephew of Te Pahi, Ruatara, returned to New Zealand after having sailed to England and Australia. The chief, intent on promoting the day of the Sabbath (Sunday), had requested a 'colour' that he could hoist to differentiate the day and to ensure his people desisted from labour.

Samuel Marsden, of the Church Missionary Society's Parramatta Station, accommodated the appeal made by Ruatara and gifted a white muslin cloth with the words 'Ra Tapu' (Sabbath day or Sunday) on it. Upon its gifting, Marsden also explained that the colour white was a "signal of peace."⁸³ At the first religious service in New Zealand, at Rangihoua, two years later, Ruatara was already flying the Union Jack at his pā (fortification).⁸⁴ That Christmas morning, Marsden, who presided over the ceremony wrote:

When I went upon deck I saw the English flag flying. I considered it the signal and the dawn of Civilization, Liberty and Religion in that dark and benighted land.

⁸¹ Judith Binney with Vincent Ward and Alan Ward, 'Wars and Survival 1860-1872', in Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, pp.284-285.

⁸² Binney, O'Malley and Ward, 'Wars and Survival, 1860-1872', p.284.

⁸³ Geoffrey Troughton, 'Samuel Marsden and the Origins of a New Zealand Peace Tradition' in Geoffrey Troughton (ed.), *Saints and Stirrers: Christianity, Conflict and Peacemaking in New Zealand, 1814-1945*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2017, p.33.

⁸⁴ 'The First Christmas Day in New Zealand', *Manawatu Standard*, 29 December 1905, p. 7.

I never viewed the British Colors with more gratification, and flattered myself that they would never be removed till the Natives of that island enjoyed all the happiness of British subjects.⁸⁵

Lay missionary and carpenter William Hall wrote to Reverend Josiah Pratt in October 1815, stating that the first item he built at ‘Tippoonah’ [Te Puna, an island in Wairoa Bay] was a wooden flagstaff on which a Union Jack, made by his wife, was flown every Sunday.⁸⁶ This day, Hall exclaimed, was for worshipping “Atua nue” [nue should read nui], described by Hall as the “Great Jehovah”, a day that Māori were “exceedingly fond of” and who took great effort to see if the flag was hoisted.⁸⁷

In 1822, Church Missionary Society missionary John Butler wrote to the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Thomas Brisbane, requesting that a flag to be hoisted on Sundays be sent, as the natives knew not to work when it was flying.⁸⁸ Missionaries at the Te Waimate Mission flew a flag bearing a cross and the words ‘Rongopai’ as a symbol of the good news of the gospel of peace.⁸⁹

In 1814, Ngāpuhi chief Tara flew his own flag at Kororāreka, showing the Union Jack flying on the deck of the *Active*.⁹⁰ According to Salmond, “Flags were like raahui poles, which staked out mana, and often had a local rangatira’s garment tied to them.”⁹¹ By 1815, some of the hilltop pā had flagpoles and flags as a sign of mana.⁹²

⁸⁵ Marsden’s Account of Proceedings, 20 June 1815, HL MS 55/4, 24 cited in Anne Salmond, *Tears of Rangī: Experiments Across Worlds*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017, pp.80-81.

⁸⁶ William Hall to Reverend Josiah Pratt, 24 October 1815, Marsden Online Archive, last modified October 3, 2014, http://www.marsdenarchive.otago.ac.nz/MS_0055_024 (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁸⁷ Hall to Pratt, 24 October 1815, Marsden Online Archive, http://www.marsdenarchive.otago.ac.nz/MS_0055_024 (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁸⁸ Reverend John Butler to Governor of NSW Thomas Makdougall Brisbane, 5 January 1822, Marsden Online Archive, last modified October 6, 2014,

http://www.marsdenarchive.otago.ac.nz/MS_0057_063 William Hall to Reverend Josiah Pratt, 24 October 1815, Marsden Online Archive, last modified October 3, 2014, http://www.marsdenarchive.otago.ac.nz/MS_0055_024 (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁸⁹ Geoffrey Troughton, ‘Samuel Marsden and the Origins of a New Zealand Peace Tradition’, in Troughton (ed.), *Saints and Stirrers*, p 33.

⁹⁰ Salmond, *Tears of Rangī*, p.71.

⁹¹ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p.439.

⁹² Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p.511.

The pou (posts) or rāhui (prohibition) poles being referred to were a cultural practice employed by Māori to delineate territories between peoples. As Chapter Three will show, many tribes used flagpoles in this fashion, often to show their relationship towards the British Crown, and subsequently, whether or not those Māori wished to sell land to the government.

White for Peace, Red for War

White flags would continue to be used to signal Sabbath days within Māori communities in the following decades, as well as becoming known by Māori as signals of truce. A red flag flown by Māori, however, was a declaration of war. In these instances, Māori used flags as signals to convey information.⁹³ A small red flag was flown by Hōne Heke Pōkai as he and 150 men, commanded under Te Ruki Kawiti, attacked British forces.⁹⁴ Another red flag was flown in 1846 when the Surveyor-General, Charles Ligar, accompanied a group of Ngāti Tipa to purchase land that was contested by Ngāti Pou.⁹⁵ On this occasion, allies of Ngāti Pou, Ngāti Te Ata, hoisted a red flag to signal their intention of going into combat.

A red flag was flown again in 1847 by Whanganui ‘rebels’ in an attempt to draw troops, with the flying of the flag resulting in an exchange of haka between the ‘rebels’ and Māori from Putiki.⁹⁶ A white flag then emerged, whereupon a discussion was had between Hori Kingi Te Anaua, the leader of Pūtiki, and Te Oro, the leader of the rebels. It was agreed that whenever the white flag was seen, they would agree to speak. In 1861, a white flag flew from Matarikoriko while Māori fled the pā, after which the 65th Regiment replaced the King’s flag with a Union Jack.⁹⁷ Marsden, citing the exchange between Hongi Hika of Ngāpuhi and Te Hinaki of Ngāti Paoa in 1821 during the ‘Musket Wars’ period, wrote:

⁹³ Raymond Firth, *Symbols: Public and Private*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1973, p.332.

⁹⁴ ‘Official Summary of the Military’, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 26 July 1845, p.83.

⁹⁵ ‘Auckland’, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 5 September 1846, p.107.

⁹⁶ “Wellington”, From the “Wellington Spectator”, August 4, 1847 cited in *New Zealander*, 4 September 1847, p.3.

⁹⁷ ‘Continuation of Journal’, *Taranaki Herald*, 5 January 1861, p.2.

Shunghee [Hongi Hika] blew his Trumpet, and watched thro' his Glass Ennakees [Te Hinaki] movements— Shunghee [Hongi Hika] was a little afraid of Enakkee [Te Hinaki], his Army was very strong—Shunghee [Hongi Hika] then called his oldest Son Charles, a youth about 16. Or 17. Years of Age; and desired him to take a long Spear, and tie an Handkerchief at the End of it, and take a Chief and a few men with him, and bear it as a Flag of Truce towards Enakkees [Te Hinaki] Army; as Shunghee [Hongi Hika] wished to have a Parley with Enakkee [Te Hinaki] before any Action took place— When Enakkee [Te Hinaki] observed Shunghee's [Hongi Hika] Son, with the Flag, advancing towards his camp, he sent out his eldest Son Rupee with a spear in one Hand, and a toma-hawk in the other, to shew that he would come to no Parley— When Charles & the Chief came within Gun shot Enakkee [Te Hinaki] fired and shot the Chief thro the Head, when he fell...⁹⁸

From the 1830s, flags were flown at the top of large hākari (feast) stages. The whata (stages) were huge pyramid or cone-shaped structures that could be up to thirty metres high, with one such stage being recorded as being two miles long.⁹⁹ Demonstrating a large amount of food was one method of showing people the wealth of the local tribe.¹⁰⁰ Captain R.A. Oliver wrote of a hākari stage he witnessed:

Having received a requisition from the Governor to proceed to the Bay of Islands where a large [sic] of natives were assembled to celebrate a Feast I started for that place, and found upon my arrival at Korirarika [Kororāreka] that an enormous scaffolding had been erected it consisted of upright poles of different heights supported by others on each side their head sloping inwards till they met the uprights whence they were lashed securely, about every ten or twelve feet were stages or platforms on which were built up provisions and the natives went up and stood there adorning the poles with pieces of calico and blankets their fabric was likened by some of our people to gothic cathedral but the best smilie was to the Houses of Parliament with a streamer of calico on each weather cock.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Reverend Samuel Marsden, *Journal: Marsden's Personal Copy of the Journal of his Fourth Visit to New Zealand*, Marsden Online Archive, last modified October 3, 2014, http://www.marsdenarchive.otago.ac.nz/MS_0177_004 (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁹⁹ Basil Keane, 'Māori feasts and ceremonial eating – hākari - 19th-century hākari', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-feasts-and-ceremonial-eating-hakari/page-3> (accessed 6 January 2018).

¹⁰⁰ Keane, 'Māori feasts and ceremonial eating – hākari - 19th-century hākari', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-feasts-and-ceremonial-eating-hakari/page-3> (accessed 6 January 2018).

¹⁰¹ R.A. Oliver, MS, Alexander Turnbull Library, 45-47, in Sarah Treadwell, 'Representations of Hakari Architecture', cited in Alex Calder, Jonathan Lamb, and Bridget Orr (eds.), *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999, p.270.



Fig 13. *Hākari Stage* by Richard Aldworth Oliver, *Bay of Islands*, 1849.¹⁰²

First New Zealand Flag: Flag of the United Tribes 1834

The adoption of flags by Māori as a result of their contact with missionaries paved the way for their subsequent adoption as a device on Māori-owned trading ships. Again, as had been the case with using flags to communicate Sabbath days, or peaceful or warring intentions, Māori now furthered the use of flags in the pursuit of trade. Northern Māori took the lead in this area as, by the 1820s, they were becoming increasingly integrated into global trading networks. Entangled with the status of trading ships owned by Māori was also the constitutional position of New Zealand. Questions as to whether or not the country was a ‘Dependency’ of the British colony of New South Wales led to the selection of a flag to represent Māori, as well as the Declaration of Independence that was signed by Māori in 1835.

As previously noted, much of the interaction between Māori and European immigrants took place in the Far North. Settlements bordered the Hokianga Harbour, including one community named Horeke, also named ‘Deptford’ (named after the first Royal Dockyard, Deptford, on the River Thames, between the mid-sixteenth century and the late nineteenth century), where a shipyard was established, with some fifty Englishmen instructing Māori in how to build vessels.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Richard Aldworth Oliver, 1995-0003-1, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

¹⁰³ Jack Lee, *Hokianga*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1987, p.48.

When the *New Zealander*, built at Horeke, sailed on its maiden voyage to Sydney in 1828 with no flag or register (a legal requirement for any trading or merchant ship, under the Imperial Merchant Shipping Act), the New South Wales government granted the owner, Thomas Raine, a temporary licence to trade, but refused to register the ship.¹⁰⁴ The New South Wales (NSW) Colonial Secretary, Alexander MacLeay, wrote to Francis Rossi (the Acting Collector of Customs for NSW):

I am directed to inform you that, according to the opinion of these officers, no Register can be legally granted at this port to the vessel in question under the Act of Geo IV Cap 110; but H.E. [His Excellency] sees no objection to your clearing out the *New Zealander* for New Zealand, and giving him a certificate, stating that she was built there by British subjects in the actual employment of persons resident in the Colony; and that there is no objection on the part of the Government of New South Wales to her trading between this place and New Zealand, until the pleasure of H.M. [His Majesty's] Government can be obtained respecting an application for a British Register for her; you are not, however, to give the certificate, until Mr Raine shall have given you a letter, agreeing to accept of such certificate upon his own responsibility, and not to consider the Colonial Government answerable for the protection of the vessel.¹⁰⁵

Thomas Raine himself then corresponded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir George Murray, that:

Under the full impression that the Islands of New Zealand were a Dependency of this Colony, I, about two years ago, formed an establishment on the North West part of the Northern Island at a place called Hokianga, which has now risen in consequence to a place of some consideration. With such views and impressions, I have built two vessels, one called the *Enterprise* and the other the *New Zealander*... and beg most respectfully to solicit that in this case be taken into consideration and a Register be ordered to be given for the vessel.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Despatches in the Mitchell Library, Sydney; MS papers 0009-03, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹⁰⁵ 29 December 1828: Colonial Secretary MacLean to F.N. Rossi in 'Historical Records of Australia' Ser. 1. Vol. XIV. (p.932) in 'Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834' in 'Flags of New Zealand' – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1. 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁰⁶ 3 January 1829 T Raine to Sir George Murray in in 'Historical Records of Australia' Ser. 1. Vol. XIV. (p.603-4) in 'Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834' in 'Flags of New Zealand' – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1. 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Following Raine's request to Murray, the Governor of New South Wales, Ralph Darling, noted to Murray that, although the commissions to Governors Arthur Phillip and Sir Thomas Brisbane had been locally interpreted as giving jurisdiction to New Zealand, and although Governor Lachlan Macquarie had appointed Thomas Kendall as a Justice of the Peace 'at the Bay of Islands and throughout the Island of New Zealand' in 1814, prior to 1829, no official decision had been made by the Secretary of the Colonies regarding whether or not New Zealand was a Dependency of New South Wales.¹⁰⁷

These ambiguities surrounding the status of New Zealand vessels became, as we shall see, one of the catalysts for the adoption of flags. The *Sydney Gazette* weighed in on the legal dilemma of the *New Zealander* and printed the following:

Cannot we understand why be admitted to the Privileges of Colonial Registry, until the matter has been referred to the Home Government, but will be permitted to trade with New Zealand, in the mean time as a Colonial vessel, under a Letter of Licence from the Collector of Customs. By the 5th Section of the late Registry Act vessels entitled to be registered as British must be wholly built in British Dominions or Colonies, or have been condemned as Prize of War for breach of laws.

As the adjacent islands of the South Seas (affording so extensive a field for the exertions of our missionaries) must be considered at least under British protection we trust that the Representations of the local Government will obtain some enlargement of the statue during the next session of Parliament, which may convey the necessary authority to the Registering Officers here.

The building of ships in New Zealand with the finest of timber on the spot, by British subjects from home must add desirably to our commercial Navy, and by diminishing our wants of foreign shipping, restrain expenditure of the Colony: -whilst the introduction by such means of British arts amongst the natives of this and other Islands of the Polynesian Archipelago may promote their civilisation.

¹⁰⁷ 4 January 1829: Governor Darling to Sir George Murray in *Historical Records of Australia* Ser. 1. Vol. XIV. (p.931) in *Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834 in Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

We may add that the footing upon which the importations into England of New Zealand flax is placed under recent Customs Acts, would favour the probability of some concession in Parliament in respect of ships built there, and we hope, therefore, the point will be gained.¹⁰⁸

In 1833, it was noted by the *Sydney Gazette* that the *New Zealander* was flying a black flag with three red daggers.¹⁰⁹ Three years previously, Sydney customs officials impounded another Hokianga-built ship, the *Sir George Murray*, that was carrying timber and flax, for having no flag or register.¹¹⁰ It was owned by Ngāpuhi chiefs Patuone and Te Taonui. The barque arrived in Sydney flying a ‘Maori mat’ as a flag;¹¹¹ at times, Māori sailed their own “distinctive flag of woven flax fibre such as a paki (flax rain cloak).”¹¹² At issue was, yet again, that New Zealand did not have an official flag and nor could ships fly the British flag, as New Zealand was not yet a British colony. Without a flag, a ship and its cargo could be impounded and seized.¹¹³

Despite efforts to be granted a temporary licence, no such courtesy was extended, and the ship was impounded at Neutral Bay and subsequently sold at auction to Thomas McDonnell, a timber merchant based in the Hokianga (McDonnell was later appointed as the Additional British Resident in New Zealand), for £1300, in January 1831.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ *Sydney Gazette* 15 January 1829 in Mitchell Library to James Laurenson, 17 March 1937 in MS Papers–009-3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁰⁹ *Sydney Gazette* 7 March 1833 in Mitchell Library to James Laurenson, 17 March 1937 in MS Papers–009-3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹¹⁰ The ship arrived on 18 November 1830. The Editor of the *Australian* proposed that rather than waiting for a reply from England, the vessel should be granted a licence as was the case with the *New Zealander*. This was not done as a note dated the 17 December 1830 stated that the schooner must lie in port until instructions are received from the Board of Customs in England. Mitchell Library to James Laurenson, 4 March 1937 and 8 February 1937 in MS-Papers-0009-3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹¹¹ *Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834 in Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library and Sutherland, A. *Flags of New Zealand, The New Zealand Numismatic Journal*, 1959, p.2. The claim of a Māori-made flag being flown has been contested. See: 17 March 1937 in MS Papers – 009-3, Alexander Turnbull Library and Secretary of the Hokianga Hospital Board to James Laurenson, 4 February 1936 in MS Papers-0009-4A, Alexander Turnbull Library and James Laurenson who declared it was “wrong” in MS Papers-009-06, Alexander Turnbull Library. T. Lindsay Buick believed the ship flew a Union Jack going into harbour and a kaitaka when departing. See: T. Lindsay Buick, *The Centenary of a Flag, Dominion*, 20 March 1934 in IAW1917 Box 4 81/2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹² *Ngāpuhi Speaks: Independent Report 2012*, Te Kawariki & Network Waitangi Whangarei, 2012, p.55.

¹¹³ C. Fitzgerald, (ed.), *Te Wiremu: Henry Williams Early Years in the North*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2011, p.231.

¹¹⁴ *The Australian*, 21 January 1831; correspondence from Mitchell Library, Sydney, MS Papers 0009-03, Alexander Turnbull Library.

In March 1831, McDonnell set off for the Hokianga in the *Sir George Murray*, even though the vessel still had no recognised register from Britain. However, Patuone and Te Taonui, did issue the following register:

To all whom these presents shall come.

We, the Principal Chiefs of Hokianga in the Island of New Zealand, Patuone and Tao Nui send greeting, to say that Thomas McDonnell, a resident and land holder in our country, is the sole owner of the barque or vessel called Sir George Murray... that the said barque or vessel... was built in our territories of our timber... that she is built by Andrew Sommerville, an Englishman... the two principal chiefs... we further certify that aforesaid Thomas McDonnell is entitled to all the privileges and immunities of a chief at Hokianga in the island of New Zealand.

Hokianga, N.Z., 2d June 1831.¹¹⁵

The ‘registration’ was deemed a ‘true copy’ by the Chief for all Affairs of the East India Company in China, dated “Macao, 21/03/1833.”¹¹⁶ However, McDonnell did fly a flag from the ship, reported as the first New Zealand colours and described as “the English St George ensign, the ground of one quarter being blue, and having a half moon at its centre.”¹¹⁷

In 1831, McDonnell wrote to Alexander McLeay (a member of the NSW Legislative and Executive Councils) regarding the “...precarious tenor, on which the property and lives of British Settlers hang at this Port [Hokianga], and indeed from what I can learn, other parts of New Zealand.”¹¹⁸ McDonnell laid a case for McLeay to support some further action with regard to correcting lawlessness in New Zealand. McDonnell also opined that he feared the country may fall into the hands of another country and he begged McLeay to take action that would ‘pave the way for more general intercourse and Colonization.’

¹¹⁵ Mitchell Library to James Laurensen, 3 October 1935, in MS Papers-0009-3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹¹⁶ Mitchell Library to James Laurensen, 3 October 1935, in MS Papers-0009-3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹¹⁷ From an edition of the *Sydney Herald* (22 August 1831), cited in ‘It all began at Horeke’, *Northland Age*, 14 June 2016, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ McDonnell to McLeay, 9 June 1831 in MS Papers-0009-3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

In response to McDonnell's correspondence, McLeay then requested a statement of the proceedings from William Yate regarding the Church Missionary Society.¹¹⁹ Yate responded that Māori complained of the cruelty inflicted upon them by the crews that were sailing to New Zealand and the general state of lawlessness. As a proposed action, Yate stated that Māori would be content with being placed under British protection and to have a person with power able to enforce laws. The correspondence was then relayed to the New South Wales Governor, Ralph Darling, who addressed the problem with the Colonial Secretary and former British Prime Minister, Fredrick Robinson.

The solution was to appoint British Resident James Busby and have him facilitate the selection of a flag to represent Māori and their vessels in international trade. In September 1833, Busby wrote to the Governor of New South Wales to:

Induce the New Zealand tribes in any transaction of international character to act in their collective capacity, and suggesting that the adoption of a national flag to be acknowledged and respected as much by the British Government might prove the means in some measure of effecting this object.¹²⁰

The New South Wales Executive Council agreed with Busby's request and proposed that any selected flag should be forwarded to His Majesty for approval.¹²¹ Māori were actively involved in the design and selection of the flag. Busby and a collective of twenty-five northern Māori chiefs met at Busby's farm at Waitangi on March 20, 1834, to select the first official flag to represent the country. Busby earlier wrote to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales that the 'natives' had become aware of a register that had been granted to then-owner of the *New Zealander*, Grose, and that they "...are now perfectly aware of the nature of that document, and that they were exceedingly indignant at the seizure of the SIR GEORGE MURRAY."¹²²

¹¹⁹ Yate to McLeay, 1 September 1831 in MS Papers-0009-3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹²⁰ Extract from Minute No.18 of the Proceedings of the NSW Executive Council on the 7 September 1833 in MS Papers-009-06, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹²¹ Extract from Minute No.18 of the Proceedings of the NSW Executive Council on the 7 September 1833 in MS Papers-009-06, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹²² Extract of Busby to Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 13 May 1833 in MS-Papers-0009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Busby had earlier rejected a design forwarded from the Australian authorities on the basis that it did not contain the colour red, a colour Māori regard as a sign of rank.¹²³ The design of the flag included the Union Jack in the canton and seven alternating strips.¹²⁴

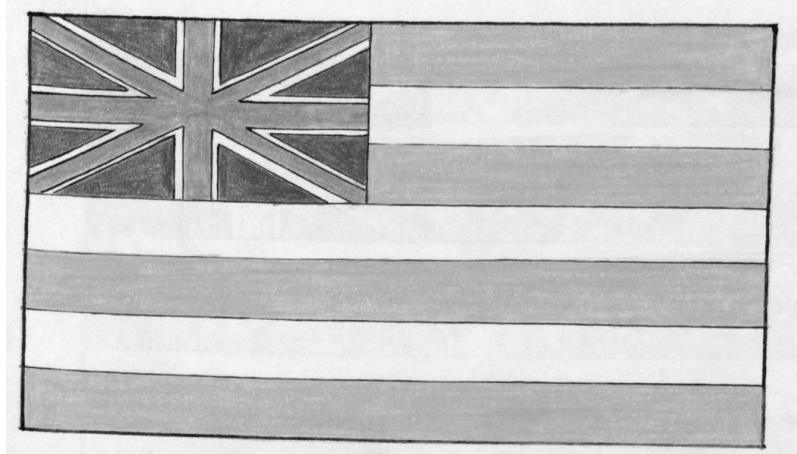


Fig 14. *Rejected flag design by Māori in 1834.*¹²⁵

Missionary Richard Taylor highlighted the significance of the colour red to Māori in *Te Ika a Maui*:

The way of rendering anything tapu, was by making it red. When a person died, his house was thus painted; when the tapu was laid on anything, the chief erected a post and painted it with the kura [red]; wherever a corpse rested, some memorial was set up; oftentimes the nearest stone, rock, or tree served as a monument; but whatever object was selected, it was sure to be painted red.¹²⁶

¹²³ The Secretary of Admiralty to James Laurenson, 3 June 1935 in MS-Papers-0009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹²⁴ *Code of Signals for New South Wales* printed in *Australian Almanack* (New South Wales), 1832, in *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1. 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library. The flag was prepared in Sydney by Captain Sadler of the 'Buffalo' and taken to New Zealand in November 1833. See: The Secretary of Admiralty to James Laurenson, 3 June 1935 in MS-Papers-0009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹²⁵ From *Code of Signals for New South Wales* in the *Australian Almanack* (New South Wales) 1832 in MS 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹²⁶ Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui: New Zealand and Its Inhabitants*, London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855, pp.95-96.

Busby called on Reverend Henry Williams, a Church Missionary Society clergyman living in the Hokianga, who had experience drawing naval ensigns from his time with the Royal Navy, to draft three designs.¹²⁷ Once drawn, the designs were sent to Governor Richard Bourke in Sydney who had the drawings sewn and returned on the *HMS Alligator*.¹²⁸

Busby recalled the event to the Colonial Secretary:

I lost no time in requesting the chiefs assemble on Thursday 20th instant, and I also sent invitations to the respectable settlers and to the Commanders of ten British and three American ships then in the Harbour to witness the ceremony. These, with the officers of H.M. ship “Alligator” and a portion of the missionaries, formed a party of from fifty to sixty persons of respectability, who were present on the occasion.

The Chiefs assembled to the number of 25 with a considerable number of followers. They were received under a large awning which had been erected by Captain Lambert’s direction near my house, and which was decorated with Flags. Captain Lambert having agreed with me that on such an occasion the British Ensign ought to be hoisted in front of my house, he was good enough to send me one from the ship for the occasion. A flag staff was also erected in front of the awning where the Chiefs were to assemble. Those preparations having been completed, the three flags were exhibited on short poles in front of the awning, and I proceeded to deliver an address of which a translation is herewith enclosed.

After the conclusion of this address I called over the names of the Chiefs and requested them as they answered to their names to proceed within the Bar which had been placed across the awning. They were then asked in regular succession upon which of the three flags their choice fell, and their votes were taken down by a son of one of their number who has been educated by the Missionaries, and who with several others appeared on the occasion respectably dressed in European clothing. I was glad to observe that they gave their votes freely, and appeared to have a clear understanding of the nature of the proceeding.

¹²⁷ Fitzgerald, (ed.), *Te Wiremu*, p.231.

¹²⁸ Fitzgerald, (ed.), *Te Wiremu*, p.231.

The vote given for the respective Flags were – three – ten – and twelve; and the greater number having proved in favour of the flag previously adopted by the Missionaries [Church Missionary Society] it was declared to be the National Flag of New Zealand, and having been immediately hoisted on the Flagstaff, was saluted with 21 guns by the Ship of War.¹²⁹

The address delivered by Busby was:

Dear Friends.

The King of Great Britain has acknowledged you as his Friends by sending me to reside at New Zealand as his Resident. And he wishes his subjects to trade with you, and that they should be just and friendly to you and you to them. But for the Ships built at New Zealand to trade, there is no Flag, and ships having no Flag will be seized.

It is desirable therefore that the chiefs should choose a Flag for New Zealand, and the ships built there then be permitted to trade in the Harbours of the King of Great Britain. That is what I wrote on behalf of the chiefs of New Zealand, and in answer to my representations the Captain of one of King William's Ships of War has brought three flags.

I have therefore assembled the Chiefs that they might choose which Flag will be the Flag of New Zealand. The choice must be made by the principal chiefs only. Some of them may desire one Flag, some another flag, let every chief judge for himself which is best, but the flag which is chosen by the greatest number will be the National Flag of New Zealand, no other than it will be acknowledged. When the Flag is chosen the Captain of the Ship of War will convey it to Great Britain to lay it at the foot of the King, and should it meet the King's approbation the Ships which bear this Flag will not be seized but will be received into the Harbour of King William to trade.

Let the Chiefs and people of New Zealand judge from this how much the King of Great Britain is their Friend, and let them be kind to his subjects.¹³⁰

Witnessing proceedings that day was the assistant surgeon of the *HMS Alligator*, William Marshall. He observed:

¹²⁹ Extract of a letter from the British Resident, New Zealand, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, 22 March 1834 in MS-Papers-009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹³⁰ Extract of a letter from the British Resident, New Zealand, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, 22 March 1834 in MS-Papers-009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

My friend Hau came to me to consult me as to which he should vote for, and having discovered how my taste lay, paid me the compliment of adopting it, and canvassed others for their votes also; it was the one finally chosen... two of the head men declined voting, apparently apprehensive lest under this ceremony lay hid some sinister design on our parts, and, had anything like freedom of debate had been encouraged, instead of suppressed, before proceeding with the election, I have little doubt but that the real sentiments of those present would have been elicited.¹³¹

The design of the flag was described thus:

On a white ground, St. George's Cross. In upper quarter, next staff, on blue ground, St. George's Cross, the cross having an edge of white, half the width of the red, and in each quarter thereof, a white 8-pointed star. The Flag was 16 feet long by 10 feet broad.¹³²

Missionary William Yate wrote that vessels bearing the signature of a 'Native Chief' that was countersigned by the British Resident and "hoisting the National Standard would be allowed to trade in all His Majesty's ports and will be provided the same protection as ships that fly the Union Jack."¹³³

Over time, various people have speculated that the stars on the United Tribes of New Zealand Flag, as it came to be called, represented the Southern Cross. However, according to New Zealand historian James Laurenson, that supposition is not valid and the stars actually represent the stars of England.¹³⁴ Laurenson was also keen to ascertain who had altered the original flag design, which contained a broad black fimbriation with a narrow white fimbriation.

¹³¹ William Barrett Marshall, *A Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand in his Majesty's Ship Alligator AD 1834*, London: James Nesbit and Co., 1836, p. 108. Within *Flags of New Zealand* – compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1. 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library. It is recorded that Motu Tongaporutu Moetara selected the flag on behalf of the chiefs. Tongaporutu was a recognised Ngāpuhi chief who died in 1838 and was present at the hui to select a national flag at Waitangi in 1834. See: Angela Ballara, Henare Arekatera Tate and John Klaricich. 'Moetara Motu Tongaporutu', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 2010. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m45/moetara-motu-tongaporutu> (accessed 23 March 2018).

¹³² The Secretary of Admiralty to James Laurenson, 3 June 1935 in MS-Papers-0009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹³³ William Yate, *An Account of New Zealand and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island*, (2nd edn.), London: Richard Watts, 1835. p.29.

¹³⁴ James Laurenson, *The New Zealand Flag* manuscript, QMS-1136, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, p.4.

The Secretary of the Admiralty stated that they were unsure whether or not the alteration was the result of a mistake made by a draughtsman or official action.¹³⁵



Fig 15. *United Tribes Flag*.¹³⁶

Following the decision, the flag was flown up a flag pole and received a twenty-one-gun salute from the *HMS Alligator*. The ensign was sent via Governor Bourke to King William IV, who approved the design and, a circular was sent for it to be recognised as the flag representing New Zealand. The Colonial Secretary's Office in Sydney wrote:

conveying His Majesty's approbation of an arrangement made by this Government for complying with the wishes of the Chiefs of New Zealand to adopt a National Flag in their collective capacity, and also of the Register of Vessels, built in that country, granted by the Chiefs and certified by the British Resident, being considered as valid instruments, and respected as such in the intercourse which those Vessels may hold with the British Possessions.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Secretary of the Admiralty to James Laurenson, 6 September 1937 in MS-Papers-0009-4b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹³⁶ Drawing of Lieutenant Phillips of HMS Alligator at 'New Zealand – Flags of the United Tribes of New Zealand', 28 November, 2014, https://fotw.info/flags/nz_hist2.html (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹³⁷ Alexander McLeay, Colonial Secretary's Office Gazette Notice, Sydney, 17 August 1835, New Zealand in *Ngapuhi Speaks: Independent Report 2012*, Te Kawariki & Network Waitangi Whangarei, 2012, Plate 2. These words have been repeated from a letter dated 17 November 1834 from Prime Minister Charles Grey writing on behalf of Secretary Thomas Spring Rice. See: MS-Papers-0009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

The result of the notice was that the flag was granted the protection of the British Navy.¹³⁸ Ngāpuhi academic, Dr Patu Hohepa, testified in later years that “The formal recognition of the flag by chiefs, by the King, by Parliament and by the British Admiralty, formalised Aotearoa as a recognised Nation – a Trading Nation with a recognised flag.”¹³⁹

As to how Māori viewed the flag, the Select Committee of the House of Lords on New Zealand suggested that neither European settlers nor Māori placed much value on the flag as a symbol of Māori national unity or independence, but that the flag was of more use to the Hokianga ship-building industry.¹⁴⁰ This statement is highly contestable, as – in subsequent years – the flag became known throughout the country as trading ships flew it when visiting coastal bays, and the flag flew at the signing of the Declaration of Independence the following year.¹⁴¹

The flag was also viewed on shore. In 1835, Robert Fitzroy (a visiting naval captain and future Governor of New Zealand) saw it flying at the Bay of Islands, and the following year, it was sighted flying not far from Waitangi.¹⁴² Writing from Ship Cove in Queen Charlotte Sound, in 1839, William Wakefield stated he had seen the ‘New Zealand Flag’ flying at the native village and that, “This, I presume, has been established as a custom by the missionaries in the places they have visited. Having had the flag made during our voyage, I had it hoisted on the occasion and saluted in with eight guns.”¹⁴³

¹³⁸ A. Sutherland, *Flags of New Zealand*, *The New Zealand Numismatic Journal*, 1959, p.4. Sutherland was employed in the Office of the Editor Parliamentary Debates, Parliament, Wellington.

¹³⁹ P. Hohepa, in *Ngāpuhi Speaks*, p.56. The recognition of an international identity for New Zealand as a result of the United Tribes flag can be found at: ‘Brief of Evidence of Manuka Henare on behalf of Te Runanga o Te Rarawa for Wai 45’, 23 August 2012.

¹⁴⁰ Nancy Pearce, *The New Zealand National Flag – A Historical Note*, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, 1955, pp.107-129.

¹⁴¹ Fitzgerald, (ed.), *Te Wiremu*, pp.231-232. Ngāpuhi called the flag “The Flag of Whakaminenga o nga Hapu o Aotearoa” or “The Flag of Te Whakaminenga o Nga Rangatira”. See: *Ngāpuhi Speaks*, p.56.

¹⁴² Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1987, p.21.

¹⁴³ Extract from *Journal of W. Wakefield*, 17 August 1839 in MS-Papers-0009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Wakefield later learned that the flag was hoisted at the request of Ngarewa "...to attract the attention of any rebel entering the Sound with a view to monopolizing any benefits likely to arise from the visit for his own village."¹⁴⁴ Historian T. Lindsay Buick argued almost a century later that the flag selected in 1834 at Waitangi was indeed a 'national flag.'¹⁴⁵ He wrote:

The flag, therefore, was a recognition of the independence of the country... The presentation of the flag, then, must be regarded as one of the ways in which, in the words of Lord John Russell, "King William IV made the most solemn and authentic declaration which it was possible to make, that New Zealand was a substantive and independent country."¹⁴⁶

In February 1934, the commemorations at Waitangi in February were centred at Te Tii Marae, with some 10,000 people in attendance. With it being 100 years since the United Tribes flag had been selected and, in doing so, Māori independence was recognised, a replica of the flag was flown as well as a Union Jack, although the former was not noted in the record of the events.¹⁴⁷

The flag adopted in 1834 would prove an enduring symbol of Māori independence and was subsequently adopted by a range of Māori movements as a means of asserting their autonomy and desire to control their own affairs. Interestingly, it would also, as will be later discussed in this chapter, be adopted by some early European settlers as a symbol of dissent against the decision to establish New Zealand as a formal colony of Britain.

¹⁴⁴ Extract from Journal of W. Wakefield, 17 August 1839 in MS-Papers-0009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁴⁵ T. Lindsay Buick in IAW1917 Box 4 81/2, National Archives of New Zealand. Buick wrote the article *The Centenary of a Flag, Dominion*, 20 March 1934.

¹⁴⁶ T. Lindsay Buick in IAW1917 Box 4 81/2, National Archives of New Zealand. Buick wrote the article *The Centenary of a Flag, Dominion*, 20 March 1934.

¹⁴⁷ Claudia Orange, *An Illustrated History of The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2004, p.125.

Ngāi Tahu and the United Tribes Flag

Ngāi Tahu continued to fly the United Tribes Flag subsequent to the Treaty of Waitangi being signed. In doing so, the southernmost tribe in New Zealand was demonstrating the significance it attributed to New Zealand's first flag and gave rise to the ensign being considered to represent Māori 'nationwide.' The first example of the flag being flown by Ngāi Tahu was chief Tūhawaiki, who flew it on Ruapuke Island in Foveaux Strait until his death in 1844, as a sign that he did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi.¹⁴⁸

In 1901, J.H.W. Uru, of Rangiora, presented a petition to Parliament on behalf of Ngāi Tahu to retain the United Tribes Flag as the flag representing New Zealand.¹⁴⁹ A newspaper report stated that the petitioners from Kaiapoi, Arowhenua, Waihao and Westport, "...have heard with astonishment the statement that there never was a national flag of New Zealand."¹⁵⁰ Having retold the history of the flag, albeit the flag being mistakenly reported as having been proclaimed as the New Zealand flag in 1835, Ngāi Tahu Māori took offence upon hearing that the Royal Navy could haul down any flag they pleased, although it was argued the same force "...has no right to treat with indignity the flag of an independent country."¹⁵¹

Despite the newspaper noting that New Zealand joined the British Empire following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Ngāi Tahu "cannot see that this makes any difference."¹⁵² When asked for comment regarding the New Zealand flag, they remarked that "...it does very well for the Pakeha-Maori colony, but that other is the historic standard of this country and they want it officially recognised as it was recognised in 1835."¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ 'Pre-1840 and Historical Flags', from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/flags/page-2> (accessed 16 Jun 2020).

¹⁴⁹ 'News of the Day', *Press*, 19 August 1901, p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ 'Political Notes', *Lyttelton Times*, 22 August 1901, p. 6.

¹⁵¹ 'Political Notes', *Lyttelton Times*, 22 August 1901, p. 6.

¹⁵² 'Political Notes', *Lyttelton Times*, 22 August 1901, p. 6.

¹⁵³ 'Political Notes', *Lyttelton Times*, 22 August 1901, p. 6.

Late that year, the new rūnanga house was opened at Rapaki, whereupon George Robinson, of Little River, hoisted above the pā the 1834 flag “...and explained to those assembled that he had brought it with him so that it might typify the presence of the old New Zealand natives.”¹⁵⁴

Second New Zealand Flag: Union Jack 1840

The Union Jack became New Zealand’s second flag following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The Union Jack was hoisted at the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi¹⁵⁵, and at Horikaka Pā, Horahora Kāhahu Island, Port Underwood.¹⁵⁶ There, Major Thomas Bunbury and Captain Joseph Nias discussed it being worthy of proclaiming the Queen’s authority over the Middle Island [South Island] “as the most effectual means of preventing further dissensions among the natives and Europeans.”¹⁵⁷ A proclamation was read as follows:

This island, called Tavai Poenamoo [Te Wai Pounamu]... having been ceded in sovereignty by the several independent native chiefs to Her Most Gracious Majesty, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the said island was accordingly taken possession of, and formally proclaimed, and Her Majesty’s colours hoisted at the pah of Horikaka, Cloudy Bay, under salute of 21 guns, on the 17th June, 1840, by Captain Joseph Nias, commanding Her Majesty’s ship Herald, and by Major Thomas Bunbury, K.T.S. 80TH Regiment, who were commissioners for that purpose.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ ‘Maori Gathering at Raupaki’, *Press*, 31 December 1901, p. 3.

¹⁵⁵ William Colenso, ‘Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi’, cited in T.L. Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, New Plymouth: Thomas Avery and Sons Limited, 1936, pp. 120 – 121.

¹⁵⁶ Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, p.290.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Observer’, ‘Canterbury Chronicles’, *Saturday Advertiser*, 2 November 1878, p. 17.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Observer’, ‘Canterbury Chronicles’, *Saturday Advertiser*, 2 November 1878, p. 17.

It was also hoisted at Sylvan Bay, Southern Port, Stewart Island, by Captain Nias and Major Bunbury of the *HMS Herald* on June 5, 1840. Here, the Island was taken as a possession of Queen Victoria by the “right of discovery” from Cook’s travels.¹⁵⁹ On September 18, at a promontory at Waitemata Harbour, the Union Jack flew yet again on a flagstaff, as Hobson took formal possession of the land under the name of Her Majesty and named the area Auckland after his patron, the Earl of Auckland.¹⁶⁰

In 1895, Captain David Rough, the first Auckland Harbourmaster, donated a series of watercolours depicting early historical events connected to the founding of the city of Auckland, to the Auckland Museum.¹⁶¹ The third painting is an illustration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi at Waitemata, where the tent owned by Rough, with the Union Jack, can be seen. Describing the scene, Rough wrote:

The chiefs from the neighbouring tribes from Manukau and Waikato having been invited to meet the Governor, a tent was pitched on the first day on the west side of the Tamaki [River]; the Union Jack was hoisted, and the treaty of Waitangi spread out for signature on a table at which stood His Excellency, and behind him mounted police in their showy uniform.¹⁶²



Fig.16 *The British Flag hoisted on the shore of the Waitemata, September 18, 1840.*¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ ‘Observer’, ‘Canterbury Chronicles’, *Saturday Advertiser*, 2 November 1878, p. 17.

¹⁶⁰ 21 November 1840, *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* and David Hackett Fischer, *Fairness and Freedom: A History of Two Open Societies: New Zealand and the United States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, p.85.

¹⁶¹ ‘Captain Rough’s Gifts to the Auckland Museum’, *New Zealand Herald*, 1 June 1895, p.5.

¹⁶² ‘The Early Days of Auckland’, *New Zealand Herald*, 11 January 1896, p.1.

¹⁶³ Hocken Pictorial Collections - 12,954 a42, Hocken Library, University of Otago.

The first official act whereby it could be argued it was used to represent New Zealand was in June 1840, after the New Zealand Company was instructed to take down the first flag to represent New Zealand, the flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand, at Petone.¹⁶⁴ Seen as an act of defiance against the British Crown, with the New Zealand Company having declared a form of government on March 2, 1840, with the permission of local chiefs, Colonial Secretary Willoughby Shortland, accompanied by troops and mounted police, took the United Tribes Flag down, read aloud a proclamation of sovereignty, as written by Governor William Hobson, and demanded allegiance to the British Crown.¹⁶⁵

According to Edward Wakefield:

On June 2nd, a boat from Thorndon brought the news to Petone at night, that the Integrity had returned, bearing Lieutenant Shortland (the Colonial Secretary), a detachment of thirty soldiers, and some supernumeraries, consisting of ‘mounted police’ without their horses, constables, etc. It was rumoured that Captain Pearson had reported us at the Bay of Islands as ‘a turbulent set of rebels, who were establishing a republic at Port Nicholson’ and that thirty soldiers had been sent to quell the rebellion!...

The first measure of the Royalist forces was to send a man on shore the next morning to pull down all the New Zealand flags which he might find hoisted. This was probably an experimental measure only; as a single constable [Captain Cole] performed the task very early, almost before any one was up... It was not till the 4th of June that Lieutenant Shortland disembarked at Thorndon, to hoist the Union Jack and read the proclamations of the sovereignty of the Queen of England over New Zealand. A large semblance of the colonists, including Colonel Wakefield and most members of the much-dreaded Council, joined in the proceedings in the most loyal manner, and expressed to Lieutenant Shortland their pleasure of the event.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ E.J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*. London: John Murray, 1845, Vol. I, pp. 298 – 299.

¹⁶⁵ Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*, 298-99.

¹⁶⁶ Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*, pp.297-298.

John Logan Campbell wrote of the Union Jack being flown for the first time from his abode on Brown's Island [Motukorea, Auckland] in late 1840.¹⁶⁷ Ahead of a scheduled visit by the Deputy Governor, two Englishmen had made landfall with picks and shovels to go to the top of hill and dig a hole in which a spar was to be placed and from it the Union Jack flown, with the dignitary proclaiming the island in possession of Her Majesty the Queen. Local chief Kawau, upon learning of the proposed ceremony, told the workers to stop erecting the spar. Another chief, Kanini, had told Kawau that he had sold the island to his two "Rangatira Pakehas" and that he would like to see the Governor to whom the land had been sold. Kawau was alarmed and asked where he would be, and his tribe. When the Deputy Governor arrived, Kawau uttered "Taihoa te rakau!" ("Don't erect the spar").

Following a discussion, it was revealed that the Deputy Governor had arrived to take the island for Government purposes, regardless of which Pākehā laid claim to the title, and that he must proceed with carrying out his instructions. While enjoying a picnic, the boat's crew of the Deputy Governor spliced the ensign to the end of an oar and stuck it into the soft sand of the beach, thus taking formal possession of the island.

An interesting debate regarding the official date on which New Zealand became a colony took place in 1889, as the jubilee year of 1890 was fast approaching. What it demonstrates is the significance non-Māori, at that time, placed on the hoisting of the Union Jack, as opposed to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Wellington-based newspaper, *The New Zealand Mail*, provided three optional dates from 1840: January 22, the day the *Aurora* dropped anchor at Port Nicholson; January 29, the day the Union Jack was hoisted by Captain Hobson at the Bay of Islands; and February 6, the day the Treaty of Waitangi was signed.¹⁶⁸ According to Captain Heales [captain of the *Aurora*], who wrote to the *Auckland Herald* in 1883, formal possession of the colony took place when Hobson hoisted the Union Jack.

¹⁶⁷ J.L. Campbell, *Poenamo: Sketches of the Early Days in New Zealand: Romance and Reality of Antipodean Life in the Infancy of a New Colony*, New Zealand: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1952, pp.195-200.

¹⁶⁸ 'Name the Day', *New Zealand Mail*, 29 November 1889, p.28.

The editor of the *Wanganui Herald* took issue with the suggested dates, dismissing February 6 as being ‘frivolous’, and proposed a fourth date, the day the *New Zealand Constitution Act 1852* was passed.¹⁶⁹ The editor endorsed the view that the date on which New Zealand became a colony was January 29, stating:

The telegram to Lord Onslow, at the opening of the Dunedin Exhibition, runs as follows: -“She [the Queen] highly values the continued expression of the loyalty of the people of New Zealand and authorises you to say that she hopes that the attachment to the Mother Country, which has been unimpaired since the proclamation of sovereignty on the 29th January 1840, may long continued unimpaired.¹⁷⁰

The editor of the *Marlborough Express* waded into the debate, supporting the stance of the *Wanganui Herald* and the Auckland press by re quoting Lord Knutsford’s telegram to Onslow, and again dismissing February 6 as a date suggested by a ‘silly person.’¹⁷¹ John Gordon, an early pioneer of Auckland,¹⁷² wrote to the *New Zealand Herald* to corroborate an account from Dr Daniel Pollen,¹⁷³ regarding the settlement of Russell (as Gordon accompanied Pollen at the time). He wrote:

Directly the people were located at Russell, the Union Jack was hoisted as a sign of the establishment of the British Crown. It was unfurled every morning, and taken down at sunset by my own hands till the last batch of Government employes [sic] were brought to Auckland in the Government brig Victoria, in the later end of 1840, or beginning of 1841.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ ‘Anniversary Day’, *Wanganui Herald*, December 2 1889, p.2.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Anniversary Day’, *Wanganui Herald*, December 2 1889, p.2.

¹⁷¹ ‘The Anniversary Dispute’, *Marlborough Express*, 7 December 1889, p.2.

¹⁷² *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* [Auckland Provincial District], Christchurch: Cyclopaedia Company Ltd, 1902, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc02Cycl-t1-body1-d1-d61-d21.html> (accessed 31 August 2020).

¹⁷³ ‘Pollen, Daniel (1813–96)’, from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/pollen-daniel> (accessed 19 May 2020).

¹⁷⁴ ‘The Foundation of the Colony’, *New Zealand Herald*, 12 December 1889, p.6.

A correspondent for the *New Zealand Herald* then reported that the New Zealand Governor, Lord Onslow, refused to accept January 22 as the date of New Zealand becoming a colony, from some Wellingtonians who were keen to commemorate the landing of the *Aurora*.¹⁷⁵ The reporter was keen to emphasise the provincial jealousies that existed between Auckland and Wellington as to which region was settled first, and asked the question, “What is the birth of New Zealand as a ‘British Dependency’?” The reporter wrote that on January 30, 1840, New Zealand was taken possession of by Great Britain in a show of force by Hobson raising the Union Jack and reading a proclamation of annexation. Further, the reporter relayed an excerpt from the *New Zealand Gazette*, by New Zealand’s first Colonial Secretary, Willoughby Shortland, and dated January 27 1842. It read:

Saturday, the 29th inst., being the second anniversary of the establishment of Her Majesty’s authority in the colony, His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to direct that the day be held a holiday, on which occasion the public offices will be closed.¹⁷⁶

Another notice was published in 1847 to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the colony, with the *Gazette* publishing another notice in January 1890 that January 29 would be acknowledged as the fiftieth anniversary of the colony, with the reporter pleading for January 30 to be acknowledged officially as the correct date. Official commemorations of New Zealand’s Jubilee began on January 28, 1890, with Lord Onslow and dignitaries attending a concert at St James Hall, Auckland.¹⁷⁷ The programme opened with a tableau that illustrated the planting of the Union Jack in 1840, with the background being a painted picture of an English man-o-war in the Bay of Islands. Two groups of Māori and British were on the stage and a round of applause was heard upon the Union Jack being hoisted, with the crowd present singing ‘Rule Britannia.’

¹⁷⁵ ‘Colony’s Birthday’, *New Zealand Herald*, 27 January 1890, p.6.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Colony’s Birthday’, *New Zealand Herald*, 27 January 1890, p.6.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Jubilee Concert’, *New Zealand Herald*, 28 January 1890, p.6.

Status Quo in Akaroa

The most obvious hoisting of the Union Jack in 1840 to assert British sovereignty over New Zealand took place on August 11, when Captain Owen Stanley, of the English ship, *Britomart*, sailed to Akaroa to hoist the Union Jack a week ahead of French colonists. A newspaper report from 1878, however, claimed that the early British settler, Rhodes, was the first to plant a Union Jack on the beach at Akaroa.¹⁷⁸

Buick recounts that Captain Charles Lavaud of the vessel *L'Aube* overheard that British sovereignty had been proclaimed by Hobson in July 1840, and the Union Jack flew over his residence as evidence of the fact.¹⁷⁹ Lavaud had been issued instructions from France to hoist a French flag at Akaroa to establish a colony under his protection. The project was under the jurisdiction of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, which believed that it had acquired the territory of Banks Peninsula from a French whaling captain, Jean Langlois. The Company enjoyed a strong relationship with the French government, which resulted in Lavaud arriving to New Zealand. Lavaud's instructions were to hoist the French flag on property at Akaroa that was purchased from Māori.

The intentions of the French were to aid a commercial venture for the whaling industry, not for a “grand scheme of territorial aggrandisement”, as has been asserted by some since.¹⁸⁰ Of concern to Lavaud was that the planting of the French tricolours might plunge the French and British into war. Wishing to ascertain the facts, he met with Hobson and established that “British sovereignty had been procured in a manner that could be approved by other nations”, and he awaited further instructions from his own government before acting further. Hobson was pleased with the meeting, even after Lavaud disclosed the purpose of his travels and he accepted the words of the captain that he did not wish to contest the claim of British sovereignty over New Zealand.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Canterbury Chronicles’ by ‘Observer’, *Saturday Advertiser*, 2 November 1878, p.17.

¹⁷⁹ T.L. Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, New Plymouth: Thomas Avery and Sons, 3rd edn., 1936, p.285.

¹⁸⁰ Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, p.286.

Despite Lavaud's assurances, Hobson wanted to demonstrate that his proclamations were more than empty promises. He instructed Stanley to set sail on the *Britomart*, and upon arriving at Akaroa on August 11, magistrates performed an "executive act" under a Union Jack at Green's Point. Lavaud arrived at Akaroa three days after the *Britomart* and on the 17 of the month, the *Comte de Paris* arrived with a batch of French colonists. Lavaud accepted, as he had done before, the claims of British sovereignty over New Zealand and he accepted, with the resident British magistrate, joint guardianship over Akaroa. This system of administration was known as Status Quo and enabled the settlement of both peoples until the issue could be resolved by the governments of Britain and France. The British flag was not flown at Akaroa, so as not to provoke the French settlers, until the morning of the of February 8, 1843, when it was run up by the British resident magistrate Charles Robinson.¹⁸¹

Robinson had previously tried to raise the British flag at Akaroa in October 1840, thereby departing from the Status Quo, to which Lavaud protested. Lavaud subsequently met with Hobson when he first visited Akaroa in September 1841, and wrote:

Mr. Robinson announced that he was going to hoist the British flag. Upon representations from me he consented to postpone these proceedings. The following were the grounds upon which I based my objection: The hoisting of the flag in the present state of affairs would add nothing to British rights, the flag having already been hoisted and saluted by the corvette *Herald* before my arrival. The proclamations in the name of the Queen and quite another effect, as also had the acts and presence of the magistrates to enforce the British sovereignty. Nothing on my part would have caused the English authorities to doubt in any way the purity and sincerity of my intentions, and of the arrangements between myself and Captain Stanley, of whom I promised that no arms or projectiles of war should be landed.

¹⁸¹ Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, p.290.

If the British flag were to be hoisted at Akaroa so shortly before the day when I shall doubtless receive orders from my Government to recognise the British sovereignty, the authority which I exercise over my countrymen would come to an end... If, on the other hand, you may think it fit to order Mr. Robinson to await the arrival of my instructions, which certainly cannot fail to be in agreement with the spirit of the note of our *chargé d'affaires* in London, you will be at the same time prevent the colony being placed in the undesirable position which I have shown you is possible, and you will give me the pleasure of according to your flag, the day it is hoisted, the honours which are due to it, without any disturbance taking place, as I shall inform the colonists that my Government having recognised the Queen's sovereignty they must, like myself, submit to the orders I have received.¹⁸²

Hobson responded that he would forgo any exhibition of his authority, including raising the Union Jack at Akaroa.¹⁸³ The *New Zealand Herald* published almost thirty years after the deed, "The act of Captain Stanley was absolutely the act of annexation, and at the moment when his last shot was fired New Zealand became a British possession."¹⁸⁴ In 1898, the New Zealand Governor Lord Ranfurly, Premier Richard Seddon, other dignitaries, and 1500 members of the public assembled at Green's Point, Akaroa, to unveil a stone obelisk where the Union Jack had been raised in 1840.¹⁸⁵

The flying of the Union Jack at various government buildings throughout the colony left no doubt as to which flag was considered to represent New Zealand. Upon the completion of the flagstaff at Government House, Wellington, in 1849, the Union Jack was flown. A newspaper article offered the justification for the flag being flown as "...asserting, though in consequence of the Treaty of Waitangi to a somewhat limited extent, the supremacy of the British Crown over the territory and inhabitants of New Zealand."¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, pp.292-293.

¹⁸³ Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, p.293.

¹⁸⁴ 'The New Zealand Question', *New Zealand Herald*, 24 September 1869, p.5.

¹⁸⁵ 'Observation Point Memorial', *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 17 June 1898, p.2.

¹⁸⁶ *Wellington Independent*, 8 August 1849, p.2.

Interestingly, the writer notes that the only native who might possibly entertaining cutting the flagstaff down was Te Rangihaeata, who had repeatedly opposed the alienation of land to European settlers.¹⁸⁷ More than a decade later, the Union Jack was seen flying again, with the arrival of Thomas Gore Browne.¹⁸⁸ Clearly, the practice of flying the Union Jack at Government House was when the Governor was in residence.

Continuing with the theme of flying the Union Jack on Government buildings, the laying of the foundation stone of the Government Buildings in Christchurch in 1858 saw the “New Zealand” flag (a reference to the United Tribes flag) being flown below the Union Jack on that occasion.¹⁸⁹ Four years later, in front of St Paul’s Church, an unfinished fort contained Government buildings and a flagstaff upon which the Union Jack flew.¹⁹⁰

In 1937 the New Zealand Naval Secretary wrote of the status of the Union Jack (after the current New Zealand flag had been legislated for to represent New Zealand on all occasions) that:

[T]he Union Jack was ordained to be the National Emblem by proclamation, not by Act of Parliament... The Union Jack having been appointed to be the National Emblem before New Zealand became a self-governing colony [in 1853 it is reasonable to assume that until the Dominion Government itself legislated for some other Emblem, the Union Flag was the Dominion National Flag and would have been flown on all occasions when National Flags are flown on shore.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Angela Ballara. 'Te Rangihaeata', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t63/te-rangihaeata> (accessed 14 August 2020).

¹⁸⁸ 'Arrival of the Governor', *Wellington Independent*, 3 May 1859, p.3.

¹⁸⁹ 'The New Government Buildings', Christchurch, *Lyttelton Times*, 9 January 1858, p. 5.

¹⁹⁰ Extracts from the Journal of H.M.S. 'Niger' while on the Australian Station, *New Zealander*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1681, 28 May 1861.

¹⁹¹ Memorandum from Naval Secretary to Heenan, 8 February 1937 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

Conclusion

The ultimate symbol of British colonisation, the Union Jack, was the flag that represented its most recently acquired colony of New Zealand in 1840. Its adoption as New Zealand's national flag emerged from a sustained dialogue between Māori and Pākēha. Only six years prior, a jurisdictional and legal quandary regarding trade had resulted in a collective of Māori chiefs selecting a flag to represent their independence, through the actions of the newly appointed British Resident. However, in a relatively short space of time, Māori sought some refuge in the form of British intervention from the lawlessness of an increasing number of British subjects. To achieve an international understanding with Māori, the British entered into the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori had become familiar with both the purpose and symbolism of flags since their introduction to New Zealand by the first three European explorers, and as the following decades would prove, at the heart of the matter was whose flag would fly to represent a country undergoing a rapid population and identity change.

CHAPTER TWO

NEW ZEALAND FLAGS 1865-1902

New Zealand experienced a succession of internal conflicts during the nineteenth century. The pressure Māori were experiencing from the demand for land increased through the 1840s and 1850s, but became more intense during the 1860s. By 1858, Māori were outnumbered by Europeans and “demographic shifts in the balance of power were matched by political ones.”¹ Remarks O’Malley:

It was this divide between increasing Crown assertions of sovereignty and Māori expectations of continuing chiefly authority that was to provide a key impetus for the subsequent wars fought between the Crown and Māori. At their core, many of these conflicts raised the same question: whose version of the agreement that had been entered into in 1840 was going to prevail?²

It was within the Waikato conflict of the New Zealand Wars that the current New Zealand flag emerged, based not on a developing sense of New Zealand nationhood, but instead in response to imperialist concerns. The apprehensions that were being raised in Britain by the colonies of New Zealand and Victoria, in Australia, would have consequences for every other British territory across the globe. As Groom observed:

The Union Jack featured on the majority of the British Empire’s flags, which multiplied spectacularly with the introduction of Colonial flags in 1869. Most of these were based on the public seal of each colony combined with a Union Jack or an ensign, but there were over a hundred British dominions, colonies, protectorates, and there were other various administered territories that adapted the Union Jack for their colours.³

¹ Judith Binney with Vincent O’Malley and Alan Ward, ‘Rangatira and Kāwangatanga, 1840-1860’ in Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014, p.250.

² Vincent O’Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.26.

³ Nick Groom, *The Union Jack: The Story of the British Flag*, London: Atlantic Books, 2007, p.235.

This chapter focuses on the processes leading up to the creation and adoption of the current flag. It focuses on the role of the New Zealand Wars in generating discussion on what flag should represent New Zealand and the hitherto largely overlooked Australian influences on the current flag. It also discusses debates as to whether the Union Jack or New Zealand ensign ought to be the national flag, and the uncertainty over this leading to the 1901 legislation that formalised the status of the current flag.

National Identity in New Zealand during the 1860s

The notions of national identity formed during this decade would inform future generations of New Zealanders and, by extension, the flags chosen to represent the emerging nation. The factions participating in the New Zealand Wars brought into sharp focus the concept of identity as underlying the reasons why people, mostly men, were prepared to die. As identity issues intensified due to the hostilities, flags that symbolised movements became more prominent and became a permanent feature of the landscape during the decade. National identity during the 1860s saw the vast majority of the New Zealand population being either Māori or British. The following chapter will detail Māori identity during this period and the rise of Māori nationalism as a result of the loss of political power and land.

Since 1800, the English have been the largest group to settle in New Zealand, with the 1860s being the only decade where they constituted less than half of all arrivals from Great Britain and Ireland.⁴ Other significant arrivals of settlers during the 1860s included the Scots and the Irish. The Scots were attracted to New Zealand by word of the southern gold rush, and they constituted 18% of New Zealand's non-Māori population in 1864.⁵

⁴ Terry Hearn, 'English' in *Settler and Migrant Peoples of New Zealand*, Auckland: David Bateman, 2006, p.126.

⁵ John Wilson, 'Scots' in *Settler and Migrant Peoples of New Zealand*, p.244.

By 1871, one-fifth of New Zealand's immigrant population was Irish. They had also come to New Zealand in search of gold, as well as comprising of approximately a quarter of Canterbury's immigration scheme. They were also significantly represented among soldiers who were discharged during the New Zealand Wars.⁶ The other smaller portion of the non-Māori population of New Zealand were the Australians. The prospect of earning a small fortune from the gold rush accounted for 11,000 people, and approximately 1000 Australian soldiers were enticed by free land to remain in New Zealand following the Waikato War.⁷

It is worth noting that Anzac historian, Jeff Hopkins-Weise, attributes the genesis of the Australian-New Zealand military connection as not being the Gallipoli campaign, but fifty years earlier, "in the damp forests and fields of Taranaki and the Waikato."⁸ He is also at pains to record that Australian participation in the New Zealand Wars was motivated by a wider sense of British identity. He cites a *Sydney Morning Herald* article from 1860:

We are defending ourselves in consolidating the possession of New Zealand. The British power there is a bulwark to our own safety... We are not only Colonists: we are more, we are Britons. Our interest is more than the defence of the city in which we live. We belong to a glorious empire... To defend its outposts is to protect its heart.⁹

As for how they identified themselves – the English, Irish, Scots and Australians – they indeed did view themselves as British. For Europeans in New Zealand, Phillips explains, if they had been asked their nationality, most would have replied 'British.'¹⁰

⁶ Jock Phillips, 'Irish' in *Settler and Migrant Peoples of New Zealand*, p.175.

⁷ John Wilson, 'Australians' in *Settler and Migrant Peoples of New Zealand*, p.93.

⁸ Jeff Hopkins-Weise, 'The Role of the Australian Colonies in New Zealand's Wars of the 1840s and 1860's', in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds.), *Tutu Te Puehu: New Perspectives on the New Zealand Wars*, Wellington: Steele Roberts Aotearoa, 2018, p.433.

⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 April 1860, p.4. cited in Jeff Hopkins-Weise, *Blood Brothers: The Anzac Genesis*, Auckland: Penguin, 2009, p.63.

¹⁰ Jock Phillips, 'Becoming New Zealanders' in *Settler and Migrant Peoples of New Zealand*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2006, p.74.

All those born in non-British countries were legally British, and “any sense of being a New Zealander necessarily existed within this broader identity.”¹¹ Accordingly, the Union Jack featured in the flags of most British colonies.

Belich, in his assessment of neo-British identity, reaffirms one of the central arguments of transnational historians. In analysing general histories of Canada, the United States of America, Australia, and New Zealand, there is a strong tendency to confuse separate identity with uniqueness. He states, “New Zealand shares the general story of the reproductive expansion of Europe”,¹² during which 50 million in the nineteenth century participated in a European diaspora. For Belich, those British who arrived to New Zealand from the 1830s to the 1880s ‘reinforced English nationalism’, rather than ‘British pan-nationalism.’ “Britain was very often merely a euphemism for Greater England.”¹³

Colonial Naval Defence Act 1865

The first step in the creation of New Zealand’s current flag was the passing of legislation in the United Kingdom for colonies to purchase their own vessels for the purpose of protecting their territories. Subsequent to the Bill being agreed to, a decree was issued by British naval authorities, informing colonies that a royal-blue ensign with their own selected badge would be flown on each ship.

In the New Zealand context, the question of what flag ought to be flown from naval vessels in the colonies was instrumental in the development of the current flag design. Governor Grey had petitioned the British government for naval authorities to establish a station in New Zealand, rather than the British fleet servicing the entire Pacific Ocean from their base in Sydney, Australia.

¹¹ Philips, ‘Becoming New Zealanders’ in *Settler and Migrant Peoples of New Zealand*, p.74.

¹² James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996, p.277.

¹³ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.295.

Of concern to Grey was the growing number of conflicts within New Zealand as various Māori-led movements opposed the sale of their lands and their loss of autonomy to the New Zealand government and the British Crown.¹⁴ At the same time, the British colonies of New South Wales and Victoria wanted their own naval fleet, to patrol their own harbours.¹⁵

According to British historian Ian Stafford:

The government of New Zealand, first in 1846 and again in the 1860s war against Maori tribes, obtained armed river-vessels to pursue the war up the Waikato River; they were however commanded by Royal Navy officers. This fudged their status internationally but they were under local and not Admiralty control. At the same time, an armed ship, *Victoria*, which the Colony of Victoria put into service notwithstanding the United Kingdom's opinion of the Victorian legislation, transported reinforcements to New Zealand from Victoria and took part in bombardments of Maori positions whilst she was there. The United Kingdom government was sufficiently worried about the status of such a vessel to request further legal opinion.¹⁶

Of concern to British naval authorities was that no law existed under which British colonies could possess their own naval fleets. Issues could arise such as under whose jurisdiction would the vessels be operating, and what might occur if the vessel was captured, or had taken possession of another vessel, in international waters?¹⁷ Grey had purchased the steamboat, the *Avon*, from Christchurch, and had instructed that another steamboat, the *Waikato*, be built in Sydney, Australia.¹⁸

¹⁴ John Bach, *The Australia Station: A History of the Royal Navy in the South West Pacific 1821–1913*, Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1986, p. 199.

¹⁵ B.A. Knox, 'Colonial influence on imperial policy, 1858 – 1866: Victoria and Colonial Naval Defence Act 1865', *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, 11, 41, (1963), 61–79.

¹⁶ Ian Stafford, 'When is a Navy not a Navy? Britain's Colonial Navy Experience', 6 February 2014, <http://globalmaritimehistory.com/navy-navy-britains-colonial-naval-experience/> (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁷ Ian Stafford, 'When is a Navy not a Navy? Britain's Colonial Navy Experience', 6 February 2014, <http://globalmaritimehistory.com/navy-navy-britains-colonial-naval-experience/> (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁸ Grant Middlemiss, *The Waikato River Gunboats: New Zealand's First Navy*, Cambridge: Author, 2014, pp.13-14.

Iron-plated gunboats were in operation in the American Civil War by the northern forces, to transport troops and supplies inland, and it is highly likely that Grey borrowed the idea from that conflict.¹⁹ Both the *Avon* and the *Waikato* were then converted into gunboats and control of the *Waikato* had been granted to the British Admiralty. With the Admiralty being displeased about serving under the jurisdiction of a British colony, it took ownership of the boat and renamed it the *Pioneer*.²⁰ In total, eight gunboats were employed to fight Waikato Māori. Four were steamboats: the *Avon*, *Pioneer*, *Koheroa*, and *Rangiriri*, and four were oared gunboats: the *Ant*, *Chub*, *Midge* and *Flirt*.²¹

Secretary of State for the Colonies, Edward Cardwell, introduced the *Colonial Naval Defence Act* to address the jurisdictional issues, including flags, involving war vessels owned by Victoria and New Zealand. Historian B.A. Knox, of Monash University, wrote the act, “was to be the means of enabling them [the colonies] to provide for their own local defence, in conjunction with the wider responsibility of the Imperial navy.”²² Rather than the legislation anticipating the separation of the colonies from the Empire, the provision of independence and self-reliance developed the relationship between the colonies and Britain as being mutual, rather than being one-sided. Part of Cardwell’s rationale behind the Bill was due to the colony of Victoria wanting to maintain a ship of war at its own cost.²³

The threat of an invasion by Russia loomed real for the colony of Victoria following the Crimean War and the discovery of large deposits of gold (a Russian frigate visited Melbourne in 1862 to ascertain the colony’s defences). Victoria had both a reason and the means to purchase a gunboat, which it did in 1856 with the purchase of the *Victoria* to patrol its harbour.²⁴

¹⁹ John McLean, *A Mission of Honour: The Royal Navy in the Pacific, 1769-1997*, Hong Kong: Winter Productions, 2010, p.168.

²⁰ McLean, *A Mission of Honour*, p.168.

²¹ Middlemiss, *The Waikato River Gunboats*.

²² Knox, ‘Colonial Influence on Imperial Policy, 1858-1866’, p.62.

²³ *Hansard*, 3rd ser., Vol. clxxvii, cols. 1027-9 (3 Mar. 1865).

²⁴ Knox, ‘Colonial Influence on Imperial Policy, 1858-1866’, p.68.

With the added presence of a large French navy in New Caledonia in 1858, Victorian authorities became more nervous, and proposed that the Imperial and Victorian governments share the cost of a blockship, which the British Admiralty rejected.²⁵ Given that the Admiralty was unable to provide a ship of its own to officiate in Victorian waters, Victorian Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, enquired if the *Victoria* needed to be given the same status as a ship of the Queen. On this occasion, the Admiralty demonstrated a genuine interest in the question of a vessel of the colony being able to act as a vessel of war.²⁶

Escalating the issue of the status of a colonial ship in international waters was the borrowing of the *Victoria* for Imperial service in New Zealand when war broke out in Taranaki in 1860. An Act was passed by the Victorian Government that indemnified the ship's company for any act committed by them in the service of the colonial Government. However, the law was considered *ultra vires* as it was outside the jurisdiction of the Victorian Government to pass such legislation and instead was the responsibility of the United Kingdom.

The British Admiralty sought advice, which was supported by the Law Officers, "...that no Act of a colonial legislature, even given the consent of the Crown, could compel ships of foreign nations to recognize a colonial armed vessel as a ship of war on the high seas."²⁷ However, the Admiralty recognised the need for colonies to commission and man their vessels for their defence, provided the colony paid for the vessel. "They would constitute 'separate Royal Colonial Navies', would be commissioned in the name of the governor of the colony concerned, and could fly a flag of their own."²⁸

Following constant petitioning from Treasurer George Verdon on behalf of the Victorian Government, and with the new Colonial Secretary, Edward Cardwell, being appointed, the latter began framing the *Colonial Naval Defence Act*.

²⁵ Knox, 'Colonial Influence on Imperial Policy, 1858-1866, p.68.

²⁶ Admiralty to Colonial Office, 18/07/1860, CO 309/53 cited in Knox, 'Colonial Influence on Imperial Policy, 1858-1866', p.68.

²⁷ Knox, 'Colonial Influence on Imperial Policy, 1858-1866', p.65.

²⁸ Knox, 'Colonial Influence on Imperial Policy, 1858-1866', p.66.

“He [Cardwell] believed that the central problem was to discover a basis for the establishment of a force which would be purely local in time of peace, but would in wartime have scope for widespread operations.”²⁹

The British Parliament supported Cardwell’s desire to resolve the jurisdictional dilemma with the passing of the *Colonial Naval Defence Act 1865*, which was passed in accordance with the Queen’s Regulations.³⁰ The legislation permitted British colonies to own their own ships, including for military purposes. By the end of 1865, the Lords of the Admiralty had issued rules governing what flags were to be flown on such colonial vessels, declaring that the flag was to be the Royal Navy-Blue Ensign with the seal or badge of the colony.³¹

Cardwell’s desire to shift the cost of defence of the colonies to the colonies themselves needs to be appreciated through the lens of the New Zealand Wars, which created considerable tension between British authorities and Governor Grey. The New Zealand Wars had been a financial drain on the British Empire, to the amount of £3,000,000, and yet the money raised from the sale of confiscated Māori land, expected to recoup this cost, had only reached £100,000.³² The policy of ‘self-reliance’, whereby British colonies would accept responsibility for and – more importantly – the cost of their internal security was adopted by the Weld Government in 1864. The following Stafford Government (1865-1869), knowing that it could not afford to maintain a defence force, haggled with British authorities to delay the withdrawal of British troops in fighting Māori, with the last regiment departing New Zealand shores in 1870.³³

Only two years previously, Grey had been removed from office and replaced by George Bowen.

²⁹ Knox, ‘Colonial Influence on Imperial Policy, 1858-1866’, p.71.

³⁰ *Colonial Naval Defence Act (Imp.)*, 28 Vic., cap. 14.

³¹ Circular dispatch to Governor Grey from Secretary of State for the Colonies, Edward Cardwell, 22 December 1865, in M1 1229 - 25/2483 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³² B.J. Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967, p.257.

³³ W. David McIntyre, ‘Imperialism and Nationalism’ in Geoffrey W. Rice, *The Oxford University of New Zealand* (2nd Ed.), Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992, p.339.

Relations between Britain and New Zealand were at their worst, with some New Zealand political leaders (the first Speaker of the House of Representatives, an ex-Governor, an ex-Premier, and a Premier-to-be) believing that British politicians wanted New Zealand out of the British Empire.³⁴ The status of the Union Jack was referred to by Josiah Firth, the Member of Parliament for West Auckland, during a debate in the House on the responsibility of the Imperial Government to meet the cost of the war. He stated, “We came here under the idea that this was a British Colony, and we expected – in the plain meaning of those words – that wherever the Union Jack was floating the power of Britain would be with it.”³⁵

Bowen also reported to London that a section of the local press supported annexation to America, and a motion to join forces with America was narrowly lost in the Legislative Council.³⁶ This would mark the low point in Britain-New Zealand relations. As Sinclair recounts, such tension resulted in the greatest discussion regarding nationalism in the nineteenth century.³⁷ Labelling both governments as being ‘antagonistic’, the colonists of New Zealand “were almost forced to consider their destiny.”³⁸

‘NZ’ Flag 1867

The first ‘New Zealand’ adaptation of a flag that incorporated the Union Jack took place in 1867, following an oversight by Governor George Grey to act on instructions from the British admiralty. It would lead to a state of confusion among New Zealand officials and would prompt the design of the ‘NZ’ Flag, following a discussion with the Postmaster General.

³⁴ A. Sutherland. ‘Flags of New Zealand’, *The New Zealand Numismatic Journal*, 1959, p.9.

³⁵ ‘House of Representatives’, *New Zealander*, 22 June 1861, p.5.

³⁶ ‘House of Representatives’, *New Zealander*, 22 June 1861, p.5.

³⁷ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand’s Search for National Identity*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1986, p.16.

³⁸ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.16.

Subsequent to the edict regarding what flag was to be flown on British colonial vessels, in late 1866, the New Zealand government-owned steamers, the *Sturt* and the *St Kilda*, were reprimanded by the *HMS Challenger* for not flying a Royal Navy-Blue Ensign with the seal or badge of the colony, and the blue ensigns they were flying were ordered to be removed.³⁹ Despite the captains of the vessels having memoranda signed by the New Zealand Premier, Edward Stafford, that the ships could display the ensigns without a seal or badge, the Commander of the *Challenger* was still not satisfied and Governor Grey was forced to find a seal that could be used on the ensign.⁴⁰

In January 1867, Grey wrote to ask the New Zealand Postmaster General, John Hall, to design a satisfactory seal. It was discussed that the then seal of New Zealand was a possibility, but this was eventually discounted on account that the motif was too intricate to be placed on a flag.⁴¹ The next possibility was to use the Southern Cross, but this was overlooked, as officials argued that the constellation was not unique to New Zealand.⁴² The following proposal, to insert the name 'New Zealand' on the flag, was met with approval, but then officials realised that the name was too long to be placed on the flag and therefore had it shortened to 'NZ' in red, with a white border.⁴³ Governor Grey, on January 15, 1867, issued a proclamation stating that the 'NZ' Flag would be now flown on ships owned by the New Zealand government.⁴⁴ They included ships used in the New Zealand Wars: the *P.S. Sturt*, *S.S. Rangiriri*, *S.S. Koheroa* and *S.S. St Kilda*.⁴⁵

³⁹ John Fairchild to Captain Holt, Under Secretary, Wellington, 17 December 1866, in M1 1229 - 25/2483 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁰ Colonial Surveyor James Balfour to Governor Grey, 5 December 1866, in M1 1229 - 25/2483, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴¹ Secretary of the Wellington Post Office, G. Elliot Elliot, 5 December 1866, in M1 1229 - 25/2483, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴² Secretary of the Wellington Post Office, G. Elliot Elliot, 5 December 1866, in M1 1229 - 25/2483, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴³ Postmaster - General John Hall, 16 December 1866 in M1 1229 - 25/2483 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand. James Laurenson wrote that each letter was eight inches high and eight inches broad. See: MS Papers – 009-05, Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁴⁴ *The New Zealand Gazette*, 15 January 1867.

⁴⁵ G 28/3. No. 43. Memo: Hall to Sir George Grey: 8 April 1867 in 'Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834' in *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

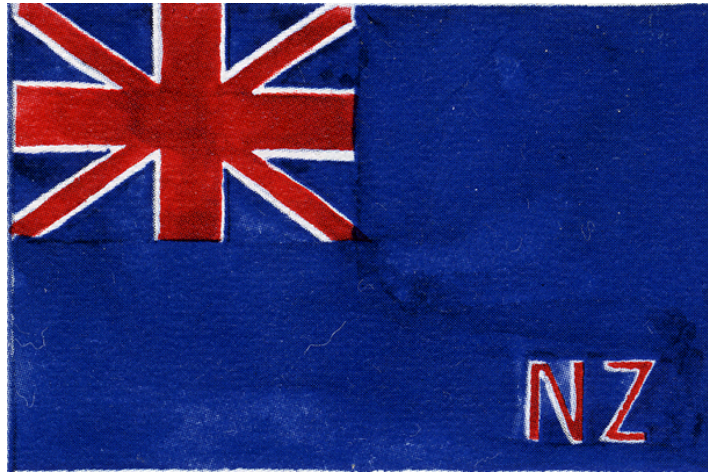


Fig. 17. 'NZ' Flag 1867.⁴⁶

New Zealand Flag on Water 1869

Only two years would pass before the 'NZ' Flag of 1867 was replaced by the current New Zealand flag. With a change in governor from Sir George Grey to Sir George Bowen, the latter received instructions from British authorities to fly a flag that incorporated the badge of the colony it represented. Bowen took the opportunity to develop a new design through the efforts of Lieutenant Albert Hastings Markham, and made the design 'permanent' in representing New Zealand Government-owned ships.

In 1869, the New Zealand Maritime Department purchased its first ship from the New South Wales Government, the *Edith*, which was stationed in Sydney.⁴⁷ It arrived in Wellington Harbour in October, after being towed by the *HMS Blanche*, a vessel that formed part of the British Admiralty's presence at the Australian Station.

⁴⁶ New Zealand ensign proclaimed', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/new-zealand-ensign-proclaimed>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 16-Oct-2019 (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁴⁷ Confirmation of the *HMS Blanche* towing the *Edith* and berthing in Wellington can be found at ACGO 8333 317/ [20] 1869/2479, Captain John Montgomerie, *HMS Blanche* to Colonial Secretary, Wellington, 2 October 1869, Subject: Has brought the Schooner *Edith* from Sydney, and Journal of *HMS Blanche*, Australian Station 3 January 1868 – 30 June 1871 and MRK/7, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

Just prior, in September, Bowen had received an Order in Council from Britain that instructed all Governors of British Colonies that the special flag for each jurisdiction was to reflect the seal of the colony it represented.⁴⁸ Aboard the *HMS Blanche* was Lieutenant Albert Hastings Markham,⁴⁹ who was approached by Bowen to design a new seal for ships owned by the New Zealand government. Markham remarked to Bowen that, “You already have the right to fly the Blue Ensign, why not add to it stars of the Southern Cross?” to which Bowen agreed.⁵⁰

Upon receipt of the first design, Bowen wrote back to Markham that he found the stars to be too small, quoting the following excerpt from *Alice in Wonderland*, “Will you walk a little faster?” and adding “Will you, won’t you, will you, won’t you, magnify the star?”⁵¹ Markham enlarged the stars to Bowen’s approval and, on October 23, 1869, Bowen issued a proclamation stating that Markham’s design would represent New Zealand government ships and that the design would be a ‘permanent device.’⁵² The reference to the design being ‘permanent’ was in response to a comment made by Colonial Secretary James Richmond, who remarked in 1866 that officials might settle on a ‘temporary mark’, the feature being the letters ‘NZ’ on the 1867 flag.⁵³

⁴⁸ Granville to Bowen, 14 September 1869, in M1 1229 - 25/2483, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁹ While in the South Seas, Markham spent little time in New Zealand. In 1870 he berthed in Tauranga on the *HMS Rosario* for three weeks as part of the attempt to hunt and capture Māori leader and guerrilla fighter Te Kooti.

⁵⁰ M. E. Markham and F. E. Markham, *The Life and Times of Albert Hastings Markham*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p.42. One account, written in 1939, recalled a conversation from one Mrs Millar, a widow, of her mother making a suggestion to then Governor when discussing an appropriate flag for New Zealand. Jane Clendon exclaimed “What could be better than the Southern Cross?” There is no record of which Governor was being spoken to nor the year of the dinner. Mrs Clendon was the second wife of Captain James Clendon of the *Hokianga*. See: Ernest McLeod to James Laurenson, 15 May 1939 in MS-Papers-0009-4B, Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁵¹ Markham and Markham, *The Life and Times of Albert Hastings Markham*, p.42.

⁵² *New Zealand Gazette*, 23 October 1869, in M1 1229 - 25/2483, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁵³ Colonial Secretary, 14 November 1866, in M1 1229 - 25/2483 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

The *Evening Post* reported:

The altered New Zealand flag, as appointed by the Governor's recent proclamation, might have been seen for the first time this morning, flying on board the surveying schooner *Edith*. This handsome little vessel is now ready for sea, and will proceed to Auckland as soon as the weather moderates sufficiently to admit of her departure, in charge of Lieut. Woods, Marine Surveyor.⁵⁴

The *New Zealand Gazette*, on October 23, 1869, regarding the official flag design, read:

...the seal or badge in future to be worn, in accordance with the Queen's regulations, as the distinctive badge of the Colony, by all vessels belonging to or permanently employed in the service of the Colonial Government of New Zealand, shall be the Southern Cross, as represented in the Blue Ensign by four five pointed red stars in the fly, with white borders to correspond to the colouring of the Jack; in the Jack by four five pointed white stars on the red ground of the St Georges Cross; and in the pendant by four stars near the staff similar to those in the Ensign...⁵⁵

⁵⁴ 'Editorial, *Evening Post*, 29 October 1869, p.2. The person referred to as 'Woods' is George Austin Woods from Victoria, Australia, who was in charge of the *Blanche* and who had been appointed a New Zealand Maritime Surveyor. Of interest regarding the *Edith* and George Woods was the role the ship and Lieutenant played in the New Zealand Wars. Apart from surveying New Zealand, the *Edith* was at times requisitioned to transport the Armed Constabulary from destination to destination, as well as service whatever needs were deemed necessary regarding the New Zealand War. Lieutenant George Woods had himself served at Taranaki in 1861, having been part of the Naval Brigade from the *Victoria* and was mentioned in dispatches for his actions at Kairau. Woods, however, operated as if the primary role of the *Edith* was as a 'Man o War' under the *Armed Constabulary Act 1867*, as opposed to a survey ship. Wood's behaviour came to a head when he charged Sub Inspector Fox with insubordination. Fox exclaimed "blasted rubbish" after Wood's read the *Armed Constabulary Act*, a weekly ritual Woods performed every Sunday morning. A report compiled on the matter recommended that Woods be directed to refrain from introducing rules that are not necessary "for the performance of the legitimate duties of the vessel."

⁵⁵ *New Zealand Gazette* 1869, pp.556-7 in 'Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834' in *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

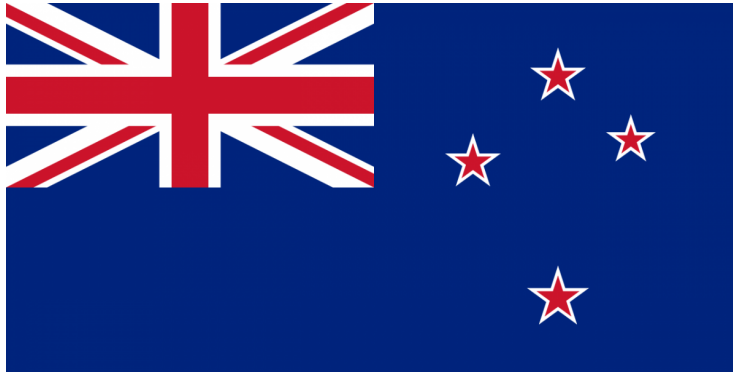


Fig. 18. *New Zealand Flag 1869.*⁵⁶

Southern Cross on the Flag

The inclusion of the Southern Cross on the present flag was influenced to no small degree by Australian precedents. The idea to insert it may have come from George Elliott Elliott, Secretary of the New Zealand Postmaster General's Department. During discussions in 1867 regarding an appropriate badge for the New Zealand marine flag, Elliott said, "I would recommend that four stars to represent the "Southern Cross" should be adopted as the badge."⁵⁷ His thinking, or that of Markham, may have been influenced by the fact that a number of well-known Australian flags already depicted the Southern Cross.⁵⁸ They included:

1. National Colonial Flag for Australia (1823/24);
2. New South Wales Ensign/Federation Flag (1831);
3. Australasian Anti-Transportation League Flag (1849-1853. The league was against the establishment of British penal institutions in Australia and New Zealand);
4. Murray River Flag (circa 1850);
5. Eureka Flag (1854, and flown during the Eureka Rebellion, when Australian goldminers protested against the imposition of taxes from England);

⁵⁶ Manatū Taonga: Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 'Flags', <https://mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/flags> (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁵⁷ George Elliott Elliott, 5 December 1866, in M 1 1229-25/2483, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁵⁸ Elizabeth Kwan, *Flag and Nation: Australians and their National Flags since 1901*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006, p.15.

6. Lambing Riots Flag (1860, and featured during a series of clashes between European and Chinese goldminers);⁵⁹
7. Flag of the Sydney Battalion of New South Wales Volunteer Rifles (1861).⁶⁰

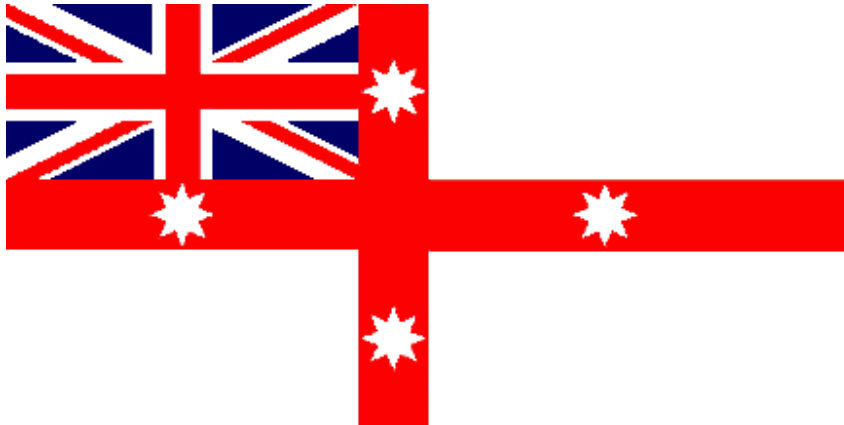


Fig. 19. *National Colonial Flag of Australia 1823-24.*⁶¹

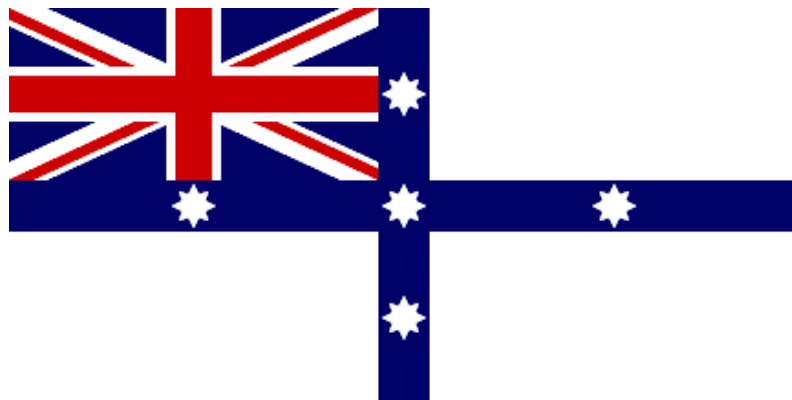


Fig. 20. *New South Wales Ensign/Federation Flag 1831.*⁶²

⁵⁹S Thompson, NSW Migration Heritage Centre, 'Objects Through Time', August 2006 -Updated 2011, <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/lambingflatsbanner/index.html> (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁶⁰ 'Presentation of Colours to the Sydney Battalion N.S.W.R.', *New Zealander*, 26 June 1861, p. 6. No image of this flag could be located. It is described as being "a blue cross on a white background, with the Union Jack in one corner, and five stars representing the Australian Colonies prominently depicted". Members of the Sydney Battalion NSW Volunteer Rifles participated in the Waikato War including being onboard the Pioneer during the attack on Rangiriri.

⁶¹ Ian MacDonald, 'National Colonial Flag (Australia)', 14 June 2019, https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/au_1823.html (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁶² Ian MacDonald, 'New South Wales Ensign/Federation Flag', 20 May 2016, https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/au_nswff.html (accessed 10 August 2020).



Fig. 21. *Australasian Anti-Transportation League Flag 1849-1853.*⁶³



Fig. 22. *Murray River Flag (circa 1850).*⁶⁴



Fig. 23. *Eureka Flag 1854.*⁶⁵

⁶³ Ian MacDonald, 'Anti-Transportation League (Australia)', 27 February 2016, https://www.crwflags.com/FOTW/flags/au_atl.html (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁶⁴ ANFA, 'The Murray River Flag (1853)', <http://www.anfa-national.org.au/australian-red-ensign/first-union-flag/murray-river-flag/> (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁶⁵ ANFA, 'The Eureka Flag (1854)', <http://www.anfa-national.org.au/australian-red-ensign/first-union-flag/eureka-flag/> (accessed 10 August 2020).



Fig. 24. *Lambing Riots Flag 1860.*⁶⁶

There are no records of a New Zealand-based flag portraying the constellation prior to 1869, although it is worth noting that an Auckland-based newspaper titled *The Daily Southern Cross* was in operation from 1843 to 1876.⁶⁷ As to why the Southern Cross on the New Zealand flag ended up with four stars, rather than five, flag historian James Laurenson considered that this number was a ‘conventional representation of the constellation.’⁶⁸

A Contest of Flags

Despite the newly declared Southern Cross Flag, the Union Jack was still the more popular and used flag by the New Zealand public, and was to continue being observed as the national flag. Governor Bowen himself wrote to Donald McLean, as the Minister of Defence, in 1870, stating:

I think you ought to place on record in your department copies of the despatches abt. the continued use of the National Flag. I never had any doubt on this matter myself, and told Commodore Lambert that he was quite wrong bringing the question.

⁶⁶ S. Thompson, NSW Migration Heritage Centre, ‘1860 Lambing Flat *Roll Up* Banner’, August 2006 – updated 2011, <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/lambingflatsbanner/index.html> (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁶⁷ ‘Daily Southern Cross’, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/daily-southern-cross>.

⁶⁸ James Laurenson, *New Zealand Flag Manuscript*, QMS-1136, Alexander Turnbull Library, p. 1. The Southern Cross has four bright stars forming an outline, with another fainter star being also a part of the constellation. Yet, in the main, the constellation is depicted by the four bright stars.

By Vogel's advice I shall write by the next mail that the use of the Union Jack, as the mark of common nationality and allegiance is satisfactory to the people of the Colonies generally.⁶⁹

There was some comment, following Bowen's declaration in 1869 of New Zealand's flag on water, about the place of the Union Jack. The *New Zealand Herald* published that the new flag would be the official saluting 'Jack', and would be flown on all Government buildings and forts.⁷⁰ In 1871, one correspondent – aptly titled 'Union Jack' – wrote to the *Otago Daily Times* that the Union Jack was the national flag.⁷¹

Later that year, Cardwell, who was writing on behalf of the United Kingdom War Office to Governor Bowen, wrote that the New Zealand ensign could not be the local flag while the colony formed a portion of the Queen's dominions.⁷² Such a flag, Cardwell opined, could only be used for vessels with a colonial register, but the Union Jack should be the distinctive mark of a British possession, "thereby indicating the nationality and allegiance of the inhabitants thereof."⁷³ Again, in 1879, the *Auckland Star* printed that the Union Jack was the national flag,⁷⁴ and the following year, the *Bruce Herald* declared the Union Jack as "Our National Banner."⁷⁵

Common practices involving the Union Jack within New Zealand would indicate that citizens believed, correctly, that the flag was the national ensign to represent the country. There were numerous examples of the flag being used in 1876: as the pall for Colonel Henry Balneavis,⁷⁶ on the flagstaff of the new Christchurch Fire Brigade on Chester Street,⁷⁷ and for the unveiling of the Martin Fountain in Wellington.⁷⁸

⁶⁹ Bowen to McLean, 19 October 1870, MS Papers-0032-0169, Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁷⁰ 'The New Zealand Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 4 March 1870, p. 3.

⁷¹ 'The Royal Standard', *Otago Daily Times*, 1 February 1871, p. 3.

⁷² *West Coast Times and Westland Observer*, September 4 1871, p.2.

⁷³ *West Coast Times and Westland Observer*, September 4 1871, p.2.

⁷⁴ 'The Union Jack', *Auckland Star*, 22 July 1879, p.3.

⁷⁵ 'Our National Banner', *Bruce Herald*, 28 December 1880, p.3.

⁷⁶ 'Funeral of the Late Colonel Balneavis', *New Zealand Herald*, 30 August 1876, p.3.

⁷⁷ 'Fire Brigade', *Star*, 24 November 1876, p.2.

⁷⁸ 'Town News', *New Zealand Mail*, 17 June 1876, p.14.

Not using the Union Jack, or not observing the correct etiquette, often resulted in public criticism. ‘A Jolly Englishman’ wrote to the *South Canterbury Times* in 1881, decrying the lack of a “national flag” (referring to the Union Jack) when the Governor attended the laying of the foundation stone for the Timaru Mechanics Institute.⁷⁹

That same year, a hui was held at Te Tii, Waitangi, when the wharenui and a monument commemorating the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi was unveiled. The flag flown at the top of the masthead was the United Tribes flag and beneath was the Union Jack. Upon seeing the error of the Union Jack not having the place of honour, the flags were hauled down and rearranged.⁸⁰ The editor of the *Mt Ida and St Bathans Weekly News*, in Naseby, voiced his clear preference of flag to be the Union Jack, as opposed to the New Zealand Ensign, when ridiculing expressions of ‘New Zealand Independence.’⁸¹

The Union Jack was commonly associated with patriotism, although its usage engendered public debate as to which flag ought to represent New Zealand. In a column titled *Pater’s Chats with the Boys*, in 1893, a detailed history of the development of the Union Jack was provided, following which the writer implored readers to be more patriotic towards the flag.⁸² Citing the American practice of schoolchildren saluting the flag every morning, Pater mullied “Perhaps we are too republican, and want to hoist the Southern Cross, or whatever our flag is? Really, I don’t know what it is, do you?”⁸³

Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, in 1897, gave rise to a series of newspaper articles that questioned which flag represented New Zealand. Matters that required attention included the lack of knowledge about the 1869 New Zealand Blue Ensign and the availability of the flag, as well as the correct etiquette regarding which flag was to be flown on water or on land. It is evident, from contemporary newspapers, that a number of commentators were concerned about the lack of public awareness of the history behind New Zealand’s flags.

⁷⁹ ‘Where Was the Union Jack’, *South Canterbury Times*, 24 March 1881, p.2.

⁸⁰ ‘The Waitangi Meeting’, *Star*, 19 April 1881, p.3.

⁸¹ ‘The Queens Representative’, *Mt Ida and St Bathans Weekly News*, Naseby, 24 November 1887, p.2.

⁸² ‘Pater’s Chats with the Boys’, *Otago Witness*, 10 August 1893, p.42.

⁸³ ‘Pater’s Chats with the Boys’, *Otago Witness*, 10 August 1893, p.42.

The Taranaki Education Board lamented the lack of patriotism being taught in schools and stated that not one pupil in the colony would know why the national flag was called the 'Union Jack' or what unions it represented.⁸⁴

As a result of the jubilee, the *Press* wrote that New Zealand had been asked whether the country had a distinctive flag, and if yes, why it had not been used more in decorative displays?⁸⁵ Having made enquiries about the New Zealand Blue Ensign, it noted that it was only used for government vessels such as the *Tutanekai* and *Hinemoa* and that other colonies have a different 'device' in the place of the Southern Cross.⁸⁶ After having questioned whether or not the government had the right or permission to fly the flag, the paper noted that anybody could fly the flag on land without a penalty. The writer attributed two reasons for the absence of the New Zealand Ensign throughout the country's celebrations of Queen Victoria's reign. Firstly, that as it was not purely a local affair, the Union Jack had chiefly authority. And secondly, that very few people knew what the New Zealand flag was and where to obtain one. It concluded:

In answer to another query, we may state that the Canterbury Jockey Club flies the Union Jack at one end of the Grandstand, and the American Stars and Stripes at the other. Like the rest of us it knows nothing of the New Zealand flag.⁸⁷

John Press, a self-confessed flag student for some considerable time, wrote to the editor that the Diamond Jubilee had seen a rise in the interest in flags and that a friend of his "has been trying to find out the why and the wherefore of our New Zealand ensign, when it was designed, and who designed it?"⁸⁸

The uncertainty over which flag represented New Zealand may also reflect a wider historical process whereby an emerging sense of a distinct national identity was developing in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

⁸⁴ 'Stratford', *New Zealand Times*, 16 June 1897, p.3.

⁸⁵ 'Topics of the Day', *Press*, 30 June 1897, p.4.

⁸⁶ 'Topics of the Day', *Press*, 30 June 1897, p.4.

⁸⁷ 'Topics of the Day', *Press*, 30 June 1897, p.4.

⁸⁸ 'Our Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 20 September 1897, p.3.

The *Otago Witness* printed that most schoolchildren would not know the difference between the Union Jack and the New Zealand Flag, despite wrongfully describing the 1869 design as the flag selected by chiefs in 1834.⁸⁹ A young Agnes Conolly wrote to columnist ‘Dear Dot’ in 1899 to say that “not many little folk” know New Zealand has a flag, that they are not told about it in school, and that no flagstaff exists anyhow by which to fly one.⁹⁰

Hugh Stewart, the following year, made the same observation that both schoolchildren and teachers in the Bay of Plenty would not know the difference between the Union Jack and the New Zealand Ensign.⁹¹ The debate regarding the two flags also illustrated the paucity of New Zealand history being taught in New Zealand schools at the time. There would be many other examples of uncertainty as to which flag represented New Zealand. The examples cited in this section contradict Christoffel’s suggestion that the current flag was recognised as the national flag from 1869.

Debates around the flag reflected concerns over levels of patriotism in New Zealand. ‘Hongi’ penned a letter to the editor of *The Press* in response to an article in which the writer, Bathgate, stated that following the outburst of patriotism as a result of Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, nothing was being done in the colonies to keep the “fire then kindled.”⁹² Bathgate worried that if nothing was done to foster ‘wider patriotism’, a more ‘narrow patriotism’ would emerge from “the love of the New Zealand born for New Zealand.”⁹³ Bathgate referred to American schoolchildren and their saluting of the flag as an example of patriotism. Hongi wrote:

In New Zealand, however, we have scarcely any of the main elements which go to awaken and maintain patriotism in the hearts of the people. To begin with, we can hardly be said to have any national responsibility where responsibility means most. We have not achieved a position among the nations in virtue of our interest, energy and courage: our very existence, as well as our security, are guaranteed to us. We fulminate against “alien races” as if we were a fully equipped naval and military power.

⁸⁹ ‘Current Topics’, *Otago Witness*, 6 April 1899, p.3.

⁹⁰ ‘Letters from Little Folks’, *Otago Witness*, 13 July 1899, p.57.

⁹¹ ‘Correspondence’, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 12 January 1900, p.2.

⁹² ‘New Zealand Patriotism’, *Press*, 23 July 1898, p.5.

⁹³ ‘New Zealand Patriotism’, *Press*, 23 July 1898, p.5.

But with all our bluster, we could not ourselves keep the Japanese out of our country if they made up their minds to land. We have not even a flag with which to fan the patriotism of the “New Zealand born.”⁹⁴

In another comparison with the Americans, Hongi focussed upon flags. He stated that if New Zealand did have a distinctive flag, “what would it symbolise, and where would its 'sacredness' come in?”⁹⁵ Hongi asked if a New Zealand flag would evoke more interest than a new postage stamp or the United Tribes flag of 1834? Hongi continued to espouse his views of wide and narrow patriotism. He stated:

The deep current of patriotism which undoubtedly exists in these colonies is really British, as the colonies are British, the remotest outposts of a great Empire. And this larger patriotism is much more worthy of cultivation than the poor, parochial product which is so often reduced to such desperate expedients to account for itself. The best patriot in the larger sense will be the truest patriot in the smaller. It's the political crime of too many of our statesmen (in New Zealand, especially those called Liberal) that they foster the narrower at the expense of the wider sentiment.⁹⁶

New Zealand Identity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

This section of the thesis explores in some depth the notion of New Zealand national identity at the turn of the twentieth century. It does so for two reasons. Firstly, as many historians agree, it was then that national identity in New Zealand came to the fore for many New Zealand-born Europeans, who now outnumbered those who were born in Britain. Secondly, it was during this same period that the Premier of New Zealand, Richard ‘Dick’ John Seddon, introduced legislation to affirm Markham’s 1869 design as the flag to represent New Zealand on land and sea. Some comment is provided regarding Māori identity. However, this theme will be explored more in the following chapter.

⁹⁴ ‘New Zealand Patriotism’, *Press*, 23 July 1898, p.5.

⁹⁵ ‘New Zealand Patriotism’, *Press*, 23 July 1898, p.5.

⁹⁶ ‘New Zealand Patriotism’, *Press*, 23 July 1898, p.5.

Palenski argues that a sense of national identity in New Zealand developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁹⁷ By the time of the turn of the twentieth century, writes Palenski, national identity had become well established in the minds of New Zealanders. Noting that the Boer War and the debate surrounding whether or not to join the Federation of Australia merely affirmed the existence of a New Zealand identity, Palenski quotes historians William Morrell and David Hall, who observed that the 1880s saw the emergence of a new generation of people who had been born in New Zealand.⁹⁸

Demographically, this was certainly the case. For the first time in New Zealand's history, the census of 1886 recorded that New Zealand-born Europeans outnumbered European immigrants.⁹⁹ By the 1901 census, the gap had widened, as more than 516,000 were New Zealand-born (including Māori), compared to the 205,000 who were born in the United Kingdom.¹⁰⁰ Those who were considered 'foreign born' included just over 4,000 from Germany, just under 3,000 from China, and around 2,000 each coming from Austria-Hungary and Denmark. The Māori population was just over 43,000.¹⁰¹

One example of the emerging national identity was the publication of *The Long White Cloud: Ao-tea-roa* in 1898, a book many considered to be the first serious attempt at a history of New Zealand.¹⁰² The debate over which flag ought to represent New Zealand, however, might suggest that, contrary to arguments New Zealand identity was firmly established at the turn of the twentieth century, many New Zealanders remained uncertain or ambivalent about their identity, and consequently a hybrid identity resulted.

⁹⁷ Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004, p.4.

⁹⁸ See: W.P. Morrell and D.O.W. Hall, *A History of New Zealand Life*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957.

⁹⁹ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1986, p.31.

¹⁰⁰ New Zealand Census, 'Chapter 38. Birthplaces – Numbers for Each Nationality, and Increase, 1896 to 1901'. See: Government of New Zealand, 'Results Of A Census Of The Colony Of New Zealand', https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1901-census/1901-results-census/1901-results-census.html#d50e147984 (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁰¹ New Zealand Census, 'Appendix B. Maori Population'. See: Government of New Zealand, 'Results Of A Census Of The Colony Of New Zealand', https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1901-census/1901-results-census/1901-results-census.html#d50e147984 (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁰² William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud: Ao-tea-roa* (3rd Ed.), 1924, London: George Allen and Unwin, p.12. Reeves was New Zealand-born and a Parliamentarian. See: Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin, 2012, p.268.

New Zealand Natives Association

While the scenario for Māori was bleak at the turn of the twentieth century, the situation for those of British descent was completely different. In relation to the period in which legislation affirming the current flag was adopted, many scholars have argued it coincided with a period when a growing number of New Zealand-born Europeans now searched for what it meant to be a New Zealander.

Sinclair notes the observations of British visitor Richard Jebb, who likened this emerging sense of identity with the Creole in America; that is, those who were locally-born Europeans.¹⁰³ Also influencing New Zealand-born Europeans was the Australian Natives Association, which was formed in Victoria in 1871.¹⁰⁴ The idea of a native association in New Zealand germinated, with an increasing number of New Zealand-born Europeans searching for their own collective identity.

The New Zealand Natives Association was formed in Auckland in 1894 and, by 1900, the association had branches throughout the country, including Christchurch, Wellington, Dunedin, Invercargill, Hawera, Masterton, and Gisborne.¹⁰⁵ For the latter branch, the principal objectives of the organisation were “to stimulate patriotism and national sentiment; to provide for social intercourse; and to unite all worthy sons of New Zealand in one harmonious body throughout the Colony.”¹⁰⁶

One of the central foci of the New Zealand Natives Association was the organising of patriotic activities. This included the promotion of the silver fern as a New Zealand emblem, and the flying of the New Zealand Flag, the Union Jack, or both.

¹⁰³ R. Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*, London, 1905, pp.92-93 cited in Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁴ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.31.

¹⁰⁵ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.33.

¹⁰⁶ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.36.

The association also encouraged schools to teach pupils to ‘honour the flag’ by way of hoisting and saluting the flag, in the late 1890s – a subject that will be covered in more detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.¹⁰⁷

However, by the 1920s, it is clear that the branches of the association were winding down. Sinclair, in analysing its demise, attributes several reasons to this. Firstly, the association could find no psychological answer to how New Zealanders could express their ‘New Zealandishness.’ Secondly, it had no useful role, in contrast to that of the Australian Natives Association, which played a major role in pushing for Australia to become a federation. Thirdly, within New Zealand there were very few adult European natives (in 1896, more than 440,000 were New Zealand-born, yet 330,000 of this number were less than twenty years of age). Fourthly, more than half of New Zealand-born Europeans resided in the countryside, ensuring that the mobilisation of that population was more difficult than if they lived in an urban setting. Finally, the association was viewed as a social club, and with the advent of the Boer War, this – in turn – resulted in nationwide patriotism that was not restricted to New Zealand-born Europeans.¹⁰⁸

Liberal Government 1891-1912: ‘New Zealand for New Zealanders’

Arguably a more significant factor in developing national identity during this period, compared to the advent of the New Zealand Natives Association, was the election of the Liberal government. During this period, the Liberal Party reigned supreme for twenty-one years (1891 to 1912), with Premier Seddon at the helm from 1893 to 1906. David Hamer observes that the Liberal party viewed itself as ‘making a nation’ that was “one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown”.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.38.

¹⁰⁸ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, pp.39-45.

¹⁰⁹ John Ballance to Rowland Mason, 8 June 1892, Ballance Letter Book, May 1892 to April 1893, Alexander Turnbull Library, cited in David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891-1912*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, p.53.

The first Premier of the Liberal Government, from 1891 to 1893, John Ballance, believed strongly in nationalism, and that the various factions that existed within New Zealand, could be brought together in the fostering of the concept of the 'New Zealand nation.'¹¹⁰

The Liberal government attempted to achieve this goal in a variety of ways, from emphasising 'New Zealand' as being the common denominator between capitalists and labourers to bridging the division between town and country by having both sectors appreciate diversity and blaming any discord on foreign influences.¹¹¹ The Liberals coined their major policy platform 'New Zealand for New Zealanders.'¹¹²

Central to the Liberals' notion of nationalism was the contrast between the 'Old World' and the 'New World', and this was used to justify almost every policy promoted by the party and its leader, Seddon. Reeves articulated it best when he stated in the House:

I would rather that New Zealand had a million of happy, prosperous, contented people than two millions partly living in dirty alleys and black slums, in the midst of poverty and darkness – foul mouthed, destitute, drunken. I would rather see New Zealand a small country than that our agricultural labourers should sink to the condition that their fellows in older countries have sunk to.¹¹³

Hamer further defined the 'Old World' evils that existed in Britain: landlordism or the ability of the gentry to maintain a monopoly on land; the sad plight that faced those who were forced into Victorian workhouses; the pitfalls of 'Old World' cities, such as slums, disease, crime and destitution; and class rigidity that prevented people climbing the social ladder.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals*, p.53.

¹¹¹ Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals*, p.53.

¹¹² *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD)*, v. 372, p.73, cited in Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals*, p.53.

¹¹³ *NZPD*, v.9, p.143, cited in Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals*, p.54.

¹¹⁴ Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals*, pp.56-59.

As for the ‘New World’, New Zealand was to be the ‘social laboratory of the world’, whereby the ills of the ‘Old World’ could be solved by the British colony.¹¹⁵ Within this context, there developed – as Hamer would argue – New Zealand patriotism; a reforming country showing how to correct ‘Old World’ problems. Such examples include that of Member of Parliament for Christchurch South, Harry Ell, who commented in 1906 that “this is the first Government of any colony under the British flag that has ever erected homes for workers.”¹¹⁶

Belich described the Liberal government as straddling two eras of New Zealand nationalism: progressive colonisation and recolonisation.¹¹⁷ Belich defines the former period thus:

Progressive colonisation is my term for what may well rank as the most rapid form of cultural reproduction – the making of a new people from an old – in human history... Progressive colonisation dominated New Zealand history between the 1840s and the 1880s, but it was not restricted to this country. It also occurred in the other ‘neo-Britains’: Australia, Canada, South Africa and the United States.¹¹⁸

As for recolonisation, Belich provides the following explanation:

[Recolonisation]... is my term for a renewal and reshaping of links between colony and metropolis after an earlier period of colonisation. In New Zealand’s case, it reshuffled and tightened links with Britain between the 1880s and 1900s. It welded selected shards of the old regime together with fresh developments to form a new system in this period.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals*, p.59.

¹¹⁶ *NZPD*, v.45, p.138, cited in Hamer, p.61.

¹¹⁷ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders*, Auckland: Penguin, 2001, p.46.

¹¹⁸ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.17.

¹¹⁹ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.29.

For Belich, the oft-used term to describe New Zealand during this period, 'Better Britain', is a recolonial ideology that New Zealand citizens strongly believed in.¹²⁰ This is what was previously described by Hamer as the 'New Country.' Explains Belich, "The shift was Greater Britain to Better Britain, from the Progressive British Paradise to the Exemplary British Paradise, from embryonic super-power to the world's social laboratory."¹²¹ These sentiments would become apparent in the debates surrounding the legislation for the current flag.

"King Dick": Nationalist Imperialist

It was not only the Liberal's domestic policies that engendered an enhanced sense of national identity, but the ways in which New Zealand positioned itself in the world also heightened nationalist sentiment. At times, some expressions of patriotism could be labelled as jingoism, with overtones of racial superiority. Seddon himself was no stranger to such claims, especially his overt racism towards the Chinese and any other non-Briton, other than Māori.¹²² Seddon's outlook on nationalism is described by biographer Tom Brooking as being a 'Nationalistic Imperialist.'¹²³

He writes "...Seddon usually imagined New Zealand as operating within the compass of the British world, but sometimes, as in his disagreement with Britain's authorities over New Zealand's expansion into the Pacific, he was prepared to move outside the British sphere."¹²⁴ Brooking described Seddon's outlook thus: "His nationalistic imperialism, therefore, although decidedly schizophrenic at times, mixed naked New Zealand self-interest with vote-catching and genuine emotional appeal."¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.81.

¹²¹ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.77.

¹²² Tom Brooking, *Richard Seddon: King of God's Own*, Auckland: Penguin, 2014, p.284.

¹²³ Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, p.284.

¹²⁴ Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, p.285.

¹²⁵ Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, p.286.

During the reign of the Liberal Government, Seddon would lead the country in opposing New Zealand joining with the newly formed Commonwealth State of Australia. His refusal followed the decision to unite the six colonies of Australia (New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, and Western Australia) under the one umbrella of a federation in 1901. It was labelled by Palenski as being “perhaps the single most important overt manifestation of New Zealand identity”¹²⁶ and, as he observes, “had New Zealand lined up with the six other colonies, there would be no such thing as a New Zealand national identity.”¹²⁷

Other reasons for New Zealand not joining the Federation of Australia included the distance between the two territories, the belief that race relations in New Zealand were more advanced than in Australia, the concern of feminists about the loss of their voices within a larger polity, and that New Zealand’s better environment resulted in the island nation being more fertile than the drought-stricken Australia.¹²⁸ Brooking also agrees with the summations of Palenski and Jebb that nationalism in both New Zealand and Australia was too far advanced for an amalgamation to proceed.¹²⁹

Seddon’s ultimate wish was to build a mini-Empire in the Pacific, rather than be the leader of the third-biggest state of Australia.¹³⁰ His plan for New Zealand, in Pacific expansionist terms, was to secure Fiji, Western Samoa, the New Hebrides, Tonga, and Hawai’i, but he only succeeded in annexing the Cook Islands and Niue (with the latter separating in 1903).¹³¹ Seddon did so on two grounds: firstly, the contentious claim that New Zealand enjoyed better race relations and, as such, would be better placed to assist coloured people than any other close-by colony; and secondly, that he wished to increase trade.

¹²⁶ Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, p.8.

¹²⁷ Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, p.8.

¹²⁸ Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, pp.315-317.

¹²⁹ Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, p.317.

¹³⁰ Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, p.313.

¹³¹ Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, pp.286-287.

Empire Fervour and Flags: Major British Empire Events 1897-1902

As has been previously noted, being a believer in the British Empire and the New Zealand nation were not mutually exclusive and were, in fact, seen as complementary. The two-sided nature of identity would be evident in the flags and iconography adopted by New Zealand armed forces during the Boer War. Seddon himself was very much a populist; happy to stand alone from the British Empire, as well as to stand with the British Empire, depending on the mood of voters. This theme will be further explored in Chapter Four, but it is important to mention the five major British Empire events that took place from 1897 to 1902, and the degree of 'Empire Fervour' that was gripping New Zealand at the time. Details of each event also demonstrate the deep sense of devotion citizens of New Zealand had to the British Empire. Sinclair himself highlighted the loyalty of New Zealanders to the British Crown, and in particular, the royal family.¹³²

In 1897, the longest serving British Monarch, Queen Victoria, celebrated her Diamond Jubilee (sixty years on the throne). This event was widely commemorated in New Zealand, one example being the construction of statues in the four main centres.¹³³ Seddon, in demonstrating New Zealand's allegiance to the British Crown, attended celebrations in London as a representative of New Zealand and stated that "...the colonies never thought of separation from the Mother Country."¹³⁴

Two years later New Zealand troops were involved in their first overseas conflict, the Second Boer War. New Zealand was the first colonial legislature to offer troops towards the war effort, and the reasons for supporting it included that New Zealand wanted to demonstrate its loyalty to the British Empire in light of the rise of Imperial rivals Germany and Japan.¹³⁵

¹³² Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.96.

¹³³ Jock Phillips. 'Anniversaries - Early celebrations and Queen Victoria's jubilees', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, updated 10-Nov-14 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/anniversaries/page-1>. (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹³⁴ 'Mr Seddon Abroad', *Press*, 12 June 1906, p.9.

¹³⁵ 'Mr Seddon Abroad', *Press*, 12 June 1906, p.9.

This conflict would have a major impact on the identity of New Zealand. Again, New Zealand was seen as being part of the larger British Empire. A pamphlet articulated that fighting in the war was morally the right course of action:

Twenty-five years ago... patriotism was quiet and limited. Now, however, it has developed into an Imperialism, which is the most remarkable feature of our time, and which readily seeks to take up the “Burden of Empire”, the ruling spirit of which is a larger liberty and purer civilisation, not for British subjects only, but for Humanity.¹³⁶

Seddon made similar remarks in relation to New Zealand’s participation in the Boer War: “...the Mother-country has given us our birthright of freedom... The British flag is our protection; without belonging to the Empire where would New Zealand be?”¹³⁷ Seddon, when farewelling troops, stated that “our [British] race... would, could and should be the dominant race of the world.”¹³⁸ Seddon himself was extremely eager to support the Boer War, with the *Hawke’s Bay Herald* detailing his enthusiasm.

There is undoubtedly a danger that the spirit of Imperialism, which has received such a great impetus from the war in South Africa, may deteriorate into mere Jingoism. This was evidenced by our Premier, who, intoxicated at the praise bestowed on the colonies, and especially New Zealand, for the part they have played in an Imperial crisis – a movement initiated by Mr Seddon, and for which he deserves all credit...¹³⁹

Sinclair comments that the Boer War was “a major stimulus to nationalism”, as it was the first time troops from the colonies could fight alongside each other, and as such, they observed their differences.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ *In Memory of New Zealand’s Sons Fallen in South Africa*, Wellington, 1902, p.5, cited in Jock Phillips, *To the Memory: New Zealand’s War Memorials*, Nelson: Potton and Burton, 2016, p.60.

¹³⁷ John Crawford with Ellen Ellis, *To Fight for The Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902*, Auckland: Reed, 1999, p.12.

¹³⁸ *New Zealand Times*, 23 October 1899 cited in Jock Phillips, 'South African War - Origins of the war', Te Ara - the *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 13-Jul-12 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/south-african-war/page-1>. (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹³⁹ 'Imperialism or Jingoism?' *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 17 July 1900, p.2.

¹⁴⁰ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.125.

Although Sinclair argues that the Boer War was not a ‘coming of age’ moment regarding New Zealand nationhood, he does believe that it did create a ‘national sentiment.’¹⁴¹ He also notes that, due to the lack of literature on the subject, due to the loss of archival material in a fire in Wellington, the effect of the Boer War has been underestimated and obscured by the “greater influence of the First World War.”¹⁴² The conflict was a major focus at Hoisting the Flag ceremonies, a theme that will be explored throughout Chapter Four.

To mark the departure of several contingents to the Boer War, a decorative medal was issued that had on it a Union Jack crossed with what would become the official flag for New Zealand.¹⁴³ At the time of the Boer War, New Zealanders sang about the Union Jack, again in a demonstration of their loyalty to the British Empire, in songs such as *Boys of the Southern Cross*.¹⁴⁴ Another popular song was *One Flag, One Speech, One Empire*, which was dedicated to the then New Zealand governor, the Earl of Ranfurly.¹⁴⁵ Such use of the Union Jack in popular culture reinforces the notion that New Zealand men saw their duty to Empire first, before that of New Zealand.

In 1901, New Zealand was to both mourn and celebrate British royalty. On January 22, Queen Victoria died. Upon receiving the news, the Governor and the Seventh Earl of Glasgow, David Boyle, ordered a 101-gun salute in Wellington. In most major centres, special funeral services were held, and shops and business were closed for the day, with the government officially declaring a national day of mourning and officials instructed not to return work until the following Monday.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.141.

¹⁴² Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.125.

¹⁴³ A. Sutherland, *Flags of New Zealand*, *The New Zealand Numismatic Journal*, 1959, p.1.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Boys of the Southern Cross’, available online at <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/sound/boys-of-the-southern-cross-song>. (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁴⁵ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 19 November 1900, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Death of the Queen’, *Evening Star*, 24 January 1901, p.2.

Despite the death of Queen Victoria, a scheduled New Zealand tour by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, the future King George V and Queen Mary of England, proceeded in June, 1901. The purpose of their visit was to thank nations of the Commonwealth for their efforts in the Boer War. The *West Coast Times* reflected that since the previous royal visit of the Duke of Edinburgh, 34 years ago, New Zealand had become a ‘nation’, printing:

...there have been vast changes since that date, both in the growth and importance of New Zealand, the almost undreamed of change in the relationship with the Mother Country and the marvellous impulse of Imperialism which has accentuated that change. Since then it may be said the youthful Colony has...become a nation and the Empire itself has been welded into one vast political concretion with one aspiration, one sentiment and one unswerving sense of loyalty between the whole...Our people will eagerly throng in thousands to give unmistakable evidence of the genuine warmth of their hearts towards their Royal Highnesses and display their loyal adherence to the King and Constitution for whom they have fought and shed their blood.¹⁴⁷

The final major British Empire event of this period was the Coronation of King Edward VII, which was performed in August 1902. Coronation Day was celebrated nationwide, with church services being held and oak-planting ceremonies taking place. Schools in Auckland performed marches, saluted the flag, and received a set of coronation cards provided by the government.¹⁴⁸

Legislating for the Flag 1900-1902

The environment in which Markham’s 1869 flag was legislated for to represent New Zealand on both land and water needs to be appreciated within the wider context of New Zealand identity that was being widely promoted, as has been detailed in the previous sections of this chapter.

¹⁴⁷ ‘The Royal Visit’, *West Coast Times*, 11 June 1901, p.2.

¹⁴⁸ ‘The Schools and the Coronation’, *New Zealand Herald*, 9 August 1902, p.3.

Major events involving British royalty, alongside New Zealand troops being sent to their first overseas conflict, in the Second Boer War, created a sense of needing to serve the British Empire, as well as examining the differences between New Zealand citizens and others who belonged to other countries that were predominately British, such as Australia, Canada, and Britain itself. In many respects, the selection of Markham's design was confirmation that New Zealand belonged to the British Empire, as well as declaring New Zealand's unique position in the world.

In 1887, the British Board of Trade, appointed to oversee the economic interests of the British Empire, established a committee to revise the International Code of Signals. In 1898, the committee released its report as to which flags could be flown by British colonies when arriving and departing from ports, determining that the seal of each colony would sit upon a white disc background.¹⁴⁹

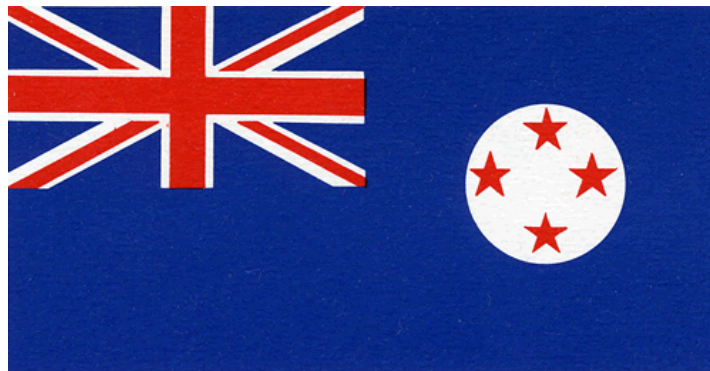


Fig. 25. *New Zealand Signal Flag 1898.*¹⁵⁰

The New Zealand signalling flag began to be flown from public buildings and was being used for commercial operations on land. The end result was confusion amongst the New Zealand public, who wanted to show their patriotism towards New Zealand troops who were serving in the Boer War. Were people to fly the Union Jack, the New Zealand Flag, as designed by Markham in 1869, or the newly adjudicated signal flag?

¹⁴⁹ Ian MacDonald, 'Origins of the New Zealand Flag (1898 – 1903)', 10 October 2013, http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nz_hist5.html (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁵⁰ 'New Zealand signalling flag', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/new-zealand-signalling-flag>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 11-May-2015. (accessed 10 August 2020).

The issue was raised by the Member of Parliament for Wellington, John Hutcheson, to Premier Seddon, after the signalling flag was wrongfully flown at Government Buildings in Auckland in 1900.¹⁵¹ Hutcheson also argued that flag now looked like a “Hennessy’s brandy capsule”,¹⁵² stated that people were uncertain as to what the flag of New Zealand was, and that the Premier needed to proclaim officially what the national flag was.¹⁵³ Seddon responded that, while the government had agreed to the recommendations made by the committee that revised the International Code of Signals, he would introduce legislation to prevent the New Zealand Blue Ensign (Markham’s design of 1869) being used for commercial purposes.

Further to Seddon’s promise, he introduced a proposed law on July 14, 1900, to ensure that only the blue ensign would be the flag to represent New Zealand on both land and water.¹⁵⁴ On July 27, the Minister of Public Works, William Hall-Jones, wrote to the Deputy Premier, Joseph Ward, to ‘instruct’ officers in charge of public buildings that the New Zealand Flag is the one without the white disc and the ones with the white disc “...are simply signal flags used to indicate that the vessel is a Colonial one.”¹⁵⁵

While the catalyst for changing the flag was, as Christoffel describes, a ‘bureaucratic bungle’, his article argues that the legislation merely affirmed the Southern Cross as being New Zealand’s flag, and that it did not represent a change from the Union Jack to the current New Zealand Flag.¹⁵⁶ He further asserts that it is debatable that the Union Jack was ever New Zealand’s flag. In his assertions, Christoffel focuses on the 1902 legislation and the debate that ensued during the passing of the Act. Contrary to Christoffel’s argument, several official government texts on the subject of the New Zealand flag assert that the Union Jack was indeed the official flag for New Zealand, following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

¹⁵¹ Order Paper, House of Representatives, 10 July 1900, J. Hutcheson to Premier Seddon, in M1 1229 - 25/2483, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵² J. Hutcheson, *NZPD*, Vol. 111, June 21-July 19, 1900, p.321.

¹⁵³ J. Hutcheson, *NZPD*, Vol. 111, June 21-July 19, 1900, p.374.

¹⁵⁴ Mr Seddon, New Zealand Ensign and Code Signals Bill, *NZPD*, Vol.114, 19 September 1900, p. 57.

¹⁵⁵ Memorandum from Hall-Jones to Hon. Ward, 27 July 1900 in IA 1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵⁶ Paul Christoffel, ‘We are not changing it: A Reassessment of the History of the Flag’, *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 24, (2017), p.25.

In the 1966 *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, the entry on flags reads that New Zealand possessed no flag of its own and “used the Union Jack for all occasions onshore.”¹⁵⁷ In Bill Glue’s *The New Zealand Ensign*, produced by the Historical Publications Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs a year prior to the encyclopaedia, he writes that the Union Jack became New Zealand’s national flag, following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.¹⁵⁸ *The New Zealand Flag*, published in 1986 by the Department of Internal Affairs, explicitly states that the Union Jack superseded the United Tribes Flag of 1834, after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and “remained an official flag on land, for all occasions, until 1902.”¹⁵⁹

Within the preceding chapter and this chapter of this thesis, a high number of examples have been provided to show that, as far as both officials and citizens of New Zealand were concerned, the Union Jack represented New Zealand on land until the passing of the legislation in 1902. As this chapter, and the chapters that follow will show, confusion reigned amongst a high portion of the population, who were unfamiliar with the New Zealand Ensign, and who continued, for a great many years, to fly the Union Jack as an act of patriotism.

Christoffel’s argument is focussed on the wording of the preamble of the 1902 legislation. He writes of the preamble, “that the flag described in the Act has been ‘the recognised ensign of the colony’ since 1869.”¹⁶⁰ The wording of the preamble reads:

WHEREAS by Proclamation under the hand of His Excellency the Governor, dated the twenty-third day of October, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, it was declared, in accordance with the Queen’s Regulations made under the provisions of an Act of the Imperial Parliament intitled “The Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865,” that the flag hereinafter described should have the distinctive seal or badge of the Colony of New Zealand for all vessels belonging to or permanently employed in the service of the colony: And whereas the said flag has since been in general use for the purpose aforesaid, and also as the recognised ensign of the colony:

¹⁵⁷ Foster, ‘Flags’ in A.H. McLintock, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand: Volume One*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1966, p.694.

¹⁵⁸ W.A. Glue, *The New Zealand Ensign*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1965, p.11.

¹⁵⁹ Department of Internal Affairs, *The New Zealand Flag*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1986, p.7.

¹⁶⁰ Christoffel, ‘We are not changing it: A Reassessment of the History of the Flag’, p.30.

And whereas it is desirable that the same flag should be by law established as the ensign of the colony for the purposes hereinafter mentioned...¹⁶¹

The preamble simply confirms that the New Zealand Blue Ensign had been in use for government-owned vessels, that it had been used for that purpose, and that it had been recognised as the ensign of the colony. There is no referral to that recognition dating back to 1869, as stated by Christoffel, and nor does the preamble distinguish between the ensign being recognised on land or water, or both. In this context, it could be construed that the flag was the recognised ensign of the colony on water, which it was. Even if politicians recognised the flag on land, there is certainly a paucity of evidence to suggest that it was considered as such by New Zealand citizens.

Regarding the selection of a flag to represent New Zealand, a brief note written by James Launson indicates that the process of selecting a flag for New Zealand was not straightforward: “In 1900, it was thought that we could simplify our flag. A Bill was introduced – a great deal of trouble began between two departments, many flags were made and destroyed – this is confidential and not to be used.”¹⁶² Unfortunately, Launson did not state which two departments were involved or why the flags were made and destroyed. The *Otago Daily Times* also reported that Seddon was unhappy with the design and wished to establish a new flag.¹⁶³ It is also worth noting there was some enthusiasm to see the United Tribes Flag of 1834 revived to represent New Zealand.

An editorial from the *Auckland Star* expressed support for the flag to be considered, and cited a similar plea from Auckland identity George Pierce, who, a decade prior, questioned why New Zealand would fly the flag of Victoria.¹⁶⁴ The same newspaper made the same observation in a column the following month, regarding the similarity between the New Zealand Flag and that of Victoria’s, as both had the Southern Cross represented in the fly on their ensign.¹⁶⁵ The Editor wrote:

¹⁶¹ New Zealand Ensign Act 1901 (1 EDW VII 1901 No 74).

¹⁶² James Launson, *The New Zealand Flag manuscript*, QMS-1136, Alexander Turnbull Library, p. 5.

¹⁶³ *Otago Daily Times*, 31 August 1900, p.4.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Our Flag’, *Auckland Star*, 25 June 1900, p.4.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Our New Zealand Flag’, *Auckland Star*, 16 July 1900, p.4.

The new flag [a reference to the New Zealand signal flag] is by no means an improvement on the old one [a reference to the 1869 design]: and, moreover, the ensign has no national distinctiveness, inasmuch as it is the blue ensign of the colony of Victoria. It would seem that the time has come when an appropriate flag should be selected for this colony, and ensign which will not be confused with Australian flags.¹⁶⁶

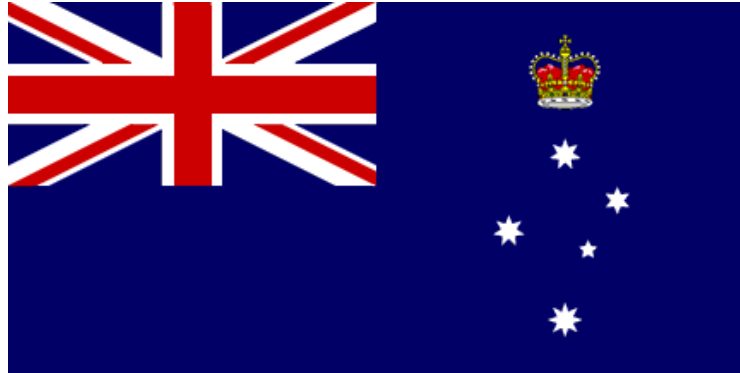


Fig. 26. *Flag of Victoria.*¹⁶⁷

Also promoting the United Tribes flag was the *Otago Daily Times*. The paper printed that the United Tribes flag is more unique and striking than the flags being legislated for, and that any flag adopted should have ‘distinctive characteristics’ to make it distinguishable from a distance, which the 1869 design did not.¹⁶⁸ The article was republished by Wellington’s *Evening Post*.¹⁶⁹

Seddon began his speech by stating that the necessity of the bill was due to “our not having really a flag which has been universally taken up as the New Zealand flag.”¹⁷⁰ As for what motivated Seddon to introduce the Act, the following passage from a speech he delivered during the debate surrounding the legislation clarifies that it was an attempt to create patriotism among New Zealand schoolchildren, and to prevent the flag from being defaced. Seddon’s speech is also notable in the way it references the United States of America as an exemplar of flags and patriotism. Seddon stated:

¹⁶⁶ ‘Our New Zealand Flag’, *Auckland Star*, 16 July 1900, p.4.

¹⁶⁷ Ian MacDonald, *Victoria (Australia)*, 25 June 2020, <https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/au-vic.html#1870> (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁶⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, 31 August 1900, p.4.

¹⁶⁹ ‘New Zealand Ensign’, *Evening Post*, 3 September 1900, p.6.

¹⁷⁰ Seddon, *NZPD*, Vol. 114, 19 September 1900, p.57.

[T]he flag with the Southern Cross upon it has been generally recognised as the New Zealand flag... We shall have our flags in the public schools saluted, and there is no doubt it has a stimulating effect. It creates a feeling of patriotism, which has been somewhat defective, and as years roll on, unless we do something of this kind, we shall find our young New Zealanders growing up and their education very deficient. See how the flag of the Americans – the stars and stripes – is almost worshipped. It is introduced to the public schools on every occasion, into their poetry, into their everyday life; and everywhere you see and hear and read the Star-Spangled Banner. Here in this colony we have a general mixture, and it is the object of doing away with this general mixture, and to prevent the defacement of the flag, that this Government have decided to introduce this Bill.¹⁷¹

The Hoisting the Flag Movement was referred to constantly during the Parliamentary debates regarding the legislation. One Member of Parliament who had a great deal to say on the matter was Richard Monk, from Waitemata, a member of the New Zealand Natives Association,¹⁷² who asked the Minister for Public Works whether government schools would each be provided a flag, based on public support, and whether the Minister had taken steps to stress to the Education Boards and the School Committees the importance of using the flag.

Referring to a Hoisting the Flag ceremony he attended at Kaukapakapa School, in the Rodney area, Monk relayed hearing that an Empire Council would be assembled in Britain to hear matters of Imperial concern, that the great flag of our Empire would be in the centre of the gathering, and that circling the meeting would be flags representing the self-governing colonies, including New Zealand.¹⁷³ He continued to state that if the day came when the Mother Country was in trouble, the self-governing colonies would help, including New Zealand, and that "...he felt sure they would do their duty, and would act in a manner worthy of the traditions of the race from which they sprung..."¹⁷⁴. Monk then stated:

¹⁷¹ *NZPD*, Vol. 114, 19 September 1900, p. 57.

¹⁷² 'Topics of the Day', *Press*, 5 October 1900, p.4. The paper described Monk as a "patriot of patriots, the Empire first, then New Zealand, is his motto, and he puts New Zealand pretty close up..."

¹⁷³ *NZPD*, Vol.111. June 29 1900, p.174.

¹⁷⁴ *NZPD*, Vol.111. June 29 1900, p.174.

The movement [Hoisting the Flag] had assumed a measure of popularity... it was done very much to develop national feeling and respect for the flag in the United States. And we had our great flag – the flag of our race – and the traditions surrounding it. The illustrious deeds clustering in its history had a great deal to do with forming patriotic sentiments in the minds of the people who were familiar with it... there should be a New Zealand flag supplied to every school, and that the young people of New Zealand should strive to the utmost to create a national feeling over their flag, and in its history to emulate, if possible, the traditions that surrounded the great flag of the Empire...¹⁷⁵

The Minister of Works, William Hall-Jones, supported Monk's suggestions, responding:

Our New Zealand flag had been intertwined with the Imperial flag, and with the flags of other colonies, and our contingents had been fighting under that flag with the Imperial troops in the South African war... he had approved the suggestion that the schools should have the New Zealand flag, and the flag should be saluted in the same way as was done to the United States of America."¹⁷⁶

Monk then delivered a speech that resulted in all Members of the House congratulating him. He avowed:

[The flag]...which I say is especially appropriate to this colony, for the reason that we are the most southern colony in the British Empire...The most noble races have made their national flag the shrine of their martial lore and the traditions that are instinct with the genius of national life and emotion, and I think it is well for us to have similar and kindred feelings. My ideal for a flag is not for signalling purposes, but the emblem that is closely identified with the best aspirations of the people, appealing to their vicissitudes, the inseparable comrade of their national being...It should be exhibited in every school, and the children be taught to make it the shrine of their honour, investing with it every manly attribute and the most exalted aspirations.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ *NZPD*, Vol.111. June 29 1900, p.174.

¹⁷⁶ *NZPD*, Vol.111. June 29 1900, p.174.

¹⁷⁷ *NZPD*, Vol.111. June 29 1900, pp.59-61.

In the middle of his speech, Monk quoted the following poem written by former New Zealand politician, Vincent Pyke.¹⁷⁸

Three crosses in the Union,
Three crosses in the Jack,
And we'll add to it now the Cross of the South,
And stand by it, back to back.
Though other skies above us shine
When danger's tempest lowers
We'll show the world that Britain's cause
And Britain's foes are ours.

Interestingly, Monk suggested either the kiwi or 'Rotorua fern', as unique features in New Zealand, could be placed on a white disc for a signalling flag.¹⁷⁹

Member of Parliament for Ashley, Richard Meredith, was so taken by Monk's words that he rose and suggested that copies of his speech be taken and sent to every school in the country. Meredith stated that he would take five hundred copies and distribute them to schools in his own district.¹⁸⁰ Seddon responded by stating that he was happy for schools to receive a copy of Monk's speech, so long as politics were absent from it.¹⁸¹ He added that all schools should receive a flag, and that it would be flown on celebration days and holidays from public buildings. Finally, Seddon remarked that the flag should be "conspicuous", but not – as it had been in the past – "conspicuous by its absence."¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ *NZPD*, Vol.111. June 29 1900, pp.59-61.

¹⁷⁹ 'Local Gossip', *New Zealand Herald*, 13 October 1900, p.1.

¹⁸⁰ *NZPD*, Vol. 111. June 29 1900, pp.62-63.

¹⁸¹ 'The New Zealand Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 20 September 1900, p.5.

¹⁸² 'The New Zealand Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 20 September 1900, p.5.

The Speaker of the House confirmed that the flag would be hung in the Chamber for the third reading, and at 2.00 am on September 26, 1900, the law was passed, with Seddon and the other politicians standing to a rousing applause. “The House then adjourned, and cheering was renewed again in the lobby.”¹⁸³

Commenting on the legislation, the *Bay of Plenty Times* editor printed:

...there is no nation which seems as much at a loss to know what its flag as a nation really is. Popular songs have perhaps done as much as anything else to mislead the public... ‘The Union Jack of Old England’ and ‘Three Cheers for the Red, White and Blue’, can do more to produce a wrong impression than many volumes of serious writing can undo... the question for many School Committees just now is what flag to hoist with a view to teaching the young idea to respect a piece of bunting as the symbol of the power of a mighty Empire... Clearly then they must avoid giving prominence to any flag merely representing a part of the Empire and this excludes the New Zealand ensign.¹⁸⁴

The *Otago Daily Times* was initially critical of the legislation providing for three New Zealand flags, with Government ships to fly the signal flag; merchant ships to fly the red ensign with the white disc, as per signal flags; and the flag on shore to be the 1869 design.¹⁸⁵ Once the legislation was amended to say that the New Zealand ensign would only be the 1869 design, the paper supported the decision and stated it would remain loyal to the choice made by the House of Representatives, but remained critical that its suggestion of the United Tribes Flag was not entertained.¹⁸⁶ The editor was also disparaging of the efforts of Atkinson and Monk, who drafted the Act’s preamble, for declaring “...that the flag now adopted has been ‘the recognised ensign of the colony’”, without noting the first flag to represent New Zealand was that of the United Tribes.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ ‘The New Zealand Flag’, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 September 1900, p.5.

¹⁸⁴ *The Bay of Plenty Times*, 29 August 1900, p.2.

¹⁸⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, 31 August 1900, p.4.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Current Topics’, *Otago Daily Times*, 22 September 1900, p.6.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Current Topics’, *Otago Daily Times*, 22 September 1900, p.6.

Despite Seddon having introduced the Bill in 1900, the Premier had to reintroduce the legislation the following year, due to two reasons: an objection raised by the Acting Governor, Sir Robert Stout;¹⁸⁸ and secondly, because of a ruling from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, who were concerned that the legislation allowed the blue ensign to be used ‘for all purposes’, as stated in the Preamble of the Act, and that such a provision would allow New Zealand merchant vessels, instead of government ships, to fly the flag.¹⁸⁹

On March 24, 1902, King Edward VII gave his royal assent to the new Act at the Court of St James in London. Seddon’s altered bill restricted the use of the blue ensign to ‘vessels owned and used by the New Zealand government or if the British Admiralty provided permission for it to be flown other than stipulated.’¹⁹⁰ On June 27, 1902, the *New Zealand Gazette* issued a description of the New Zealand Ensign by the Minister of the Marine Department, William Hall-Jones.¹⁹¹

Following the passing of the *New Zealand Ensign Act 1901*, and as promised by Seddon, tenders were called for the manufacture of 1800 flags, at a cost of £1500, by the Education Department.¹⁹² Upon the arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York to Wellington in May 1901, it was reported that the three successful tenders, in Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin, had only supplied 60 flags to the Education Department and, therefore, schools would be unable to fly the New Zealand Ensign when the royals toured the country.¹⁹³ The reason was attributed to the low amount of bunting available in the colonies.

¹⁸⁸ Stout and Seddon were long-standing enemies following a leadership contest after the passing of the then New Zealand Premier and Leader of the Liberal Party, John Ballance, in 1893. Specifically, Stout was offended at the wording of Clause 4 that stated that the Act would become law after being granted ‘the approval of Her Majesty.’ Although legislation pertaining to national flags within British colonies rested directly with the British Monarch, Stout argued that it should take the normal wording of legislation and that as it did not, the clause ran against the Governor’s prerogative to decide a course of action. The official ruling from the Secretary of States to the Colonies was that although he would prefer the wording to be different, he was satisfied with the wording of the clause as it stood. See: Secretary of State for the Colonies J Chamberlain to Governor Earl of Ranfurly, 21 March 1901, in M1 1229 - 25/2483, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁸⁹ Secretary of State for the Colonies J Chamberlain to Governor Earl of Ranfurly, 21 March 1901, in M1 1229 - 25/2483, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹⁰ New Zealand Ensign Act 1901, 1 EDW VII 1901 No 74.

¹⁹¹ Extract from *New Zealand Gazette*, 27/06/1902 in IA 1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹² ‘The New Zealand Ensign’, *Feildng Star*, 2 November 1900, p.2.

¹⁹³ ‘New Zealand’s Share in the Royal Visit’, *Evening Post*, Volume XLI, Issue 110, 11 May 1901.

The Royal programme had scheduled the Duchess to push a button at Queen's Wharf, Auckland, as a signal for the simultaneous hoisting of the New Zealand flag throughout all public and private schools in the colony.¹⁹⁴

Conclusion

The developments of the mid-nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, regarding the current New Zealand flag, have not been well researched or contextualised. As this chapter shows, New Zealand, alongside Victoria, played a pivotal role in British authorities adjudicating that the British Blue Ensign, with the seal or badge of each British colony, would be the flag that represented their respective territories.

It is highly likely that the design of the current flag was influenced by Australian precedents. The decision to insert the Southern Cross, an idea that was most likely borrowed from Australia, was made by characters who had arrived in New Zealand as a result of the New Zealand War. The decision to proclaim the current New Zealand flag as representing government vessels was also made during a war that would forever change the racial and social composition of New Zealand's future.

The extensive debate over whether the Union Jack or the current flag should be the official flag of New Zealand reflects a transitional era in national identity. The confusion between the Union Jack and the flag that was legislated for, also accurately reflects notions of dual citizenship in New Zealand, to both the Empire and New Zealand.

Chapter Four will demonstrate that, even following the passing of the 1901 Act to declare the New Zealand Blue Ensign as representing New Zealand on both land and water, during a heightened period of patriotism that did not distinguish between citizens being New Zealanders or members of the British Empire, confusion still reigned amongst the public as to which flag was best to fly. The confusion was symptomatic of notions of dual citizenship in New Zealand, to both Empire and New Zealand.

¹⁹⁴ 'Our Royal Visitors in the North', *Evening Post*, 11 June 1901.

The next chapter, however, will show Māori responses to the Union Jack, as Māori adopted a number of flags to represent various movements that opposed the imposition of British rule on their home territories. It will also demonstrate that, over time, a deliberate strategy of gifting either Union Jacks or British Red Ensigns to Māori was enacted during a time when assimilation was the primary policy of successive New Zealand governments

CHAPTER THREE

MARKERS OF MANA: MAORI AND FLAGS 1840-1970

Māori society changed significantly in the period between 1840 and 1970. Whereas in 1840, Māori outnumbered Europeans 40:1,¹ by 1971, they comprised just over 10% of the population.² Whereas Māori exercised effective sovereignty over nearly all of New Zealand in 1840, the majority of their land had been alienated by 1970, and the effective authority of Māori leaders was compromised by the rise of the European-dominated government. Māori responses to these developments took a number of forms. Some fought against the Crown; others, for a variety of reasons, worked alongside the Crown. A variety of religious and political movements also emerged.

During this period, Māori political movements adopted a range of flags, the designs of which, to varying degrees, reflected both their own identity and their relationship to the Crown. As Binney, Vincent O'Malley and Alan Ward wrote, "Māori were quick to grasp the potential of flags as both symbolic markers of identity and as a means of communication."³ This chapter provides some detail regarding some of the more well-known Māori flags that were in use, especially during the New Zealand Wars. It also provides a historical overview of the gifting of red ensigns to Māori by the British Crown.

Other, less-known, flags are also written of within the movements and iwi that they represented. While these flags cannot be considered 'prominent', they are important, as they represent the movements they belonged to. They can also be considered responses to the Union Jack and the New Zealand Flag. It is also essential to note that this chapter not only highlights the significance of flags, but the flagstaffs themselves.

¹ Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present & Projected*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, p.61.

² Stats NZ, 'Historical Population Estimates Tables', 18 August 2020, http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/historical-population-tables.aspx#gsc.tab=0 (accessed 31 August 2020).

³ Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley and Alan Ward, 'Wars and Survival, 1860-72', in Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris (eds.), *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015, p.284.

Writes Binney, “Flagstaffs and flags were potent images for Maori, for the post (and the flag) claimed the land.”⁴ At times, the flagstaffs are referred to explicitly as pou or boundary markers. Such responses made by Māori, involving both flags and flagstaffs, indicate a distinctive and unique reaction, and a response that has not been repeated on a similar scale by other indigenous peoples. For Māori, flags acted as markers of mana, the term ‘mana’ often being used in connection with flags. Flags also denoted the worldview of Māori groups, including their relationship with the Crown.

Māori Identity: Assimilation and Nationalism

Following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and for the next twenty years, the country would remain predominately Māori.⁵ British immigrants lived in clusters on rivers and coasts, especially in the North Island, as they depended upon Māori for food, and transportation via canoes and rafts that were owned by Māori, and te reo Māori remained the main mode of communication.⁶ Yet, despite Māori being the dominant population, they observed a shift in the power dynamic with their Treaty partner, as more British immigrants arrived to New Zealand during the 1840s.⁷ The introduction of British law, a significant instrument in Māori losing political power and their land holdings, writes Ward, was initially largely confined to the larger settlements in New Zealand. Furthermore:

It was clear that the overcoming of Maori resentment of unaccustomed state authority must necessarily be a gradual and delicate process, probably best assisted by involving Maori leaders as much as possible in the machinery of state.⁸

⁴ Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1995, p.41.

⁵ Judith Binney with Vincent O’Malley and Alan Ward, ‘Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga’, in Anderson, Binney and Harris (eds.) *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, p.230.

⁶ Binney, O’Malley and Ward, ‘Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga’, p.231.

⁷ Binney, O’Malley and Ward, ‘Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga’, p.239.

⁸ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial ‘amalgamation’ in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995, p.55.

What Ward is alluding to is the policy of assimilation, otherwise known by the term he uses of ‘amalgamation’, that would dominate Māori-Pākehā relationships until the 1970s. He also notes that ‘the majority of the Māori people chose to pursue advancement and reform through the framework of state institutions, rather than intensifying the separatist tendencies of the *Kotahitanga*.’⁹

Later, the urbanisation of Māori greatly aided assimilation during the second half of the twentieth century; just over 25% of Māori lived in urban areas following World War II, in contrast to more than 80% of Māori living in urban areas in 2006.¹⁰ Writes Walker:

The universal culture of capitalism is what integrates Maori into the social mainstream of Pakeha society... Ethnicity, cultural difference and the experience of being colonised impelled the Maori to dwell in the dual world of biculturalism or surrender to the Pakeha imperative of assimilation. While some Maori chose assimilation, the vast majority rejected it. That meant commitment to cultural continuity.¹¹

Yet the policy of assimilation was not fully applied until the conclusion of the New Zealand Wars. Conflict between Māori and the British first arose during the 1840s, with Hōne Heke Pōkai and his allies fighting the British in the north in 1844, while conflict erupted at Wairau (1843), Wellington (1846) and Whanganui (1847), which involved purchases made by the New Zealand Company.¹² The centrepiece of frustration for Pōkai was a flagstaff that flew the Union Jack, a symbol that a new power was dominating authority within Māori territory.

⁹ Ward, *A Show of Justice*, p.311.

¹⁰ Ian Pool and Tahu Kūkūtai, 'Taupori Māori – Māori population change - Post-war changes, 1945–1970', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/graph/31326/maori-urbanisation> (accessed 27 July 2020).

¹¹ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, Auckland: Penguin, 2004, pp. 198-199.

¹² 'War in Wellington', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/wellington-war>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 2-Apr-2019, 'The Wairau incident', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/wairau-incident>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 23-Oct-2014, and 'War in Whanganui', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/wanganui-war>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 2-Apr-2019. (accessed 10 August 2020).

An increasing number of British migrants also gave rise to a sense of Māori nationalism.

Walker writes:

[Donald] McLean [Chief negotiator between the settler government and Maori] underestimated growing Maori awareness of colonisation by transmigration of surplus population from the United Kingdom. At Wellington one chief, on seeing ships disgorge settlers by the hundred, sat down on the beach and wept. Another chief likened the Maori to a seagull sitting on a reef, who, when the tide came in, would have no place to rest his feet. With no means of asserting an immigration policy over a Parliament in which they had no place, Maori opposition to the endless stream of settlers crystallised around an emerging sense of Maori nationalism.¹³

Here, Walker is noting the emergence of pan-Māori movements that would play a prominent role in the fight against the British Crown during the 1860s, and would continue to have a prominent role in representing Māori interests in the years to come. Māori identity was no longer bound strictly to whakapapa links, although genealogical relationships did still play a significant role in how Māori defined themselves and the formation of certain relationships.

High on the newly appointed Governor George Grey's agenda was the need to acquire land for settlers.¹⁴ Grey abolished the roles, established by Hobson, called 'Protectors of the Aborigines', whose responsibility it was to have Māori sell land, as long as it did not inconvenience their needs.¹⁵ The new positions Grey established were titled 'Commissioners for the Extinguishment of Native Land Claims by Fair Purchase.' They were charged with the responsibility to purchase as much land from Māori as was possible.¹⁶

¹³ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.111.

¹⁴ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.105.

¹⁵ See: Peter Meihana, 'The Paradox of Maori Privilege: Historical Constructions of Maori Privilege circa 1769 to 1940', PhD Thesis, Massey University, 2015, pp.109-118. Meihana argues that the Protectorate was established as something of a staging post for the assimilation of Māori.

¹⁶ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.106.

Explains Walker:

Apart from the New Zealand Company purchase of Nelson, and the Otago Block, which was purchased in 1844, the whole of the South Island was bought up in six large blocks by the commissioners between 1846 and 1860.¹⁷

In contrast to the South Island, Walker wrote of the North Island, “There was a greater inertia to overcome, and so colonial spoliation took a little longer.”¹⁸ This ‘greater inertia’ would lead to the outbreak of what has become known as the ‘New Zealand Wars.’ O’Malley argues that the impetus for the New Zealand Wars was the divide between ‘increasing Crown assertions of sovereignty’ and ‘Māori expectations of continuing chiefly authority.’¹⁹ This is supported by Belich, although he illuminates that while the wars were about sovereignty, that does not explain the outbreak of war.²⁰ Belich concludes that the imperial government was manipulated into war.

The precedents and prophecies of empire and settlement, the self-images of governors and settlers, the ethos of a colonising and progressive race, demanded that the British rule the whole of New Zealand in fact as well as name. To people subject to the myths of empire, and to hardening racial ideologies, there was something unnatural, unEuropean, about white communities living in equal partnership with blacks.²¹”

¹⁷ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.106.

¹⁸ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.110.

¹⁹ Vincent O’Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.26.

²⁰ James Belich, *Making Peoples – A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland: Penguin, p. 230.

²¹ Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp.230-231.

Sinclair, in his work *The Origins of the Maori Wars*,²² identified the unification of Māori under the single banner of the 'Kīngitanga' in 1858 as being the most significant development in opposing European land sales, which – in turn – led to the outbreak of war in Taranaki.²³ This, Sinclair labels – as did Walker – “Maori Nationalism”; that is, Māori coming together, rather than being distinct as a familial grouping.²⁴ He wrote, “The existence of a Maori King affected the relations of the two races throughout the island, irrespective of whether the local Maoris paid him homage. The King gave a focus for Maori discontent...”²⁵

Yet, despite Sinclair's focus on the Kīngitanga, which was undoubtedly a major development in terms of Māori opposition and identity in the lead-up to the New Zealand Wars, he places little focus on the rise of the Pai Mārire movement, and subsequently the Ringatū movement during the 1860s, which prolonged the war. Both the Hauhau and Ringatū movements, much like the Kīngitanga, cut across tribal polities, as well as sharing biblical foundations.²⁶ It can be argued that all three movements gave rise to Māori pan-tribalism during the 1860s and onwards.

National Māori movements, in particular the Kīngitanga, Hauhau and Ringatū during the New Zealand Wars, were primarily identified within communities, and on the battlefield, by which flag they flew. As one columnist wrote “Our fighting days in New Zealand produced perhaps a more picturesque set of battle colours than any other land. The patriotic fire and poetic fancy of the Maori combined to work out startling effects in flag designs.”²⁷ Herbert Roth wrote:

Many Maori villages in the [eighteen] sixties had their imposing flag-staffs or niu, and a dozen or more flags flew from each. Among them were Union Jacks dating back to the Treaty of Waitangi, Kingite flags, and symbols of the Hauhau cult...

²² Keith Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1984.

²³ Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, p.61.

²⁴ Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, p.61.

²⁵ Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, p.193.

²⁶ See Evelyn Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana: Rangatira*, Wellington: Huia, 2002.

²⁷ 'About Flags', *Star*, 4 November 1916, p.8.

When Sir George Grey, then Governor of New Zealand, visited Napier in March 1866, literally hundreds of pai marire flags were surrendered by Maori chiefs of the district, as a sign of their submission and renunciation of the Hauhau faith.²⁸

The wars were largely concentrated in Taranaki, the Bay of Plenty, Waikato, Whanganui, East Coast, and parts of the central plateau. Māori were largely divided into three camps: those who fought against the British Crown, those who fought with the British Crown, and those who remained neutral. Loyalties, however, had shifted for some Māori, who participated in the wars according to their tribal interests and were comfortable fighting their own. O'Malley succinctly summarises the participation of Māori in the wars as:

Some Māori switched sides, fighting for the Crown and then against it, or vice versa. That was because local and tribal interests were crucial when allegiances were decided, and these could shift quickly depending on the context. Those Māori who fought alongside the Crown, variously branded 'loyalists', 'friendlies', 'Queenites' or kūpapa, did so in pursuit of their own tribal imperatives.²⁹

As for the effects of New Zealand Wars, the following passage from *Tangata Whenua* summarises it best:

In the wake of the wars, a fast-growing settler population was increasingly assertive in its attitude towards Māori – especially once the colonial government had effectively gained full control over native policy after 1865. Though all Māori felt the impact of aggressive new policies encouraging assimilation and land alienation, the damage to inter-tribal relations sustained during the wars would take time to heal. In this and other respects (including their socioeconomic impact), the legacy of the wars has reverberated across generations.³⁰

²⁸ Herbert Roth, *Flags of Early New Zealand*, in MS Papers 5848-1, p.5., Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁹ O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Nga Pakangā o Aotearoa*, p.9.

³⁰ Binney, O'Malley and Ward, 'Wars and Survival', p.283.

Thus, Māori identity, following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, would shift from being solely tribal to being more defined by nationalist movements, including the Kīngitanga, Pai Mārire, Ringatū, and later, Rātana movements. Each movement, however, took place within the wider context of assimilation; of an overt attempt by successive New Zealand governments to subsume Māori identity within Pākehā, and arguably British, societal and cultural norms. Such attempts did, in turn, strengthen the Māori nationalist movements, as Māori searched for their identity and unique place within New Zealand society.

Contesting Sovereignty via Flags: Hōne Heke Pōkai 1844-1845

The actions of Hōne Heke Pōkai and his descendants around the flagstaff at Maiki Hill afford valuable insights into Māori understandings of flags. The story of ‘Hone Heke cutting down the flagpole’ was, for several generations, the most commonly known and told tale regarding Māori and British conflict during the nineteenth century, one such example being the Standard IV text of *Our Nation’s Story*, the history reader from the mid-1920s to the 1940s for the New Zealand history curriculum.³¹ For Pōkai, a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi, the flagstaff at Maiki Hill became a symbol of the loss of Māori independence. The actions of Pōkai have been viewed by many as the first major conflict between Māori and the British in the history of New Zealand.

Between 1844 and 1845, the flagstaff flying the Union Jack at Maiki Hill at Kororāreka (Russell) was felled four times and gave rise to what became known as the ‘Northern War.’ Although Ngāpuhi chief Hōne Heke Pōkai is often credited with cutting down the pole each time, his ally Te Haratua, a chief of Pakaraka, was the person who brought the flagstaff down on the first occasion, on July 8, 1844, albeit with the knowledge and approval of Pōkai. Pōkai cut the flagstaff down on the next three occasions.³²

³¹ *Our Nation’s Story: A Course of British History*, Standard IV, New Zealand: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, N.D., p.47.

³² ‘Hōne Heke cuts down the British flagstaff - again’, URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/hone-heke-cuts-down-british-flagstaff-for-a-third-time>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 21-Jan-2020 (accessed 21 August 2020).

Pōkai later wrote to Governor Robert FitzRoy, explaining that he wanted the flagstaff down because the staff belonged to him, as the Pākehā who erected it had not paid him for the timber, and because the flagstaff should be flying the native flag (the United Tribes Flag).³³ Historian Lindsay Buick's account of the origin of the flagstaff records that the kauri spar forming the pole had come from land owned by Pōkai, and that he gave it to British Resident James Busby, who had erected it outside his residence at Waitangi and who flew the United Tribes Flag from it.³⁴ British authorities took the flagstaff down, erected it on Maiki Hill, and strung up the Union Jack, which led to Pōkai becoming suspicious of, and then opposing, the British. The Union Jack became a symbol of his disenchantment.

Pōkai wrote:

After the first Governor came the second Governor, but the towns and numerous pakeha traders we expected did not come. We heard of a town at Waitemata being built, and others farther south; but in our part of the country there were no new towns, and the pakeha did not increase in numbers, but, to the contrary, began to go away to the town of Waitemata³⁵... Tobacco began to be scarce and dear; the ships began to leave... We inquired the reason for this, but the few pakeha traders left amongst us told us different stories. Some said that the reason tobacco was scarce and dear was that the Governor would not let it be brought on shore until he was paid a large price for it³⁶... Others said that the ships did not come as frequently as formerly was because the Governor made them pay for coming to anchor in the ports. Some said all the evil was by reason of the flagstaff at Maiki, above Kororareka, as a rahui [a sign to ward off intruders] and that as long as it remained there things would be no better; others, again, told us that it was put up as a sign that this island had been taken by the Queen of England, and that the nobility and independence of the Maori was no more.³⁷

Reverend Burrows aptly penned himself that:

³³ Paul Moon, *FitzRoy: Governor in Crisis 1843-1845*, Auckland: David Ling, 2000, p.158.

³⁴ T. Lindsay Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1926, p. 2.

³⁵ This is a reference to the relocation of New Zealand's capital from Kororāreka (Russell) to Auckland from 1841. See R. Burrows, *Extracts from a Diary kept by the Rev. R. Burrows during Heke's War in the North, in 1845*, Auckland: Upton and Co., 1886, p.5.

³⁶ This is a reference to the tax being imposed by the Governor for imported goods. See Burrows, *Extracts from a Diary kept by the Rev. R. Burrows during Heke's War in the North, in 1845*, p.3.

³⁷ F.E. Maning, *Old New Zealand*, Auckland, 1922, pp.258-260.

The flagstaff, which had been set up on the hill above the town, and from which was flying the English ensign was often pointed to as a sign that the mana (power) of the native chiefs had been superseded by that of the Queen.³⁸

After the destruction of the flagpole on the second occasion, the government had placed the lower part of the flagpole in iron, constructed a moat that was dug around the flagpole, and built a blockhouse.³⁹ Governor Robert FitzRoy addressed Māori at Waimate, where he stated “I will now speak of the flag-staff, in itself worth nothing; a mere stick, but as connected with the British flag, of very great importance.”⁴⁰ The chiefs, after hearing FitzRoy’s speech, agreed to replace and protect the flagstaff and to prevent Pōkai from making attacks on it in the future.⁴¹ Further correspondence to FitzRoy, considered to be from Pōkai, presented an additional explanation:

If Pomare thinks proper to erect a flagstaff at Maiki, only as a signal for vessels, I have no objection: -but if it is for an ensign of Sovereignty of the Queen I will never submit to the flag!⁴²

Clearly, not all Ngāpuhi chiefs shared the sentiments of Pōkai towards the Union Jack. Chief Tāmāti Wāka Nene wrote to FitzRoy in September 1844: ‘If the flagstaff is cut down again we will fight for it ... We are of one tribe, and we will fight for the staff and for our Governor.’⁴³ Among those who agreed with Nene was another chief, Paikea from Kaipara, who requested a Union Jack ‘as a badge or sign.’ Despite the expressed allegiance of Nene, he did question why the British authorities would not let Māori fly their own national flag [the United Tribes Flag]. Following the flagstaff being cut down a second time, on January 10, 1845, Pōkai sided with the United States of America, as expressed by flying its flag. The Police Magistrate for Kororāreka, Thomas Beckham, wrote to FitzRoy:

³⁸ R. Burrows, *Extracts from a Diary kept by the Rev. R. Burrows during Heke’s War in the North, in 1845*, p.3. The notion that the British Flag was a symbol of oppression was reinforced by American and French traders. See: J. Miller, *Early Victorian New Zealand: A Study of Racial Tension and Social Attitudes 1839-1852*, London: Oxford University Press, 1974, p.84.

³⁹ R. Burrows, *Extracts from a Diary kept by the Rev. R. Burrows during Heke’s War in the North, in 1845*, p.8.

⁴⁰ ‘The Governor’s Address to the Chiefs assembled at Waimate, on the 2 September 1844 and the Substance of their Replies’ cited in Paul Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.157.

⁴¹ Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.157.

⁴² Despatches, G 30/3, pp. 1004–1008, cited in J. Caselberg (ed.), *Maori is My Name: Historical Writings in Translation*, Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1975, p. 64.

⁴³ Despatches, G 30/3, pp. 1004–1008, cited in J. Caselberg (ed.), *Maori is My Name*, p. 64.

The reason for him [Pōkai] again offering this insult seems to be a general dislike to the British Government; and it is worthy of remark that Heke was at the American Consul's yesterday, then the merits of the treaty of Waitangi, and other political subjects connected with this Colony were discussed; after which he obtained the American Ensign, which was hoisted on board his canoe immediately after our Flag Staff was destroyed.⁴⁴

In response, FitzRoy responded to Beckham:

You will immediately prohibit the hoisting of any National flag, on shore, except that of Great Britain. There is no Consul in the Bay of Islands; - I have lately received a dispatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by which I am informed that Mr Williams has not received the necessary Exequation [sic] and cannot therefore be recognised by this Government. Let this be communicated privately to the person, or persons, at whose house an American Ensign has been lately hoisted; and if private notice should not prove sufficient, notify the same publicly, and if such notification should not suffice; take a guard, apprehend the person who hoisted or gave orders to hoist the American Ensign, on a charge of treason against Her Britannic Majesty – haul down and take charge of the said Ensign, and send the traitor under arrest to Auckland.⁴⁵

FitzRoy retracted his hard stance against those flying the American Ensign the next day, following instructions he had received from the Colonial Secretary, informing Beckham to keep his instructions confidential “...to avoid taking steps to make the present question international.”⁴⁶

With the arrival of the Government brig *Victoria*, the Union Jack was again hoisted on Maiki Hill. Pōkai, on January 19, 1845, had the flagpole again felled.⁴⁷ FitzRoy warned Beckham to warn the settlers of Kororāreka of the “...consequences Heke is bringing to the whole neighbourhood. I can assure them that Great Britain will never allow her Flag to be displaced permanently.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Beckham to Fitzroy, 10 January 1845 in National Library of New South Wales, p 3201 cited in Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.165.

⁴⁵ F. FitzRoy to T. Beckham, 20 January 1845, Auckland Public Library, GNZ MSS 245 (4) cited in Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.166.

⁴⁶ F. FitzRoy to T. Beckham, 20 January 1845, Auckland Public Library, GNZ MSS 245 (5) cited in Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.166.

⁴⁷ Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.168.

⁴⁸ F. FitzRoy to T. Beckham, 25 January 1845, APL, GNZ MSS 245 (7) cited in Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.168.

FitzRoy clearly indicated to Beckham that he was willing to take the lives of anyone attacking the symbol of British authority, when he wrote:

...you will immediately send intimation privately to the outsettlers, that the flagstaff and blockhouse will be defended, and that the loss of life will certainly be the consequence of an attack.⁴⁹

Moon writes:

News of Hone Heke's defiance to FitzRoy's peace plans drew attention to the Union Jack flag. Maori chiefs well-disposed towards FitzRoy's administration made requests to the Governor for flags so that they could be proudly flown in recognition of their loyalty to the Crown. Other Maori communities, however, although not yet completely hostile to British rule in New Zealand, started to question the flying of the flag in their regions, viewing it with an almost superstitious dread.⁵⁰

After chopping the flagstaff down twice in January 1845, Pōkai promised to return to Kororāreka in two months' time to destroy the gaol and the custom house, and to banish any British rule from the area.⁵¹ British colonial forces saw the actions of Pōkai as a threat to British authority, and on the night after he cut the pole down for the fourth time (on March 11, 1845), patrolling colonial soldiers attacked the men associated with Pōkai. Fighting took place between Te Ruki Kawiti, an ally of Pōkai, whose son and some twenty men were killed, and soldiers from the *HMS Hazard*, in Kororāreka itself.⁵²

The fight spilled over into Kororāreka, from where the British fled to their ships. They then shelled the town, which caught fire, so destroying the settlement. Pōkai himself led his men, while the fighting took place in the small settlement, to take the block house, killing four to five men and accidentally killing the signalman and a young "half-caste" girl.⁵³

⁴⁹ F. FitzRoy to T. Beckham, 22 February 1845, APL, GNZ MSS 245 (9) cited in Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.171.

⁵⁰ Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.177.

⁵¹ Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.176.

⁵² Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.11.

⁵³ Moon, *FitzRoy*, p.12.

Pūmuka, a chief of Te Roroa, took the first life in the battle. In 1833, he was gifted a Union Jack by James Busby for facilitating good relationships between Māori and Pākehā, being instrumental in summoning Māori chiefs to select a national flag in 1834, and signing both the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi.⁵⁴ The flag is now in the possession of *Te Papa Tongarewa*, and sewn onto the flag are the words ‘Pumuka’ and ‘Tiriti Waitangi.’⁵⁵ The optimism held by Pūmuka regarding Pākehā settlement was soon dismissed as he joined Pōkai and Kawiti in attacking Kororāreka in 1845, whereupon he was killed by Captain David Robertson of the *HMS Hazard*.⁵⁶



Fig. 27. Flag of Pūmuka.⁵⁷

On April 28, 1845, a group of seventy men from the 58th Regiment landed on the beach at Kororāreka, planted a Union Jack, read a proclamation declaring martial law, and fired a royal salute.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ 'Pūmuka', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/1-9>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 15-Jun-2016 (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁵⁵ Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Flag "Pumuka"', <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/339047> (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁵⁶ New Zealand History, 'Pūmuka', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/declaration/signatory/p%C5%ABmuka> (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁵⁷ Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Flag "Pumuka"', <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/339047> (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁵⁸ 'Another Account', *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 14 June 1845, p.59.

At the subsequent conflict at Ōhaeawai in 1845, British troops joined Māori, who were led by Tāmāti Wāka Nene and Hōne Mohi Tāwhai. Subsequently, the Union Jack belonging to Nene was captured, carried into the Ōhaeawai Pā, hoisted half way up the pole, hung upside down (to indicate distress on the part of the British), and flown in the unhonourable position underneath a Māori flag.⁵⁹ This incident infuriated Colonel Henry Despard, as “the sight of this indignity to the British colors was more than he could bear.”⁶⁰ Given the inability to penetrate the pā at that time, Despard acted impetuously and ordered an assault, which led to “one-third of the number lay[ing] stretched upon the earth” within five minutes of the attack.⁶¹ Despard’s reaction to the Union Jack being flown in distress reinforces the argument promoted by Marvin and Ingle that the flag is religion and permits the representative of the flag to kill.⁶²

After 1845, Te Maiki, the hill above the township, remained bereft of its flag pole. In terms of the relationship between Northern Māori and the British Crown, much can be gleaned from the subsequent discussions regarding whether or not the flagstaff should be re-erected. Between 1846 and 1857, Ngāpuhi leaders – at various times – proposed re-erecting the flagstaff. O’Malley writes:

Their [Ngāpuhi leaders'] suggestions met with at best lukewarm support from Crown officials, who worried that, regardless of who it was that put the flagstaff up, it would ultimately be the Crown that was required to defend it again if attacked in the future.⁶³

The significance of the flagstaff not being erected was not lost on missionary Henry Williams, who wrote, “The flag-staff in the Bay is still prostrate, and the natives here rule. These are humiliating facts to the proud Englishman, many of whom thought they could govern by mere name.”⁶⁴

⁵⁹ ‘The Sketcher’, *New Zealand Mail*, 26 July 1879, p.22.

⁶⁰ ‘The Sketcher’, *New Zealand Mail*, 26 July 1879, p.22.

⁶¹ ‘The Sketcher’, *New Zealand Mail*, 26 July 1879, p.22.

⁶² Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.41.

⁶³ Vincent O’Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014, p.210.

⁶⁴ Williams to E.G. Marsh, 28 May 1846, cited in James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, p.70. O’Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, p.211.

Edward Shortland, the Protector of the Aborigines, believed that the earlier flagstaff had been viewed as a pou rahui (boundary marker), not just symbolising British sovereignty but British claims to the land itself.⁶⁵

Hōne Mohi Tāwhai wrote to Governor Thomas Gore Browne, in July 1857, that a hui had been held at Kororāreka “on account of our having heard that the natives of the south had proclaimed a king”, and they had adjudicated that the new flagstaff should be the only “King the Ngāpuhi acknowledge.”⁶⁶ Wider support was gained within Ngāpuhi, with 1379 individuals and thirty-two hapū consenting to the re-erection of the flagstaff.⁶⁷

In 1858, a group of Māori men voluntarily re-erected the flagstaff on the hill. They gave the flagpole the name Te Whakakotahitanga (at one with the Queen). The previous year, Maihi Parāone Kawiti had felled the kauri spar forming the pole. Several hundred men, said to represent ‘every section of the Māori tribes’,⁶⁸ carried the spar to Kororāreka and up Maiki Hill. The move appears to have been prompted by Ngāpuhi declaring their allegiance to the British Queen rather than a Māori King. Once the flagstaff had been re-erected, the then New Zealand Governor Thomas Browne himself avoided the ceremony, but told the chiefs of Ngāpuhi:

If the hands which cut it down wish to replace it, it is well. As an acknowledgement to the world of past error, it is well. Whether it be replaced or not, the sovereignty of the Queen over this island remains the same: the Queen is Queen of New Zealand whether all her subjects know her as such or not. Those who are ignorant will grow wiser in time. The flag is but a symbol. The Ngāpuhi once mistook it for a symbol of a power to be used to injure them and cut it down... The Ngāpuhi now know that the flag was a symbol of power which has ever been used for their protection and benefit.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ O’Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, p.211.

⁶⁶ Tāwhai to the Governor, 31 July 1857, BAVX 4817/5a, Archives New Zealand, Auckland, in O’Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, p.213.

⁶⁷ M.P. Kawiti, Letter to Editor (C.O. Davis), 18 January 1858, *Te Whetu o te Tau*, 1 July 1858, cited in O’Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, p.213.

⁶⁸ Fred Wilson, *Waitangi Witness: The History of the Navy in the Bay of Islands*, Auckland: Quarterdeck, 2014, p. 45.

⁶⁹ *Te Karere Maori/The Maori Messenger*, February 1858 cited in Wilson, *Waitangi Witness*, p.216.

The man who first suggested re-erecting the flagstaff was Te Ruki Kawiti, of Ngāti Hine, who – as previously noted – fought alongside Hōne Heke Pōkai in the battles that erupted after the fourth cutting down of the Maiki Hill flagstaff, and who continued to fight until 1846. In time, after talking with Henry Williams, Kawiti decided that re-erecting the flagpole would be an act of reconciliation. However, Kawiti probably realised that the symbolism inherent in men who had fought the colonial troops raising a new flagstaff would not be lost on the British. He discussed the idea with Pōkai, who agreed to re-establish the pole. Both Kawiti and Pōkai died before the idea could be made a reality, and it fell to the son of Kawiti, Maihi Parāone Kawiti, to honour his father’s wishes.⁷⁰

The outbreak of war in the Waikato in 1863 ensured that the Crown was much more interested in the symbolism of the flagstaff at Maiki Hill and immediately paid £5 towards its upkeep. R.C. Barstow, the Russell Resident Magistrate, grew more concerned that if the flagstaff accidentally fell, such an act may have been viewed by Ngāpuhi as a tohu [sign] to revisit their “loyalty” towards the Crown.⁷¹

Since that time, however, there have been several more attempts to bring down the flagstaff, based on varying political views. In 1974, when Queen Elizabeth II visited Waitangi, a protestor attached an explosive device to the flagpole that failed to detonate.⁷² In 1983, sticks of gelignite were attached to the flagpole’s base. Although the explosion was heard three kilometres away, it did not bring the pole fully down and a note scribbled at the bottom of the pole was still decipherable. It read: ‘The Treaty is a Fraud.’⁷³

In February 1992, Whakakotahitanga was to be laid to rest, after being deemed to be beyond repair, following the descendants of Pōkai and Kawiti assembling to take it to the Kawiti family marae.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Wilson, *Waitangi Witness*, p.216.

⁷¹ Wilson, *Waitangi Witness*, p.217.

⁷² Wilson, *Waitangi Witness*, p.49.

⁷³ Vincent O’Malley, ‘The Meeting Place: A New Zealand History Blog’, 19 November 2012, <http://themeetingplacenz.blogspot.co.nz/2012/11/flying-flag-maiki-hill-flagstaff.html> (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁷⁴ O’Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, p.225.

Upon closer inspection, however, it was deemed that it could be repaired, and it was re-erected on March 20, 1993 – the anniversary of the selection of the first flag for New Zealand, across the harbour from Waitangi.

The flag is hoisted upon Whakakotahitanga for twelve days that commemorate significant events in Ngapuhi history: January 10 and 11 (Battle of Ruapekapeka in 1846), January 16 (re-erection of the flagstaff in 1858), February 6 (signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840), March 11 (sacking of Kororāreka in 1845), March 20 (the day the United Tribes Flag was selected in 1834), May 5 (the death of Kawiti in 1854), May 8 (Battle of Puketutu, near Lake Omapere, in 1845), May 16 (Battle at Waikare, at the Pā of Kapotai, in 1845), July 1 (Battle of Ōhaeawai in 1845), August 6 (the death of Hōne Heke Pōkai at Kaikohe in 1850), and October 28 (signing of the Declaration of the United Tribes of New Zealand in 1835).⁷⁵

With the actions of Pōkai being focussed upon the flagstaff and Union Jack on Maiki Hill, Kororāreka, and the subsequent outbreak of war for the first time between Māori and the British Crown, the symbol of British dominance was not lost on Māori. Indeed, flags and flagstaffs would continue to be a centre of frustration for Māori as the British continued to grow in terms of population, political power, and in land holdings that were formerly owned by Māori.

Similarities can also be found when applying the studies of Morris, and Bryan and Gillespie, who analysed the use of flags in Ireland. Morris notes that in states that have undergone a revolution, symbols that represent the revolutionary (in the instance of Pōkai, the Union Jack that represented the British) are considered controversial.⁷⁶ When viewed by Pōkai, the Union Jack provoked him into war, whereas for Despard and British residents, the symbol clearly provided a sense of home and any offence against it was considered an insult. This is reinforced by Bryan and Gillespie, who state that a symbol can invoke different emotions in different people.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Richard Wolfe, *Hell-hole of the Pacific*, Auckland: Penguin, 2005, pp.185-186.

⁷⁶ Ewan Morris, *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth Century Ireland*, Ireland: Irish Academic Press, 2005, p.219.

⁷⁷ Dominic Bryan and Gordon Gillespie, *Transforming Conflict: Flags and Emblems*, Institute of Irish Studies & Queen's University of Belfast, 2005, p.13.

As the following section of this chapter will demonstrate, the festering problems in Taranaki were symbolised through flagstaffs and flags, leading to the outburst of conflict in that region of New Zealand.

Taranaki

Twenty years following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and sixteen years after conflict erupted in the Far North, war broke out in Taranaki following a disputed land transaction that occurred at Waitara.⁷⁸ The survey of the Pekapeka block, on the Waitara River, in March 1860, was contested by Te Āti Awa chief Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke Whiti. He argued that he had the greater right to sell the land, whereas the seller, Te Teira Mānuka, did not. The Crown sided with Mānuka and a small group of owners, instead of investigating the claims of other shareholders, including Whiti.⁷⁹ Such practice was becoming more and more commonplace, pitting owners of land against one another, with the sale often being opposed by the predominant chief.

The use of flags in the lead-up and during the first Taranaki War was clearly very important to both Māori and the British. For Māori opposed to British settlement, led by Whiti, the Union Jack denoted an intrusion into their lands and their rights, as had been the case with Hōne Heke Pōkai at Kororāreka some years earlier.

Māori looked to assert their authority by designing flags that symbolised their struggles against the British, with Whiti allowing the Kīngitanga flag to be flown, after having refused it prior to the Pekapeka dispute.⁸⁰ As Walker explains, “Wiremu Kingi, who had not supported the election of a king, then [following the attack on his pā at Te Kohia in March 1860] sought an alliance with the King Movement.”⁸¹

⁷⁸ See James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986 or Danny Keenan, *Wars Without End: The Land Wars in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2009.

⁷⁹ Binney, O’Malley and Alan Ward, ‘Wars and Survival 1860-1872’, p.256.

⁸⁰ ‘Te Rangitake, Wiremu Kingi’, from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand URL:

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/te-rangitake-wiremu-kingi> (accessed 23 Jun 2020).

⁸¹ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.114.

It was reported in 1849 that William King [Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke Whiti] was erecting a flagstaff at the mouth of the Waiwakaiho River as a signal that Europeans could not purchase land north of the river.⁸² Two years later, Hone Ropiha Te Kekeu (a principal chief of Te Āti Awa, a Native Land Assessor, and a supporter of British settlement)⁸³ wrote to Tamati Hone Oraukawa (a principal chief of Ngāti Ruanui and Kīngitanga supporter, who fought against the British),⁸⁴ informing him that he had a boundary pole at Waiwakaiho, and that Poharama Te Whiti (a supporter of British settlement)⁸⁵ had a pole at Ngamotu, with the flag flying titled ‘Te Waka.’⁸⁶ It was here, explained Ropiha, that “...we gave over in the proper way to the Pakeha.”⁸⁷ Hakopa subsequently brought a letter to Puketapu, Bell Block, from Ngāti Ruanui chiefs who were opposed to land sales, threatening to cut down the new flag staff in the settlement.⁸⁸

The erection of a flagpole at New Plymouth in October 1851 was of major concern for Ngāti Ruanui, who feared another Kororāreka scenario.⁸⁹ The Reverend William Woon met Te Āti Awa at Katotauru, who had been informed that the Queen had claimed all of New Zealand, which was to be symbolised with a flag being raised in New Plymouth. Woon assured them that the flag was for signalling ships. Following the hui, a group of Ngāti Ruanui chiefs wrote to Te Āti Awa, stating:

There were three hundred at this committee, a committee about the flag and about the land – it will be for you to determine whether the flag is to be pushed down if you think it right write to us that we may know... We say let us not interfere with Europeans, but with the flag...

⁸² Dr Andrew Sinclair to Sir Donald McLean, 27 September 1849, MS-Papers-0032-0574.

⁸³ http://ketenewplymouth.peoplesnetworknz.info/taranaki_street_names/topics/show/796-ropiha-street-dn-04092010 (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁸⁴ Ian Church. 'Oraukawa, Tamati Hone', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/104/oraukawa-tamati-hone> (accessed 23 June 2020).

⁸⁵ Nga Motu Marine Reserve Society, Kete New Plymouth: Heritage Sites and Features, 'Poharama Te Whiti Grave', http://ketenewplymouth.peoplesnetworknz.info/heritage_sites_and_features/topics/show/2070-poharama-te-whiti-grave (accessed 10 August 2020).

⁸⁶ Hone Ropiha to Tamati Hone, 7 November 1851, MS-Papers-0032-06751.

⁸⁷ Hone Ropiha to Tamati Hone, 7 November 1851, MS-Papers-0032-06751.

⁸⁸ Henry Halse to Sir Donald McLean, 8 November 1851, MS-Papers-0032-0126.

⁸⁹ Tony Sole, *Ngāti Ruanui – A History*, Wellington: Huia, 2005, p.214.

This is the talk of the people of this tribe of Ngatiruanui to retain the land, for this is the milk of the people, namely the land. Listen, our hearts are dark because of this flag which will take our lands... they know that God has erected a flag for New Zealand, viz., Mount Egmont – ships can see Mount Egmont.⁹⁰

The letter was responded to by a number of chiefs, advising against cutting down the flagstaff. Te Waitere Katatore responded on behalf of Te Āti Awa, penning:

The motives of the Europeans with their flag is good – it is standing on the payment for their goods at the settlement and on their land – if it were standing on my back at Maungaraka, I should have cut it down and burnt it.⁹¹

In 1856, Hakopa visited the settlement of Kaipakopako, with flags flying to advertise his visit.⁹² However, due to a red flag being hoisted, it was reported that the chances of peace were doubtful. The Inspector of the Taranaki Native Police, Henry Halse, recorded that a white flag flew as a sign of peace at pā in Tima and Kaipakopako.⁹³

Two days later, Halse wrote that Hone Wetere had taken exception to the flagstaff at the Ninia Pā being cut down and ordered that the pa must be relinquished, as well as Katatore having to vacate the pa at Kaipakopako, otherwise he would be killed.⁹⁴ Katatore and Wiremu Whiti were allies, and Halse predicted it would be difficult to prevent the flagstaff from falling at Kaipakopako.

⁹⁰ McLean Papers, Letters in Māori, MS-Papers-0032-6751, nos. 5, 6 TL; copies in Halse's hand, translation by Halse; note that Halse has translated Taranaki maunga as Mt Egmont, in Sole, *Ngāti Ruanui*, p.216.

⁹¹ McLean Papers, Letters in Māori, MS-Papers-0032-6751, no.10, in Sole, *Ngāti Ruanui*, p.217.

⁹² Henry Halse to Sir Donald McLean, 20 October 1856, MS-Papers-0032-0314.

⁹³ Henry Halse to Sir Donald McLean, 17 November 1856, MS-Papers-0032-0314.

⁹⁴ Henry Halse to Sir Donald McLean, 12 February 1857, MS-Papers-0032-0315.

Halse wrote in March 1857 that he had lent District Land Commissioner Robert Parris a flag, and that the flag in question was taken from Katatore, which he hoped – in time – would signify the acquisition of a block of land.⁹⁵ He wrote “You may not be aware that the flag in question has won it, signifying Waitara, this is well understood by natives, would that it were equally well understood by some few of our settlers.”⁹⁶

Parris himself wrote later that year to Donald McLean, stating that tomorrow Te Teira Mānuka was due for an instalment for his land, but that Whiti and his people were in a “great state of confusion” regarding the ‘King question.’⁹⁷ Parris wrote that some wished to erect a flagstaff for the King, whereas others, such as Whiti, were opposed and would cut it down if it was erected. Those who opposed the position Whiti had taken indicated that they would join forces with Mānuka, yet the latter stated that he would have nothing to do with them, as the land belonged to him and his supporters. The following month, Parris again wrote to McLean that the Kīngitanga flag was flying at Waitara, which Whiti:

... professes to repudiate, from motives of diplomacy (I believe), lest the Waikatos should again lay claim to the land – and on the other hand he allows the Flag to be used, by others hoping thereby to intimidate the Government from purchasing it.⁹⁸

The flag, representing King Pōtatau, was flown at the outbreak of war in Taranaki and was seen at Mataiawa Stockade on September 10, 1860 the date that marked the accession to the throne of Pōtatau.⁹⁹ In April 1860, the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* reported that a rebellious flag, “very large and insolent-looking”, was flying at Warea Pā and that it anticipated it would only be a matter of time before the Union Jack would fly in its place.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Henry Halse to Sir Donald McLean, 24 March 1857, MS-Papers-0032-0315.

⁹⁶ Henry Halse to Sir Donald McLean, 24 March 1857, MS-Papers-0032-0315.

⁹⁷ Robert Parris to Sir Donald McLean, 28 November 1859, MS-Papers-0032-0493.

⁹⁸ Robert Parris to Sir Donald McLean, 5 December 1859, MS-Papers-0032-0493.

⁹⁹ ‘The Flag of the Maori King’, *Flags of Early New Zealand*, Shell Company in MS Papers 5848-1, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁰⁰ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 25 April 1860, p.2.

When the men from the *HMS Niger* sighted Waitara in 1860, they spotted the Union Jack flying from the pa of Wiremu Whiti.¹⁰¹ The *Taranaki Herald* reported that all the Waitara natives who are not friendly were present, and old Māori karakia were had when the flag was raised.¹⁰² When it was captured later in the month, his flag was taken down and replaced with the Union Jack.

Such was the significance of capturing a Maori flag during the New Zealand Wars that at the ‘Battle of Waireka’, near New Plymouth, in March 1860, Captain Cracroft of the *HMS Niger* shouted, “Ten pounds to the man who pulls down that flag!” The sailors rushed the pa, with the Captain’s coxswain William Odgers exclaiming, “Make a lane yer lubbers, mae a lane!”, cutting down the flag and being awarded one of two Victoria Crosses that were awarded during the New Zealand Wars.¹⁰³ The flags were flown on the masthead of the *Niger*, with the principal flag being a red banner with the representation of Taranaki and the Sugarloaf Island (Ngamotu)¹⁰⁴, surmounted by a bleeding heart and the inscription ‘M.N.’, which stood for either ‘Maori Nation’ or ‘Mate Noa’ (‘Till Death’).¹⁰⁵

Governor Sir Thomas Gore Browne wrote to Donald McLean, asking if troops could be withdrawn from Waitara or if the blockhouse was still to be occupied at the mouth of the river.¹⁰⁶ Browne also relayed that flags would be sent on the next steamer for all the blockhouses, in case they did not hold them already. He also dismissed any suggestion of a compromise, as had been the proposal from the missionaries regarding the Waikato, as Browne “...will not admit a Maori flag under the Union Jack.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ ‘New Plymouth’, *Taranaki Herald*, 10 March 1860, p.2.

¹⁰² *Taranaki Herald*, 20 September 1862, p.2.

¹⁰³ *Taranaki Herald*, 20 September 1862, p.2. See also *New Zealand Military Journal* 2: 281-82, July 1913.

¹⁰⁴ It has also been suggested that the other mountains were Tongariro and Ruapehu. See: *Taranaki Herald*, 31 March 1860, p.3.

¹⁰⁵ *Taranaki Herald*, 31 March 1860, p.3.

¹⁰⁶ Sir Thomas Robert Gore Browne to Sir Donald McLean, 1 May (no year), MS-Papers-0032-0183.

¹⁰⁷ Sir Thomas Robert Gore Browne to Sir Donald McLean, 1 May (no year), MS-Papers-0032-0183.

Browne followed up on his previous letter, stating that he was ‘very anxious’ and considered it ‘very important’ that Union Jacks be hoisted on the blockhouses on all Sundays and festivals.¹⁰⁸

In contrast to the events that took place at Kororāreka, it is evident that almost fifteen years later, flags and flagstuffs were being utilised to symbolise the mana of a chief over particular lands. Rather than being the focus of one location, as was the case in 1844-45, flags were being used throughout a region and by multiple iwi, not all of whom agreed with the position each had taken in relation to the selling of land. It is also worth noting that certain flags and their use provoked British military leaders to engage in war; the ‘Mate Noa’ flag incited Cracroft to engage in battle, much like the Union Jack being flown in distress prompted Despard to storm Ōhaeawai Pā.

Kīngitanga

Following the conflict in Taranaki, which ended in 1861, war was declared in the Waikato in 1863, as Governor George Grey was at odds with the Kīngitanga, who refused to sell their lands.¹⁰⁹ Writes O’Malley:

On 12 July 1863 the biggest and most significant war ever fought on New Zealand shores commenced less than 40 miles from central Auckland, as British imperial troops crossed the Mangatāwhiri River and invaded Waikato. In the days immediately before this, a government ultimatum was issued requiring all Māori living between Auckland and Waikato to pledge allegiance to Queen Victoria or immediately leave the region.¹¹⁰

In May 1857, leaders of, and delegates from, various central North Island Māori iwi, including Tainui, held a rūnanga hui at Paetai near Rangiriri.

¹⁰⁸ Sir Thomas Robert Gore Browne to Sir Donald McLean, 22 April 1861, MS-Papers-0032-0184.

¹⁰⁹ See Vincent O’Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.215-315.

¹¹⁰ O’Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand*, p.9.

They had come together to discuss the merits of having a Māori King.¹¹¹ Calls for such a role had begun earlier in the 1850s, and the endeavour to establish it came to be known as Kīngitanga or the Māori King Movement. The logic behind the movement was that a Māori King would help unify all Māori at a time when they were losing their lands to the rapidly growing European population.

During the hui, Kīngitanga supporters marched under and then raised a flag they had designed previously. The flag was white with a red border and two crosses, with the words “Potatau Kingi o Niu Tireni” (King Pōtatau of New Zealand). The marchers also carried a United Tribes Flag. Then, over a hill, came Waata Kukutai, of Ngāti Tipa, of Waikato, leading a contingent marching under the Union Jack. Although opposed to European acquisition of Māori land, Kukutai was not in favour of kingship, preferring instead a system of magistrates, laws, and a form of rūnanga or council.

Kukutai and his followers placed the Union Jack opposite the flags of the Kīngitanga supporters, at which point Wiremu Naera, of Ngāti Mahanga, and a supporter of the British Crown, pointed to the newly designed red and white flag, and said:

Why do you bring that new flag here? There is trouble in it. I can't see my way clear. But I know that there is trouble in that flag. I am content with the old one. It is seen all over the world, and it belongs to me. I get some of its honour!¹¹²

Te Waharoa, from Ngāti Hauā, answered him by stating:

I want order and laws. The King could give us these better than the Governor; for the Governor has never done anything except when a Pakeha is killed; he lets us kill each other and fight. A King would stop these evils. However, if you don't like the King, pull down the flag. Let Rewi [Maniapoto] pull it down if you wish.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Crosby, *Kūpapa: A Bitter Legacy of Māori Alliances with the Crown*, Auckland: Penguin, 2015, pp. 162–163.

¹¹² Crosby, *Kūpapa*, p.163.

¹¹³ Crosby, *Kūpapa*, p.163.

As soon as Te Waharoa uttered these words, Rewi Maniapoto, an influential Ngāti Maniapoto leader, took the King's flag and threw it in front of the Union Jack in order to demonstrate the colonial suppression he believed Māori were consenting to by honouring the Union Jack.

The next day, the powerful and elderly Waikato chief, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, arrived at Paetai. He was one of the men proposed as a candidate for the kingship and he had agreed to accept the title the previous month. When Te Wherowhero joined the throng at Paetai, the Kīngitanga supporters re-erected the King's flag. Towards the end of the hui, Kukutai again paraded the Union Jack:

[He] rang a bell, and proclaimed that all who acknowledged allegiance to, and intended to support that flag, should follow him... All lower Waikato and the sea coast to Kawhia mustered. They moved in procession over the hill, passed resolutions, and embodied them in a letter to the Governor.¹¹⁴

The following day, the Kīngitanga supporters despatched the King's flag "to the tribes of the South of New Zealand to convene a larger meeting and to induce Te Wherowhero to accept the office or to appoint someone else."¹¹⁵

In May 1860, a hui was convened at Ngāruawāhia, with Te Wherowhero in attendance. A flagstaff was erected, with the flag being hoisted to haka and rifle volleys. The following extract from a speech by Honana (Under Secretary of the Kīngitanga) illustrates the ways in which Māori utilised the designs of flagstaff and the ropes attached to them to connote particular meanings:

The top of this Flag-staff signifies the King, the centre is for the Chiefs, these four ropes represent the tribes, east, west, north and south. The name of this Flag-staff is Pane (The ancestor of Te Wherowhero).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Crosby, *Kūpapa*, p.164.

¹¹⁵ Crosby, *Kūpapa*, p.164.

¹¹⁶ T. Buddle, *The Maori King Movement in New Zealand*, Auckland, 1860, p.59.

Te Wherowhero himself then addressed those attending.

It is good that the flag should be erected at the foot of Taupiri. My Fathers finish this work. The work of former days we have forsaken. Let us cleave to the good work we have begun. Should the flag be dishonoured by these people (the upper Waikato) you (lower Waikato) must uphold it. The principle is now established – support it. I do not say support me. Should the Pakehas come and kill me, never mind, let it be so, do not avenge my death.¹¹⁷

When Pōtatau Te Wherowhero was officially crowned as the first Maori King in June 1858, at Ngāruawāhia, they hoisted three flags, which featured the words Kīngi (King) and Niu Tīreni (New Zealand).¹¹⁸ The flag designed expressly for Te Wherowhero was the one with Niu Tīreni on it, and contained three symbols, said to represent the three main islands of Aotearoa. The flag was named ‘Tapae’, an ancestor of Pōtatau.¹¹⁹ Paterson writes:

The concept of ‘nationalism’ can be applied to the Kīngitanga through its use and understanding of mana. When an early Kīngitanga rūnanga stated, ‘let the King Pōtatau’s mana stand upon the places of New Zealand that we still hold, and let the Queen’s mana stand in the places she has obtained’, it was portraying a vision of a Māori nation.¹²⁰ Its flag denoted its mana over an area, it attempted to establish a working legal system, and it rejected any mana kāwangatanga within its boundaries.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ T. Buddle, *The Maori King Movement in New Zealand*, p.59.

¹¹⁸ Malcolm Mulholland, 'Ngā haki – Māori and flags - Kīngitanga and Kotahitanga flags', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-haki-maori-and-flags/page-4> (accessed 19 August 2020).

¹¹⁹ P. Te H. Jones, p.223 in Notes on the Flag of the Maori King from Archives file 6/1 E5/51-52 in ‘Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834’ in *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹²⁰ *Te Hokioi*, 8 December 1862, p.2 cited in Lachy Paterson, *Colonial Discourses: Niupepa Maori 1855-1863*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006, p.183.

¹²¹ Paterson, *Colonial Discourses*, p.183.

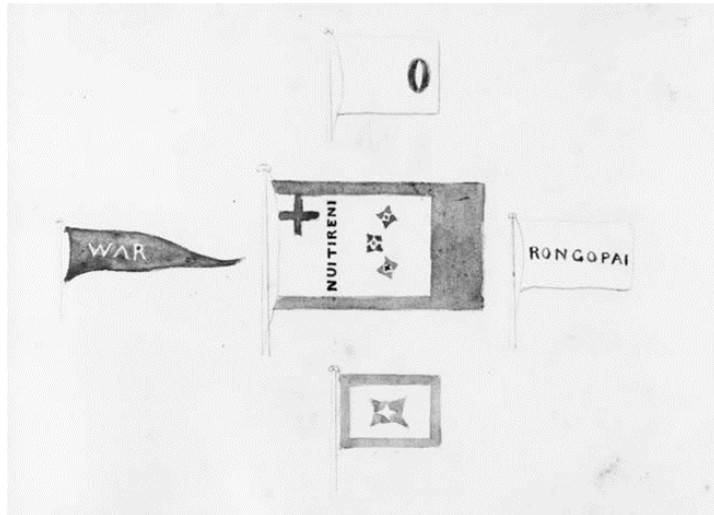


Fig. 28. *The flag in the centre is the flag of King Pōtatau.*¹²²

Reaction to the Kīngitanga flag was not always supportive among Māori. Land District Commissioner John Rogan wrote in 1859 that a large party of Kingites had assembled at Kawhia Heads for the purpose of erecting a flagstaff in order to demand customs due from boats entering the port.¹²³ The resident chiefs met the party and were happy for the flag to be raised, but were against interfering with the vessels or any of the Queen’s laws, to which the Kīngitanga agreed.

In March 1861, a large hui was held at Ōtaki.¹²⁴ At the centre of the hui was a debate about which flag to fly: the Union Jack or that of the Kīngitanga? In the square opposite the church, a masthead was raised on which a Union Jack was flown, and at the village of Pukekaraka ‘a rebel flag’ was in view. At Pukekaraka, it was reported that a minister of their church, Heremaia Te Tuere [Te Tewe] along with Hape Te Whakarawe, “...brought a flag from the north, by which to show their feeling towards the government.”¹²⁵ Opposed to the hoisting of the flag of the Kīngitanga were the chiefs Taratoa, of Manawatū; Manihera, of the Wairarapa; Rauparaha; and Matene, the latter confessing that the chiefs had lost much of their influence.

¹²² James Cowan Collection (Papers-0039) Reference: A-138-046, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹²³ John Rogan to Sir Donald McLean, 25 April 1859, MS-Papers-0032-0541.

¹²⁴ ‘Local Intelligence’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 March 1861, p.2.

¹²⁵ ‘Local Intelligence’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 March 1861, p.2.

Upon the arrival of 160 Ngāti Awa, who were armed with guns, hatchets, mere and other 'native implements of war', they marched around the flagstaff three times. Heremaia and Hape then took their place in the ring around the flagstaff with their prayer books.¹²⁶

A few minutes afterwards the different tribes (hapu) were called upon by Heremia [sic] to show their allegiance to the King by kneeling and bowing with heads uncovered. Prayers were then read by Heremia, and afterwards by Hape, all kneeling. The guard of honor were then commanded to load with blank cartridge, and salute the flag by firing three volleys in rapid succession. The flag was then hoisted with terrific yellings, shoutings, and firing of guns. The flagstaff is 80 feet high, composed of two sticks each 45 feet long, the lower one being two feet thick at the butt. There were three flags run up. The first, "Nuku te whatewha", from Wi Tako – a white oblong flag with a black cross, and red star at each extremity of the cross; the second, "Tiki", the king's flag, – a long black pennant, with a white border and red cross and stars; and the third and lowest, the French flag. These flags having been hoisted, there was a war dance (Tu wae wae) on a grand scale. The unearthly yells and grimaces, intermingled with cries every now and again of – "Hua ora a Nu Tireni! (New Zealand is saved!)" were frightful in the extreme.¹²⁷

Heremia addressed the hui, saying that he wished to live in peace with the Europeans, and if he wanted to fight them, he would go to Taranaki. He also did not think he had done anything wrong by raising the flag, and that if anybody did object, it would be the Governor, as he raised the flag to stop the sale of land.

Prior to the outbreak of war in the Waikato, the Reverend John Morgan wrote to the Reverend Alexander Wilson, in 1861, of a 'great hui' at Ngāruawāhia "...and then the future of N.Zd [New Zealand] will be decided, peace or war."¹²⁸

¹²⁶ 'Local Intelligence', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 March 1861, p.2.

¹²⁷ 'Local Intelligence', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 March 1861, p.2.

¹²⁸ Rev John Morgan to Rev John Alexander Morgan, 8 May 1861, MS-Papers-0032-0459.

Writing that it was "quite a question whether they will agree to give up their flag and King", Morgan believed that the "general feeling is against yielding to the Govt", but that it remained uncertain if Wiremu Tamihana had the moral courage to tell Waikato to "abandon their foolish movement."¹²⁹ Morgan concluded by stating that all Europeans should leave the Waikato if war were declared.

Thomas Henry Smith, the Assistant Native Secretary and translator, and Sir Donald McLean, wrote in May 1861 that, in reading the translated draft proclamation being prepared for the 'Waikato Natives at the Ngaruawahia hui', "...we find that it contains demands which we believe at present would be resisted by the great majorities of the tribes throughout New Zealand."¹³⁰ Amongst several objections, Smith and McLean stated that the King's flag should be hauled down and the Queen's flag to be flown in its place. McLean himself viewed the Kīngitanga flag as an "emblem of defiance", and noted that Ngāti Ruanui and Taranaki Māori "avowed their hostility to the Europeans as a race", and threatened to attack them and cut down the flagstaff in New Plymouth "many years before the Waitara question was heard of."¹³¹

Subsequently, Governor Grey met Waikato chiefs at Taupiri in December 1861. Tipene, from Ngāti Mahuta, used the Union Jack as a metaphor when addressing the Governor, telling him that "the road of the Union Jack alone is closed."¹³²

¹²⁹ Rev John Morgan to Rev John Alexander Morgan, 8 May 1861, MS-Papers-0032-0459.

¹³⁰ Thomas Henry Smith and Sir Donald McLean, 23 May 1861, MS-Papers-0032-0014.

¹³¹ Sir Donald McLean, 28 December 1863, MS-Papers-0032-0014.

¹³² 'Speeches of Governor Sir George Grey and the Waikato Chiefs at the meeting held at Taupiri, Waikato, December 16 1861', *Taranaki Herald*, 8 March 1862, p.3.



Fig.29. *These flags were hoisted at Mataiawa, Taranaki, in 1862, on the anniversary of the accession of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero.*¹³³

Nearing the end of the Waikato War, the *New Zealand Herald* reported in December 1863 that when General Duncan Cameron arrived with 500 men to Ngāruawāhia, they hoisted the Union Jack on the flagstaff of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero.¹³⁴ James Grindell, a licenced interpreter with the New Zealand Land Purchase Department, wrote to Sir Donald McLean, following the fall of Ngāruawāhia.¹³⁵ He penned:

You will see that I have spoken of Matutaera’s flag being pulled down at Ngaruawahia and this will be corroborated by the letters (printed in the same issue) from Waikato to the Govt. in which it is clearly stated that the “mana” of the Island must be given to the Queen, and the Queen’s flag hoisted, and the King deposed altogether.¹³⁶

George Graham, following the end of the Waikato War in April 1864, carried out peace negotiations on behalf of Governor Grey with Wiremu Tāmihana Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa, in 1865.

¹³³ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Ref: 1992-0035-1631/4.

¹³⁴ ‘Latest War News’, *Colonist*, 12 December 1863, p.1.

¹³⁵ James Grindell to Sir Donald McLean, 6 January 1864, MS-Papers-0032-0304.

¹³⁶ James Grindell to Sir Donald McLean, 6 January 1864, MS-Papers-0032-0304.

At the conclusion of having signed an agreement of submission, Graham asked that the Union Jack fly over the settlement of Mutamuta, where they had signed the compact, to which Tamihana assented.¹³⁷

During the reign of each monarch of the Kīngitanga, their flag is kept by a hereditary custodian and is considered tapu (sacred). Upon the death of each monarch, their flag is interred with their body.¹³⁸ When Tāwhiao succeeded Pōtatau in June 1860, his subjects designed a blue and yellow flag for his reign.¹³⁹ The flag had on it three star-like figures, again signifying New Zealand's three main islands. The flag designed for the successor and son of Tāwhiao, King Mahuta, was 17ft by 8ft wide. It had a white background and was rich with symbols: the Tainui waka, the rainbow god Uenuku, Matariki (the Pleiades constellation), a cross, a crescent moon, and the sun. James Cowan recounted seeing the flag of Mahuta at the 'royal town' of Waahi.¹⁴⁰

A tall flagstaff stands near us, flaunting to the wind four or five brightly coloured banners of curious design. The topmost flag, a long white one, is lettered "Ko Mahuta te Kingi" ("Mahuta is the King"), with an overarching rainbow, which is to the Maoris the personification and outward and visible sign of their ancient god Uenuku. On the second flag, a very large one, is painted a war-canoe, with paddlers and hau-tu, representative of the historic Tainui, the craft on which the ancestors of Mahuta and the Waikato people crossed the Pacific Ocean. Tainui is surmounted by a rainbow, as in the case of the other flag, and there are various other devices such as stars (the Pleiades constellation) and crosses, all of which bear meanings familiar to Kingites. The rainbow-god Uenuku, say the Waikatos, guided the Tainui across the lonely ocean to this country. On the topmost flag there are worked two large stars. One of these represents Tawera, the morning star, and the other Meremere, the evening star (Venus).

¹³⁷ 'Auckland', *Taranaki Herald*, 24 June 1865, p.1.

¹³⁸ 'The Flag of the Maori King', *Flags of Early New Zealand*, Shell Company in MS Papers 5898-1, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹³⁹ The name 'Tāwhiao' was bestowed upon him by Te Ua Haumēne in 1864. See: Dictionary of the New Zealand Biography, *Te Kīngitanga: The People of the Maori King Movement*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996, p.55.

¹⁴⁰ James Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, Melbourne and Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1910, p.341.

Tradition states that when Tainui was crossing the great sea from Hawaiki, the ancient fatherland, to the shores of New Zealand, these bright Shining-Ones cheered the brave hearts of those Vikings of the Southern Seas, whose descendants now manifest their gratitude by placing the starry emblems on their flags.¹⁴¹



Fig.30. *Flag of King Mahuta.*¹⁴²

The flag of King Te Rata, the successor of Mahuta, who reigned from 1912 to 1933, was 18ft by 9ft, and consisted of white and navy blue. On the white portion are a large cross in green to symbolise the Dominion, and three smaller crosses to denote the previous three Māori Kings, Pōtatau, Tāwhiao, and Mahuta. On the blue portion are twelve stars, a crescent moon in yellow, and a white cross, the latter being symbolic of the new King whose name appears at the bottom of the flag: Rata M.T.P. Te Wherowhero.¹⁴³

Undoubtedly, the Kīngitanga was the first large-scale pan-Māori movement that attempted to unify Māori in opposing the British imposition upon New Zealand. Evidence of the magnitude the movement wished to achieve is obvious from its most popular symbols and the name it employed upon flags that represented the various kings: three crosses to represent the three islands of New Zealand, and the Māori transliteration of New Zealand, Niu Tīreni.

¹⁴¹ James Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, p.341.

¹⁴² James Cowan, *The Maori, yesterday and today*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1930, p. 85.

¹⁴³ *New Zealand Herald*, 21 September 1912, p.9. in Notes on the Flag of the Maori King from Archives file 6/1 E5/51-52 in 'Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834' in 'Flags of New Zealand' – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

However, not all Māori supported this endeavour, and wished to avoid conflict with the British Crown. This war subsequently materialised and led to the Kīngitanga being defeated in its tribal homelands in the Waikato, after which it set up an independent state for nearly two decades, bounded by the aukati line.

Hauhau

Te Ua Haumēne, from Taranaki and Ngāti Ruanui, was the leader of the Pai Mārire (Goodness and Peace) faith, followers of whom were referred to as Hauhau. The term 'hauhau' came from the exclamation 'Hau!', which was used at the end of choruses chanted by disciples. It was the word used from the life principle of man and literally means 'wind.' For Haumēne (Windman), the calling of his church Hauhau was appropriate, "because Te Hau, the spirit of God in the image of wind, carried the niu (news), or prophecy, to the faithful."¹⁴⁴ Haumēne believed that the 'Anahera Hau' (wind angels) came to Māori on the winds of heaven and they ascended and descended from the ropes that were left dangling from the yardarms of their flagstuffs, otherwise known as 'niu.'¹⁴⁵ The term 'niu' came from the name of the short sticks used by a tohunga (chosen one) before entering into battle.¹⁴⁶

Hauhau flags and their niu were deemed extremely significant to the sect. The niu became the symbol of the movement and was the centrepiece of Hauhau ceremonies.¹⁴⁷ Haumēne himself was no stranger to the use of flags by Māori, as he recalled witnessing a number of Kīngitanga flags when a number of emissaries brought them to Taranaki as a declaration of support for the King.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Lyndsay Head, 'Te Ua Haumēne', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t79/te-ua-haumene> (accessed 30 July 2020).

¹⁴⁵ James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume II: The Hauhau Wars (1864-72)*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1956, p.6.

¹⁴⁶ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, p.6.

¹⁴⁷ Paul Clark, *Hauhau': The Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity*, Trentham: Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, 1975, p.89.

¹⁴⁸ Clark, *Hauhau*, p.89.

The niu resembled more a ship's mast (adopted from the mast of the "Lord Worsley", which wrecked in Taranaki in 1862), rather than a solitary flagpole, and the ceremonies conducted around them, argues Paul Clark, appear to be inspired by settler troops performing rituals and the Kīngitanga performing similar acts.¹⁴⁹ Members of the Hauhau believed that the British flag possessed mana and that it was a manifestation of divine power. Haumēne himself was of the belief that the British worshipped a 'terrible deity', to which the military paid homage around the flagpole every morning and evening.¹⁵⁰

The origin of the niu is attributed to the angel Gabriel:

The Angel Gabriel said: 'Go back to your house and erect a niu.' Horopapera enquired what a niu was. The Angel replied: 'A post'. Horopapera enquired for what purpose? The Angel replied: 'To work for you the acquirement of the languages of all the races upon the earth.'¹⁵¹

Haumēne founded the movement in 1862, following his participation in fighting against the British as a result of the Waitara purchase.¹⁵² A strong relationship existed between the Hauhau and the Kīngitanga, as evidenced through the incorporation of a karakia, which was taught by Haumēne, into Kīngitanga religious ceremonies, and the baptism of Matutaera by Haumēne, at which he received his new name, Tāwhiao ('hold the people together'), and for which he composed *Lament for King Tawhiao*.¹⁵³ The relationship with the Kīngitanga was reciprocated by Haumēne, with one of the flags flown on a niu pole being labelled 'Ingikipotatau', a rough translation being 'the kingship of Pōtatau.'¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Clark, *Hauhau*, p.89.

¹⁵⁰ 'Maori Flags', from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/flags/page-6> (accessed 28 Jul 2020).

¹⁵¹ Report J. White, Resident Magistrate of Central Whanganui to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary. *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) 1864 A4, cited in Clark, *Hauhau*, p.89.

¹⁵² Clark, *Hauhau*, p.6.

¹⁵³ Clark, *Hauhau*, p.57.

¹⁵⁴ Clark, *Hauhau*, p.60.

Some understanding into the theology of the movement is helpful in interpreting the symbolism displayed on its flags. Following the beaching of the *Lord Worsley* in 1862, at Te Namu, Taranaki, within the aukati (boundary) – as brokered by Wiremu Tāmihana Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa between Taranaki Māori and the British Crown – Haumēne became conflicted between his Christian love and the law of the Kīngitanga.¹⁵⁵

His conflict was resolved after he received a vision in which the archangel Gabriel declared that the last days, as told in the Revelation of St John, were at hand. In his vision, Haumēne was chosen by God as his prophet, instructed to cast off the yoke of the Pākehā, and assured of the birthright of Israel (in this case, Māori) in the land of Canaan (New Zealand). This would take place after a day of deliverance in which the ‘unrighteous’ would perish. The Holy Trinity was a central focus of the Hauhau, yet Jesus appears to have been merged with the archangel Michael (Riki), a name shortened from Te Ariki Mikaera (The Lord Michael).¹⁵⁶

Riki and Rura were the names of particular flags – Riki stood for war and Rura for peace.¹⁵⁷ Writes Clark, “[Haumēne] providing his followers with a god of war, isolating areas of fighting, and refusing to engage in battle unless attacked. Rura, the pacifier was the more significant of the twin deities.”¹⁵⁸ Cowan wrote that some niu were ended with carved knobs, representing Riki and Rura.¹⁵⁹ The last niu at Maraekōwhai, on the Whanganui River, had four-fingered hands that were carved at the end of each arm to represent the four points of the compass. Clark argued that this symbolised the movement’s desire to embrace all Māori.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Lyndsay Head. 'Te Ua Haumēne', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t79/te-ua-haumene> (accessed 30 July 2020).

¹⁵⁶ Lyndsay Head. 'Te Ua Haumēne', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t79/te-ua-haumene> (accessed 30 July 2020).

¹⁵⁷ Clark, *Hauhau*, pp.80-81.

¹⁵⁸ Clark, *Hauhau*, p.81.

¹⁵⁹ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, p.6, cited in Clark, *Hauhau*, p.90.

¹⁶⁰ Clark, *Hauhau*, p.90.

As for the ceremonies that were conducted, Clark attributes much to the rituals performed by the missionaries. Like Christian services and British military processions, they were conducted at dusk and dawn, and the chief celebrant stood at the base of the niu, much like the pulpit of a missionary.¹⁶¹

From 1865, a niu stood in every large village from Taranaki to the Bay of Plenty, with the exception of Te Arawa.¹⁶² One such example was one at Whakamero, inland from Patea, in Ngāti Ruanui territory, which was 70 to 80 feet high and crossed with three arms. It was destroyed by Colonel George Whitmore in 1869.¹⁶³ As of the 1930s, there were four niu still in existence. Two stood at Maraekōwhai, on the banks of the Whanganui River. Rongo Nui (“Widespread peace”) was erected in 1864 and painted with kokowai, with four extending arms with open hands, indicating a welcome for all who would drive out Pākehā. This pole was imbued with war.

Riri-kore (“No anger”) was erected two years later, when peace was reached, to counterbalance Rongo Nui.¹⁶⁴ Another niu was cut at Ranana, but never erected. It was to commemorate the battle at Moutoa, to represent Hōri Kīngi te Ānaua, and was named Pakira (“bald”), as Anaua was bald himself. Ānaua opposed both the Kīngitanga and Hauhau, led forces that defeated upper Whanganui at Moutoa, and helped end hostilities in 1865 at Whanganui, after the Hauhau were driven out.¹⁶⁵ The final niu was at Arimata, and estimated to stand at 40 feet.¹⁶⁶

The ceremony involving the niu had followers of the faith erecting the nine-metre-high niu in the middle of an open space and flying three flags from it.

¹⁶¹ Clark, *Hauhau*, p.90.

¹⁶² S. Barton Babbage, *Hauhauism: An Episode in the Maori Wars 1863-1866*, Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1937, p.75.

¹⁶³ Babbage, *Hauhauism*, p.75.

¹⁶⁴ David Young, 'Whanganui tribes - Wars', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/2188/ceremonial-pole-maraekowhai> (accessed 20 August 2020).

¹⁶⁵ Steven Oliver. 'Te Anaua, Hori Kingi', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t24/te-anaua-hori-kingi> (accessed 20 August 2020).

¹⁶⁶ Babbage, *Hauhauism*, pp.75-76.

The first of these, Riki, was a long red pennant with a white cross and, as earlier noted, was regarded as the war flag. The second flag was the flag of the prophet, apostle, or priest conducting the ceremony. The third flag was Rura, another red pennant. Broader than Riki and featuring a St Andrew's Cross and another symbol, it was deemed the flag of peace and represented the angel Michael. The flag was white with red devices, including St George's Cross flanked by eight- and six-pointed stars, with the left space below the Cross being a Greek 'E' or ampersand.¹⁶⁷ The relative positions of Riki and Rura at a meeting indicated whether the meeting was peaceful or not.

Lieutenant Herbert Meade witnessed a Hauhau ceremony in 1865 and wrote:

The "Prophet's staff", which had been set up in the middle of the open space, was a stout spar, some 30 feet high, from which floated first the "Riki" or war-flag, a long red pendant with a white cross. Beneath it, a large handsome flag, very carefully made – black, with a white cross next to the staff, and a blue fly, the whole surrounded by a narrow scarlet border; and beneath that again another red pendant, which broader than the upper one, with a St Andrew's cross and some other design which I forget. The priest stood near the staff, which was further "supported", as they say in Heraldry, by three little children who stood with their backs against it, while two men with drawn cutlasses walked up and down the inner sides of the square to prevent anyone approaching too close to the sacred staff, or the high priest, while he was under the influence of divine inspiration... Then, at a signal from the priest, the whole of the assembled tribes (there were delegates from many) sprang to their feet, men, women, and children, and having formed round the flagstaff in a circular column, eight or ten deep, began slowly marching round the staff, pointing to the skies above them with swords or guns or spears ("taiahas") and chanting the responses after the priest in excellent time and powerful voices. It was the first time that I had heard Maoris singing in tune... The striking character of the surrounding scenery – the scarlet, black and blue of the flags, with their white crosses waving forth in strong relief against the dark woods beyond – the varied and many-coloured dresses – the throng of eager upturned faces, fervent with fanaticism – little children, young girls, swarthy warriors, with upraised hands and weapons pointing heavenward – and the swelling chorus produce a very remarkable effect.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ 'Hauhau and Rebel Flags' from Archives file 6/1 E5/51-52 in 'Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834' in *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁶⁸ H. Meade, *A Ride Through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand*, London: John Murray, 1870, pp.126-129.

A follower of the Pai Marire Faith, Tu Patea te Rongo, of Taumaha, Patea, recalled:

Our niu at Whakamarama [a gathering place for Hauhau between 1866 and 1868, after their defeat at Te Ngaio, Kakaramea] was a loft rimu mast, 4 or 5 feet through at the butt. We had felled the tree in the bush a mile away, and, after squaring it, hauled it to the camp. It was set up on the open marae in the front of our camp. The strong pa of Whakamarama was in the rear; the troops did not attack it when they came, but pushed on in pursuit of us. The flag-mast was set up like a ship's mast, with topmast and cross trees and four yards. The lower yard was crossed about half-way up the lower mast. At the crosstrees on the lower-mast head two yards were crossed at right angles to one another, and then a little way below the topmast-head was over 80 feet above the ground. At every yard-arm there was a block with rove halyards which led to the ground, and on all these halyards except the lowest, Maori war flags were flown. A dozen flag, or more, were displayed. Some were British flags, Union Jacks, given to the Maoris before the war; some were flags bearing the words "Tiriti o Waitangi" and 'Kingi Tawhiao'; some bore stars and other devices. Several of the flags dated back to the time of the Treaty of Waitangi; others had been given back to Taranaki by Waikato and King Tawhiao. The priest of this pole of worship was Te Whare-Matangi.¹⁶⁹

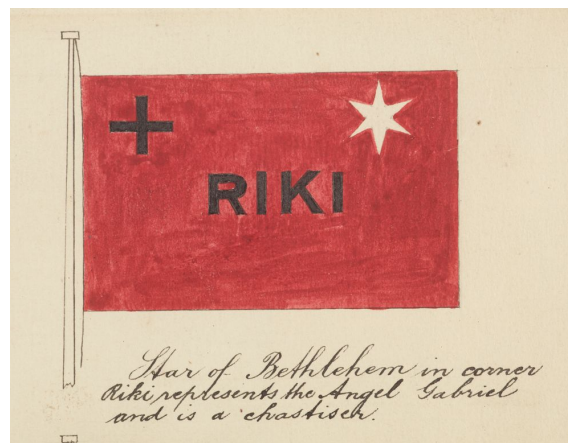


Fig. 31. 'Riki' Flag.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, pp.296-7.

¹⁷⁰ Gift of W.F. Gordon, 1916, 1992-0035-1631/4, Te Papa Tongarewa.



Fig. 32. *Hauhau ceremony around the niu at Tataroa.*¹⁷¹

The flag of Haumēne, Kēnana (Canaan), demonstrated his belief that Māori and Jews were similar in their plights. Measuring 10ft by 3ft, the trefoil represented the trinity and it has been suggested that the others are probably the Greek ‘Omega.’¹⁷² In the Book of Revelation, the favourite biblical reading of Haumēne, God states “I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last,” a reference that God remains from the beginning to the end of time.¹⁷³

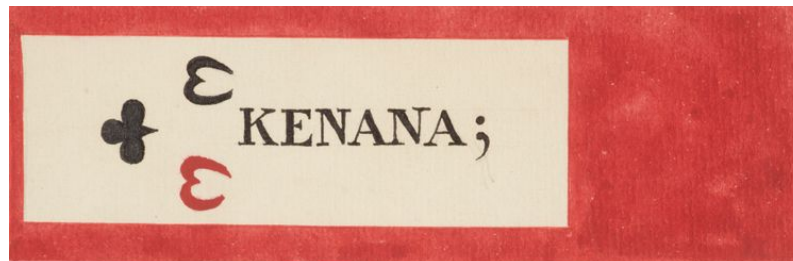


Fig. 33. *Flag of Te Ua Haumēne.*¹⁷⁴

Flags of Hauhau apostles, prophets, or priests that flew at Hauhau ceremonies included those of Matiu, Te Peehi Tūroa, Tītokowaru, and Eru Tamaikowha Te Ariari, all of whom had their flags captured in battle. Matiu (Mathew), from Te Urewera, was killed after the storming of the Harema Pā by Te Arawa and Lieutenant Gilbert Mair, in May 1869. His flag was seventy feet long and five feet wide at the pole.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Lieutenant Herbert Meade, Ref: B-139-014, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁷² ‘Hauhau and Rebel Flags’ in *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁷³ Jean E. Rosenfeld, *The Island Broken in Two Halves: Land and Renewal Movements Among the Maori of New Zealand*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1999, p.182.

¹⁷⁴ Gift of W.F. Gordon, 1916, 1992-0035-1631/8, Te Papa Tongarewa.

¹⁷⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 24 November 1869, p.6.

It was crafted from one strip of deep red calico, with a narrower blue edge sewn into each edge. At the wide end, was a cross with two stars in white cloth and the name *Kena* in white lettering.

Paerangi was the name of the flag of Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangi chief Te Peehi Tūroa.¹⁷⁶ In May 1864, Paerangi was captured after the pā Tawhitinui was overcome. It is described as being nine metres long and three yards broad, and was made of white calico, red silk and merino. The materials were sent from Whanganui to the Waikato, where it was constructed by Māori girls who had been taught needlework at the mission schools.¹⁷⁷ The upper half was a white field boarded in red, on which is a blue cross and three stars with the lower half being red. The flag was found in a canoe and gifted to the Superintendent by loyal Māori. The former expressed an interest in sending it to Governor Grey as a trophy, yet Māori who had found the flag wished it to remain in the province as a memorial to the fight. On May 25, 1864, the flag was flown beneath the Union Jack on the York flagstaff in Whanganui. It was also flown underneath the Union Jack on the flagstaff in front of Government House, “spreading its ample folds to the winds under the ensign of British authority.”¹⁷⁸ The flag bore an obvious resemblance to the flag flown by the Māori King, reinforcing the relationship that existed between the two movements.



Fig. 34. *Flag of Te Peehi Tūroa.*¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library, source: “Shell Magazine” November 1958.

¹⁷⁷ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian*, 22 June 1864, p.2.

¹⁷⁸ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian*, 22 June 1864, p.2.

¹⁷⁹ Gift of W.F. Gordon, 1916, 1992-0035-1631/8, Te Papa Tongarewa.

The flag of Tītokowaru, of Ngāti Ruanui, was a red pennant with a white cross and a white line, with a horizontal crescent moon. It flew under his watch as he embarked in a series of conflicts alongside his Ngāti Ruanui and Hauhau followers in Whanganui and Taranaki, before leading the Parihaka settlement with Te Whiti.¹⁸⁰

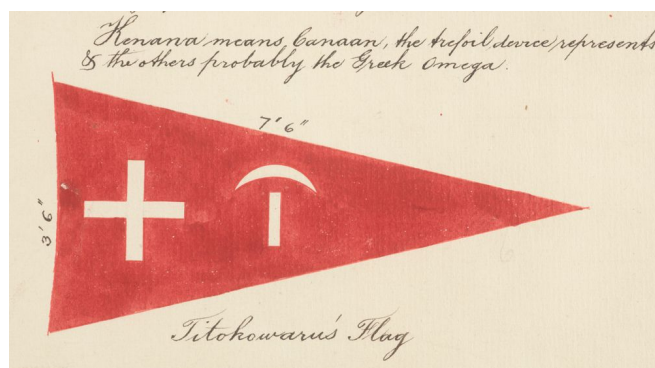


Fig. 35. Flag of Tītokowaru.¹⁸¹

Another Hauhau flag was presented by Te Ua Haumēne to Eru Tamaikowha Ariari, of Ngāti Tama, who led the Hauhau people in the Ōpōtiki area, including at Waioeka and Waimana gorges. In February 1866, Lieutenant-Colonel Lyon went to the Waioeka stronghold of Wairakau and captured the flag of Tamaikowha. It had a red background, with a blue St George's Cross in the top left-hand corner and five white stars in the middle.¹⁸²

When 600 Irish troops landed in Tauranga in 1864 in preparation to attack Gate Pā, Māori flew the Union Jack “all over the country” in a demonstration of loyalty.¹⁸³ Yet the *Daily Southern Cross* printed:

¹⁸⁰ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 22 June 1864, p.2.

¹⁸¹ Gift of W.F. Gordon, 1916, 1992-0035-1631/8, Te Papa Tongarewa.

¹⁸² *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library, source: “Shell Magazine” April 1959.

¹⁸³ ‘Monthly Summary for the English February Mail – General Summary’, *Daily Southern Cross*, 1 February 1864, p.3.

...these same natives having engaged in the war at an early stage is considered – of their having many representatives now opposed to the troops, of having driven off the Resident Magistrate, and done everything they could to oppress Europeans and degrade the law, we think their sudden conversion to loyalty is not a genuine change of feeling, but may be traced to their fear and cunning.¹⁸⁴

The flag that flew at Gate Pā was captured in the battle in April 1864, and the icons used are related to various Hauhau flags that were used during the New Zealand Wars.¹⁸⁵ It had a red field with three white devices; at the left-hand side was a cross, in the middle was a horizontal moon crescent, and on the right was a four-pointed star, believed to be the star of Bethlehem (also the name of a district in Tauranga).¹⁸⁶ Cairns argues that the cross is a sign of the adoption of Judeo-Christianity, which underpinned the Pai Mārire Faith that was spreading to parts of Tauranga at the time, and that the crescent moon may represent either the Old or New Testament.

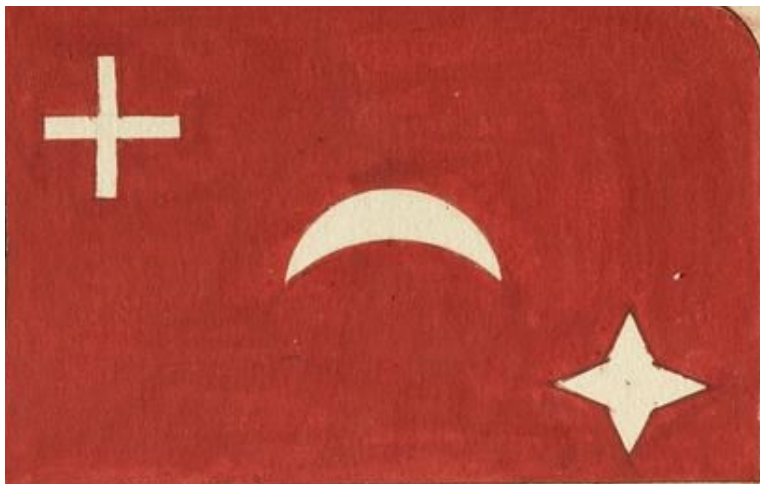


Fig. 36. *Flag at Gate Pā*.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ 'Monthly Summary for the English February Mail – General Summary', *Daily Southern Cross*, 1 February 1864, p.3.

¹⁸⁵ Puawai Cairns, 'Traces of Pukehinahina / The Battle of Gate Pā in Te Papa – The New Zealand Wars', 28 April 2014, <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2014/04/28/the-new-zealand-wars-150th-anniversary-of-pukehinahina-the-battle-of-gate-pa/> (accessed 10 August 2020).

¹⁸⁶ *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library, source: "Shell Magazine" April 1959.

¹⁸⁷ Gift of W.F. Gordon, 1916, 1992-0035-1631/9, Te Papa Tongarewa.

One Hauhau flag that was captured was displayed prominently in Auckland for more than sixty years. In December 1863, Forest Rangers (No 1 Company), under the leadership of Major William Jackson, surprised a group from the Koheriki hapū at Paparata in the Hunua Ranges.¹⁸⁸ Within a seized box were three flags: a red pennant with a white cross (6 feet in length); a small square handkerchief that featured a Union Jack; and a red silk banner (8 feet long by 5 feet wide) with a white cross, symbolising Christianity, next to the bright morning star, Te Whetu Marama o te Ata, with Aotearoa in large lettering underneath.¹⁸⁹ The flag was made by Heni Te Kiri Karamu (Te Arawa), otherwise known as Jane Foley (Heni Pore) or Jane Russell, with material she had received from Whangarei some years earlier.¹⁹⁰

The flag was gifted by the relatives of Jackson for the fiftieth anniversary of the Paparata attack, in December 1913, to the city of Auckland. It was encased in glass, with a carved and gilded crown on top and, after being displayed at the Auckland Town Hall for a short period of time, it was then transferred to the Auckland Public Library, where it would remain for more than half a century. In 1975, it was transferred to the Auckland War Memorial, where it remains today in poor condition.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library, source: “Shell Magazine” November 1958. James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, Vol. 1 pp.293-4. 1955 reprint.

¹⁸⁹ Jackson to Nixon, 14 December 1863, AJHR, 1864, E-3; ‘Attack on Maoris near Paparata’, *Daily Southern Cross*, 15 December 1863; ‘The War in Auckland’, *Daily Southern Cross*, 16 December 1863 cited in O’Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand* (e-book version), p.604.

¹⁹⁰ Handwritten account by Heni Pore about her involvement in the New Zealand Wars, James Cowan Papers, MS-Papers-11310, ATL; ‘In the Hunua Bush. The Maori Flag-Makers Story’, *Auckland Star*, 30 July 1927 in O’Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand*, p.606.

¹⁹¹ ‘Relic of Battle’, *New Zealand Herald*, 10 February 1975 and Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers during the New Zealand Wars*, R. Stowers, Hamilton, 1996, p.39; Hikitia Harawira, Collection Manager Taonga Maori, personal communication, 14 April 2016, cited in O’Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand*, (e-book version) p.606.



Fig. 37. *Aotearoa Flag*.¹⁹²

Notes made presumably by Bernard Foster provide some explanation and analysis behind the various symbols used on flags created by the Hauhau people.¹⁹³ The saltire cross of St Peter was used in ‘Rura’, whereas the crosses of St John or St George were used on flags symbolising ‘Riki.’ At times, the Greek Cross was used to represent the cross of St George. In the notes, it is recorded that, as St John’s Cross was sometimes used on flags representing ‘Riki’, this may indicate that the Hauhau confused St John with John the Baptist.

The star of David, sometimes used to represent Gabriel, was an important symbol in the Old Testament, which explains the significance placed on it by the Hauhau. The star of the Gospel was also used for war, and was used by both the Hauhau and the Kīngitanga, named ‘Tawera’ – the bright morning star – which was usually shown with five points, as was the case with ‘Te Whetu Marama’ from Ratana. The ‘bow’, a D with a line through one side of the middle of the letter, had an unclear meaning, although the author presumed it was related to the heart with an arrow that symbolises the suffering of the people. The Penitential Cross was used to denote the Southern Cross. The crescent moon was popular and was assumed to represent a “new world”, with the trefoil representing the holy trinity (and most likely borrowed from playing cards).¹⁹⁴ The ‘E’ was said to symbolise ‘kororia’ (to glorify), was shaped like a half mere pounamu, cut longitudinally.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Gift of W.F. Gordon, 1916, 1992-0035-1631/10, Te Papa Tongarewa.

¹⁹³ See: *Flags of New Zealand*, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library. This compendium was written by Foster, a Research Officer for the Department of Internal Affairs, and the author of the entry on Flags in the 1966 *New Zealand Encyclopaedia*.

¹⁹⁴ Margaret Orbell, *Maori Flags and Banners, Te Ao Hou*, 50 (March 1965), p.34.

¹⁹⁵ *Flags of New Zealand*, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

The flags of the Hauhau differed from those of the Kīngitanga. While the Kīngitanga did employ crosses, denoting a religious connection, those of the Hauhau were focussed solely on their religious keystones. The Old Testament, which underpinned the theology of the Pai Mārire faith, was expressed through a variety of symbols, from the trefoil – borrowed from playing cards, to represent the Holy Trinity – to the Greek symbols ‘Alpha’ and ‘Omega’, to represent the Book of Revelations and the new beginnings that Haumēne believed would happen once he had removed Pākehā from New Zealand. Above all else, the use of the niu was central to the ceremonies performed by the members of the Hauhau, formalities that were adopted from the British military.

Te Kooti

Judith Binney wrote of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki (Ngāti Maru), founder of the Māori religious movement Ringatū, “As a Maori leader he was not a tribal figure... Probably above all other 19-century Maori leaders, Te Kooti transcends any tribal claims.”¹⁹⁶ Much like what had taken place at Kororāreka and Taranaki, and with the Kīngitanga and Hauhau movements, emotions ran high regarding the placement and flying of flags in Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa (Poverty Bay), where Te Kooti lived. For Te Kooti, this would be where he was first exposed to flags and their associated meanings. Hauhau preachers had arrived to Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa in the pursuit of converting Māori in 1865.¹⁹⁷ It was estimated a third of Māori in the region accepted the religion, with another third remaining neutral, and the remaining third joining forces with the British Crown.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.6.

¹⁹⁷ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.41.

¹⁹⁸ 10 April 1865, ‘Records of Two Brothers Henry and William Williams’, E.L. Gardiner and Fanny Marsh, typescript, p.124, Williams Family Papers, Series C, Auckland Institute and Museum, in Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.41.

Mōkena Kōhere, a chief of Ngāti Porou, came to Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa in May 1865, erected a flagstaff and hoisted a Union Jack in defiance to the niu poles from which numerous flags flew.¹⁹⁹ Kōhere had sought the permission of Ngāi Te Kete to erect the flagstaff, yet another land owner, Hirini Te Kani, threatened to tear the pole down.²⁰⁰ Te Kani was not a supporter of the Hauhau, but he did object to any claims being made by Ngāti Porou to Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa, as they had done in 1860, when a flag flew above the Resident Magistrate's house. Māori had told Governor Thomas Browne that they objected to the Union Jack being flown at the Magistrate's residence, and refused to recognise the Queen, unless their grievances regarding the land were resolved.²⁰¹

On the subject of the Kīngitanga and local support for the movement in Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa, Tūranga chiefs met in 1858 and decided not to join forces with the Kīngitanga nor choose a King amongst themselves, yet they had discussed their own flagstaff, which they were to call 'King.'²⁰² The ship *Lapwing* which was transporting cattle from the East Coast in August 1864, reported that hui were being held between the 'natives.'²⁰³

In particular, a large hui was being held at Tokomaru between the 'Queen's natives' and the 'Kingites', with both the Union Jack and the Kīngitanga flags flying, to determine 'future operations.' The following year, trader John Williams Harris penned to Sir Donald McLean that a flagstaff was erected at Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa, after which Hirene and his supporters threatened to cut it down.²⁰⁴ Paratene Tūrangi declared his embracing of it and the flagstaff appeared to have more supporters than detractors in that locale.

¹⁹⁹ Harris to McLean, 22 May 1865, MSS 32:327, Alexander Turnbull Library cited in Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.41.

²⁰⁰ W. Leonard Williams to CMS, 22 May, 21 June 1865, CN/097, Church Missionary Society microfilm; to William Williams, 23 May 1865, MSS 69: 56A, Alexander Turnbull Library cited in Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.41.

²⁰¹ Parliament of New Zealand, House of Representatives, *Daily Southern Cross*, 25 August 1862, p.3.

²⁰² Wardell to McLean, 12 June 1858, MSS 32:620, Alexander Turnbull Library cited in Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.41.

²⁰³ 'The War in Tauranga/Auckland', *Daily Southern Cross*, 17 August 1864, p.4.

²⁰⁴ John Williams Harris to Sir Donald McLean, 22 May 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0327.

The erection of the flagstaff on Titirangi (Kaiti) Hill in 1865, and its fortification by Mōkena Kōhere, only angered Rongowhakaata.²⁰⁵ Hirini responded and formed a new pā at the base of the hill. The Anglican bishop of Waiapu, Leonard Williams, wrote that the flagstaff had become a focal issue, as Hirini – who had previously refused the Hauhau permission to fly their flags ‘Riki’ and ‘Tamarura’ – now threatened to join forces with the new religion.²⁰⁶ Two chiefs who supported the British Crown, Paratene Tūrangi and Te Waaka Puākanga (who was the father of Irihāpeti, the wife of Te Kooti), wrote to the government to intervene, as they stated they would not consent to the Queen’s flag coming down.

Following the arrival of Donald McLean, he oversaw 40 to 50 Māori taking the oath of loyalty "at the fstaff [flagstaff] pa."²⁰⁷ Hirini refused to participate, as long as the flagstaff stood. Three factions emerged within Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa: those who belonged to Pai Mārire; some who were deemed kūpapa; and others who were considered neutral. They all, however, stood in opposition to the pā of Kōhere.

The ‘Queen’s Maori’ rūnanga (Kāwangatanga) met at Whakatō marae in July, without Hauhau and kūpapa, and erected a pole and flew their flags, with the red ensign at the top. Henare Ruru spoke and stated that, “just as the mana of the Hauhau lay in their flag Tamarura, so theirs now lay in the Queen’s flag.”²⁰⁸ The following day, the Pai Mārire rūnanga met and it was suggested that a niu be erected in front of the church of Ngāti Maru at Whakatō, swapping the flag that flew on the flagstaff of Kōhere, making the flagstaff a niu.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.44.

²⁰⁶ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.44.

²⁰⁷ W Leonard Williams, *Diary*, 7 June 1865, Auckland Institute and Museum, cited in Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.45.

²⁰⁸ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.46.

²⁰⁹ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.46.

War erupted in the region following the arrival of Donald McLean, Kōhere, 260 Ngāti Porou soldiers, and government troops, in November.²¹⁰ Despite Te Kooti claiming he had fought against the Hauhau at Waerenga-ā-Hika, he was arrested by Major James Fraser on suspicion of being a spy.²¹¹ It was within this context that a dream attributed to Te Kooti in 1864 rejected the authority of the niu poles.²¹² Arrested on other charges, Te Kooti, with Pai Mārire prisoners, were exiled on the *St Kilda* to the Chatham Islands in 1866. There, he composed a waiata that rejected the Pai Mārire god 'Tamarura.'²¹³

It was at the Chatham Islands that Te Kooti founded the Ringatū faith, as a prisoner. It has been often stated that Ringatū was the successor to Pai Mārire faith, yet it would appear that Te Kooti remained opposed to the Hauhau movement.²¹⁴ The belief that Māori were Hebrew extended beyond both religions and, despite the use of the upraised hand for both, its significance differed. For Pai Mārire, it offered protection; and for Ringatū (which means 'Upraised Hand'), it was a sign of homage to God.²¹⁵ Te Kooti predominately used the Old Testament in his teachings. Writes Elsmore, of the escape of Te Kooti from the Chatham Islands in the *Rifleman*:

The voyage itself was a re-enactment of the Israelites' crossing the sea to escape their pursuers. The island of exile was Egypt, and their mainland Canaan – the land of their ancestors must be re-won. While the period of the campaigns conducted over the centre of the North Island was four years rather than the forty endured by the Hebrews, this too had its equivalent in the older people's wandering before they could settle down.²¹⁶

²¹⁰ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.47.

²¹¹ Talking with James Mackay at Te Kuiti, unsourced clipping 'Te Kooti and Mr. Mackay', E. Shortland MSS K, p.79, MSS 11, HL, cited in Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.48.

²¹² Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.41.

²¹³ Waiata 5, 1866, Biddle MSS, V, p.110 cited in Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.58.

²¹⁴ Elsmore, *Like Them That Dream: The Maori and the Old Testament*, Auckland: Reed, 2000, p.133.

²¹⁵ Elsmore, *Like Them That Dream*, p.134.

²¹⁶ Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand*, Libro International, 2012, p.202.

Te Kooti believed in the power of flags, and changed their design depending on his success in battle. His most famous flag was Te Wepu, or ‘The Whip’, which he named most likely due to the cracking noise it made.²¹⁷ The seamstresses of the flag were the Sisters of the Lady of the Missions, who created the 52-foot ensign in their convent in Napier. Described as being, ‘...a tapering pennant of red silk on which symbolic emblems were embroidered in white... a conical mountain represented New Zealand, a cross, Christianity, a heart pierced by an arrow, the sufferings of the Māori people’, it was made as a ‘decorative trophy’ for the chiefs of Heretaunga and Ngāti Kahungunu, whose daughters were pupils at the convent school.²¹⁸



Fig. 38. *Te Wepu*.²¹⁹

When it was finished, it was presented to Karauria Pupu, the father of Arini Tonore (Donnelly), who was the wife of general practitioner George Donnelly, a frequent visitor of St Joseph’s Māori Providence, the school the sisters operated. Pupu carried the flag on behalf of his uncle, Ngāti Kahungunu chief Rēnata Tama-ki-Hikurangi Kawepō.²²⁰

²¹⁷ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.132.

²¹⁸ Sisters of the Lady of the Missions 125th Jubilee, 1865-1990, *The War Flag of Te Kooti, Te Wepu – The Whip*, p.10, St Joseph’s Māori Girls College Series 4, Box 4: History of Our Lady of the Missions, St Joseph’s Māori Girls College Archives.

²¹⁹ Reference: Cowan Collection, A-173-030, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²²⁰ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.132.

Kawepō, who opposed fellow Kahungunu chief Te Hāpuku and his support for Pai Mārire in Hawke's Bay, attacked Hauhau who had settled at Omarunui in 1866, as well as fighting against Te Kooti in later years²²¹, and took his own flag and a Union Jack when he and his party went onto the pā of Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui (Major Kemp) in 1880.²²²

Te Wepu was hoisted at the pā of Karauria to gunfire and haka, but unfortunately for Karauria, he and his men marched as part of a government expedition to hunt and kill Te Kooti, and when engaging in battle at Makaretu in 1868, he was killed and the pennant captured. The flag was now under the stewardship of Te Kooti, and it flew at Ngātapa and in the Urewera Ranges, when he fled to that part of the country. According to Binney, Te Kooti interpreted the iconography as being the crescent moon symbolising the Old Testament, the cross for the New Testament, the bleeding heart for the Māori people, and the mountain representing the land.²²³

In February 1870, Captain Gilbert Mair, with the Te Arawa Flying Column, captured one of the lieutenants of Te Kooti, Peka Makarini, near Ōhinemutu on the shores of Lake Rotorua, and in the course of doing so, acquired Te Wepu.²²⁴ The flag was presented by Mair to Sir James Hector of the Dominion Museum and, sadly – much later – it was cut to be used as dusters.²²⁵

²²¹ Angela Ballara and Patrick Parsons. 'Kawepō, Rēnata Tama-ki-Hikurangi', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1k3/kawepo-renata-tama-ki-hikurangi> (accessed 27 May 2020).

²²² 'The Murimotu Difficulty', *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 30 April 1880, p.2.

²²³ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.134.

²²⁴ 'Captain Gilbert Mair and his Arawa Flying Column', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/captain-gilbert-mair-and-his-arawa-flying-column>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 20-Dec-2012. (accessed 27 May 2020).

²²⁵ 1960 *St Joseph's Māori Girls College Magazine*, Reverend Dr Mulcahy, 'St Joseph's Shares Napier's Catholic Centenary, pp.12-15., St Joseph's Māori Girls College Series 9, College Magazines, Boxes 8 (1951-1967), St Joseph's Māori Girls College Archives.

Te Kooti fought many battles and had two flags seized, at Te Pōrere, and Tāpapa, north of Putaruru, towards the end of the New Zealand Wars.



Fig. 39. *Te Kooti Flag captured at Te Pōrere.*²²⁶

One flag, captured at Te Pōrere in October 1869, measured six feet six inches by two feet eight inches. Binney observed that the letters, from pieces of cut fabric, were handstitched onto the flag and that the flag was originally white.²²⁷ In 1963, a group of Ringatū followers went to view the flag in the Dominion Museum. A newspaper article explained that the symbols depicted included the crescent moon and a cross, with the letters 'W.I.'²²⁸ Ethnologist at the Museum, Dr T. Barrow, believed that the crescent moon symbolised the Old Testament, whereas the white cross symbolised Christianity. As for the letters 'W.I.', Barrow provided the explanation that they stood for 'Te Wairua o Ihowa' (The Spirit of God), from which the Ringatū faith took its name (Te Hāhi o te Wairua Tapu – The Church of the Holy Spirit of God). Another explanation for the letters is that they represent 'Te Whakakitenga' (Revelations, Chapter One), from whence Te Kooti experienced a vision.

Binney, noting that the iconography had been contested, said that the letters 'W.I.' could mark the holy day (every tenth day in the Pai Mārire calendar) in the King Country, and most likely stood for the Holy Spirit (Wairua Tapu); W.I. also refers to the Holy Spirit in the Ringatū faith.²²⁹

²²⁶ ME000805, Te Papa Tongarewa.

²²⁷ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.198.

²²⁸ *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library. 26/02/1963, 'Saw Old Flag of Te Kooti', *Dominion*, 26 February 1963, p.13.

²²⁹ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.198.

The large crescent was most likely a tohu (portent) to a new world, whereas the red cross is presumably the fighting cross of the archangel Michael. Binney was of the opinion that Te Kooti incorporated these symbols after having captured Te Wepu.

One of the flags at Tāpapa, north of Putaruru, consisted of a red field with three four-point stars in the fly, similar to that of the Māori King, except the stars were green and black; and in the first quarter, a red St George's Cross was displayed in a field of the Union Jack pattern, with again the colours being green and black.²³⁰ After Te Kooti attacked Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell's camp at Tāpapa on January 25, 1870, McDonnell came across a camp of Te Kooti at Te Oro and captured a flag.

Another flag captured from Te Kooti at Tāpapa resurfaced during the removal of Native Office archives during alterations being made to Government Buildings in 1895.²³¹ By chance, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas McDonnell was in the buildings when the flag was rediscovered, and recognised it. In his recollection of a raid being carried out against his own camp at Tāpapa in 1870, McDonnell remembered coming across a group of Māori who were kneeling, and who he believed were holding a Union Jack until they opened fired upon the Lieutenant-Colonel and he retreated into the forest. Several days later, McDonnell found a camping spot of Te Kooti, in which he found one of the flags that was at Tāpapa. Upon learning of the find, Seddon directed that the flag be presented to McDonnell.²³² Two flags seized at Tāpapa, including the one captured by McDonnell, are now held at the Whanganui Museum. Both flags are the same, with one in a very bad state. Binney wrote:

The three four-pointed stars represent the three islands of New Zealand in unity and are made of the same colours as the Jack. This suggests a deliberate statement was being made in rejection of red, white and blue – but not a rejection of shared sovereignty... at least one of these flags was flown at the fighting at Tapapa on 25 January 1870.

²³⁰ 'Shell Magazine', June 1959, cited in Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.198.

²³¹ 'A Trophy of War: Te Kooti's Flag', *New Zealand Times*, 30 March 1895, p.2.

²³² 'A Trophy of War: Te Kooti's Flag', *New Zealand Times*, 30 March 1895, p.2.

Te Kooti's 'Battle Flag' ... was reported (in 1933) as having flown on several occasions including Matawhero in 1868 and Te Porere in 1869.²³³

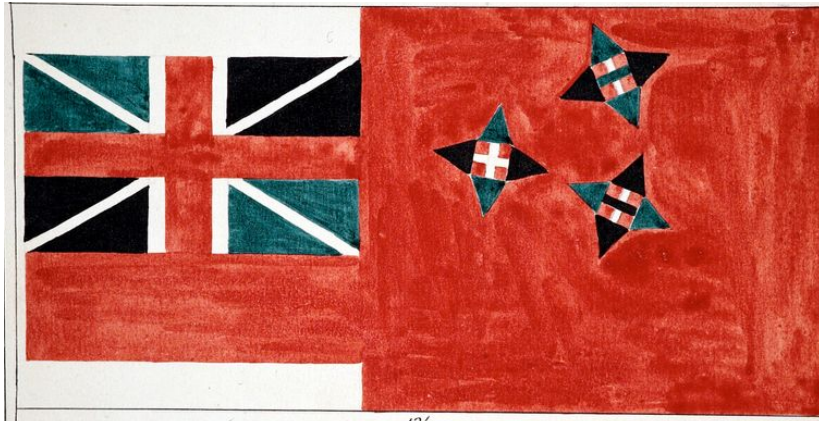


Fig.40. *Flag of Te Kooti captured at Te Tāpapa.*²³⁴

Following the conflicts of the New Zealand Wars, the first visit to the East Coast by Te Kooti was made in peace. Again, flags were used by Te Kooti to indicate the nature of his visit, such as in 1885, when Te Kooti and two hundred of his men marched to Pētane Pā with a white flag, having a Union Jack in the corner and the words "Te Kooti" in black across the banner.²³⁵ Te Kooti and his followers then travelled to Te Waihirere Pā, with the white flag being carried described as having the Union Jack in one corner, with the words "Rongo pai."²³⁶ Te Kooti explained to the crowd that he was visiting to make peace with the people.

In 1943, fifty years after the death of Te Kooti, four flags were discovered in a tin trunk at the derelict meeting house, Te Kohera, at Te Kakaho, on the southern slopes of Titraupenga, between Te Kuiti and Taupō, including a 30-foot battle flag.²³⁷

²³³ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.198.

²³⁴ Gift of W.F. Gordon, 1916, 1992-0035-1631/2, Te Papa Tongarewa.

²³⁵ 'Te Kooti's Visit to the East Coast', *Evening Post*, 23 December 1885, p.2.

²³⁶ 'Te Kooti at Wairoa', *Poverty Bay Herald*, 31 December 1885, p.3.

²³⁷ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.195.

This flag is presumed, by Binney, to be the same flag that was presented to the Auckland War Museum by Walter Hugh Ross in 1945. The flag, a long triangular pennant, is actually 12.7 metres long. Wrote Binney:

The staff end has white emblems on a white background, including a crescent moon (or possibly, a lunar rainbow). The division of the pennant – the first portion being entirely white, except for one eight-pointed red emblem, the second portion carrying red crosses and emblems on white – suggests a balance, or choice, for peace or war. The final portion contains the words (torn at the end), ‘Whakahonoretia to tatou arang[a]’, (‘Honour to our leader’). The grouping of circles on this pennant is not dissimilar to Te Kooti’s sketch in his dream, drawn in his diary. There, eight circles (grouped in pairs) represented stars, and a diagonal cross was marked between the stars. It is possible, therefore, that the group of four circles on this flag depicts the southern cross constellation; the three circles, the three islands in unity.²³⁸

The previous year, Ross had deposited another two associated flags with the museum, which are associated with the withdrawal of Te Kooti from Te Pōrere in 1869. Both flags were in a bad state, yet what can be discerned on one is potentially a greenstone patu, a red ‘2’, and an eight-pointed ‘spoke-wheel’ that was painted on some of the meeting houses for Te Kooti, after the wars. On the other, two eight-petalled flowers, or suns, one in red and the other in white (much like the ‘spoke-wheel’ design), a white cross, and a four-pointed star.²³⁹ The fourth flag connected to Te Kohera and Te Kooti was purchased by the Museum of New Zealand in 1995. It was gifted in 1943 to Turei Hohepa, the guardian of the marae. Binney wrote:

This flag seems to have been a war flag and was therefore stashed. The words ‘AHERE’ and ‘RAU’, in red capital letters, are placed either side of the eight-petalled emblem in the upper portion. It is possible, therefore, that this was a signalling flag, raised for ambush and ‘ensnarement’: ‘ahere’ is used in this sense in the Maori bible. Elsdon Best related how Maori interpreted the alignments of the stars and moon to construct their fighting and ambush strategies, and the codes were possibly incorporated on war flags.

²³⁸ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.198.

²³⁹ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.198.

This flag also has an undecipherable red emblem juxtaposed with what might be the number '6', suggesting a system.²⁴⁰

The reactions of various chiefs at Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa in 1865 to the arrival of the Hauhau and their flags would have greatly influenced Te Kooti before he was arrested and placed in exile to the Chatham Islands the following year. The capture of the flag Te Wepu at Makaretu in 1868, as noted by Binney, did influence flags Te Kooti would raise in subsequent battles, despite the fact that the provenance of the flag rested with French nuns who had come to New Zealand to teach young Māori girls. Yet the flag he raised at Te Tāpapa has very strong elements of a Kīngitanga design, due to the use of three crosses to represent New Zealand. As such, they illustrate that Te Kooti was able to borrow and adapt other symbols used by those who opposed him, and either agreed with the sentiments expressed or reinterpreted them to fit his own purpose. All flags, as was the case with the Hauhau, utilise religious symbolism and, when using a crescent moon, signal the new dawn that Te Kooti hungered for.

Paremata Māori

Williams argued that Māori considered to be either 'loyal' or 'neutral' still had grievances with the British Crown as, "They were rapidly losing their land, autonomy, and tribal organization", as they seemed to accept European assimilation.²⁴¹ Such concerns led to the formation of a separate Māori Parliament (Paremata Māori). Paremata Māori based its rights on the Treaty of Waitangi and the Constitution Act 1853, with some 37,000 Maori having signed one of eight parchments of a pledge that the "Native race of both Islands are to combine as one..."²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.198.

²⁴¹ John A. Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori: Protest and Cooperation, 1891-1909*, United States of America: University of Washington Press, 1969, p.48.

²⁴² Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, p.60.

In 1892, the Paremata Māori held its first session at Waipatu Marae, on the outskirts of Hastings. A flagstaff and the Union Jack also took centre stage in the proceedings.²⁴³ Following prayers, a chief raised the Union Jack up a large flagstaff until it was half-mast. At that stage, there was a pause, and upon resumption of the prayers, the flag was raised to the mast-head, with the chiefs saluting the fully-drawn Union Jack.

The following year, a large hui was held at Rāpaki.²⁴⁴ The occasion being:

...the hoisting of a flag to unite the Natives of both islands, and as a symbol of their intention to use united efforts with the view of improving the general welfare of the race, and also in the near future to establish, or agitate for the establishment of, a Maori Parliament, and which their grievances could be considered and amended.²⁴⁵

The flag, 10ft by 18ft, was made in Wellington. At the centre of the flag is a representation of the two islands of New Zealand and the figure of a Māori holding, in his right hand, the Union Jack, and in his left the New Zealand ensign.²⁴⁶ This is most likely a reference to the United Tribes flag from 1834. At the second gathering of the Maori Parliament at Waipatu, in 1893, both the Union Jack and the newly designed flag unveiled at Rāpaki, flew on a flagstaff at the centre of the buildings.²⁴⁷ A ‘Hastings Correspondent’ relayed that the Māori straddling both islands was Māui, “dressed in yellow tights.”²⁴⁸

Pakirikiri, at Tokomaru Bay, hosted the 1894 session of the Māori Parliament. There, a tree acted as a flagstaff, with three flags flying on this occasion.²⁴⁹ They were described as:

²⁴³ ‘The Maori Parliament at Waipatu’, *Evening Post*, 20 June 1892, p.4.

²⁴⁴ ‘Native Gathering at Raupaki’, *Lyttelton Times*, 24 January 1893, p.6.

²⁴⁵ ‘Native Gathering at Raupaki’, *Lyttelton Times*, 24 January 1893, p.6.

²⁴⁶ ‘Native Gathering at Raupaki’, *Lyttelton Times*, 24 January 1893, p.6.

²⁴⁷ ‘Maori Meeting at Waipatu’, *New Zealand Mail*, 21 April 1893, p.16.

²⁴⁸ ‘Maori Meeting at Waipatu’, *New Zealand Mail*, 21 April 1893, p.16.

²⁴⁹ ‘The Maori Haka’, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 3 May 1894, p.2.

...the uppermost being the red ensign of Old England on which had been worked in white letters on the full length of the flag the words “Te Tiriti o Waitangi.” The flag underneath was a strange one to most of those present, being an exceedingly large one, the ground white, with figures representing the uniting of the North and South Islands of New Zealand in one confederation. The Islands were shown in red with a blue coast line, and above them was the figure of a Maori with one foot on each Island, beneath him Cook Strait. In the right hand the Union Jack was held and in the left the New Zealand ensign. The lettering on the flag was “Te Ika a Maui” over the North Island and “Te Wai Pounamu” over the South. Along the bottom were the words “Te Whakakotahitanga, I Raro I, Te Tiriti o Waitangi” [The Unification Under the Treaty of Waitangi]. The third was a small black flag with “R. Turoa” in white letters, in memory of the chief Raniera Turoa, of Poverty Bay, who died within the past year. In connection with the large white flag, an explanation given to us was that up to 1890 little intercourse over race matters had been held by the Natives of the two Islands, but in that year the Maoris of the North sent delegates out for the purpose of bringing about a confederation of the Native people. This was effected the following year, the present Parliament being the outcome, and held for the purpose of discussing subjects concerning Natives from all parts of New Zealand.²⁵⁰

In 1897, at Papawai in the Wairarapa, where a purpose-built two-storied complex named ‘Aotea-Te Waipounamu’ was erected to host the sessions of the Māori Parliament for 1897 and 1898, a number of flags flew. Hoisted on a pole was the ‘Treaty of Waitangi flag’. Below that flag was the Rongopai flag, bearing a cross and the words ‘Rongo Pai’; and beneath that flag was the ‘Māui flag.’ The fourth flag was that of Pāora Pōtangaoroa, a Wairarapa prophet. The Union Jack was also flown. In addition, the visitors were welcomed onto the marae by a haka pōwhiri from a group waving an ‘English Flag’ in their hands.²⁵¹

The Paremata Māori movement of 1892 to 1902 was also appropriately known as the Kotahitanga, or unity, movement. A clear focus of the Māori Parliament was to unite Māori under one banner, and to include – for the first time within a national body – Ngāi Tahu from the South Island.

²⁵⁰ ‘The Maori Haka’, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 3 May 1894, p.2.

²⁵¹ Malcolm Mulholland, ‘Ngā haki – Māori and flags - Kīngitanga and Kotahitanga flags’, *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/35213/papawai-marae> (accessed 20 August 2020).

The symbolism of the Māui flag as uniting both the North and the South Islands, and the Union Jack to denote a relationship with the British Crown as per the Treaty of Waitangi, were particularly powerful symbols in attempting to convey what the movement stood for.

Rua Kēnana Hepetipa

Rua Kēnana Hepetipa claimed to be the saviour of Māori, as prophesied by Te Kooti.²⁵² As such, Kēnana based much of his religion on Ringatū.²⁵³ Elsmore titled the group Kēnana, founded as the “Iharaira (Iharaira or Israelites) Movement”, as that was the title the followers of Kēnana gave themselves.²⁵⁴ Rua Kēnana possessed several flags. The first was a large Union Jack that had been gifted by the Governor to Tūtakangahau, which contained the words ‘Kotahi Te Ture, Mo Nga Iwi E Rua, Mangapohatu’ (There is one law for both peoples). For Kēnana, it symbolised his relationship with Premier Joseph Ward and the acceptance by Kēnana of the government over native lands, as provided in the “Ceremony of the Union” in 1908.²⁵⁵ The “Ceremony of the Union” is a reference to a meeting that Kēnana held with Ward, where Kēnana accepted Ward’s argument that there could be no separate Māori government and that both peoples would enjoy the same laws.²⁵⁶

This flag had a long and significant history, not only to Kēnana himself, but also the Tūhoe people. At Poroporo, in the Bay of Plenty, in 1891, the Governor, Lord William Onslow, and the Native Minister, Alfred Cadman, were welcomed by Ngāti Awa, who showed the Union Jack.²⁵⁷

²⁵² Peter Webster, *Rua and the Maori Millennium*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1979, p.95.

²⁵³ Webster, *Rua and the Maori Millennium*, pp.119-120.

²⁵⁴ Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, p.309.

²⁵⁵ Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1990, p.61.

²⁵⁶ Judith Binney. 'Rua Kēnana Hepetipa - Rua Kenana Hepetipa', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r32/rua-kenana-hepetipa> (accessed 20 August 2020).

²⁵⁷ 'Receptions at Te Teko and Poroporo', *Poverty Bay Herald*, 20 March 1891, p.2.

After the party had left Poroporo, they proceeded to the confiscation boundary, which was marked by a post and rail fence, and were met by a group from the Urewera that had a Union Jack.²⁵⁸

Premier Richard Seddon visited Tūhoe three years later, but travelled further than Onslow in 1891, who thought it wise to turn back after having reached Rūātoki.²⁵⁹ The newspaper reported that, at the hui, Tūhoe stated that they would respect the laws of the country and not “assist in any movement antagonistic to the Government”, in reference to Rūātoki being a former stronghold of the Hauhau movement.²⁶⁰ They also asked that a native school be established at Rūātoki and that the Native Land Court be held at Rūātoki to hear cases into land titles.

Following the passing of the *Urewera District Native Reserve Act* in October 1896, the matter of a flag was raised by several Tūhoe leaders, with Tūtakangahau, a Tūhoe chief and grandfather to Kēnana, writing in his new capacity as commissioner – in January 1898 – to Seddon.²⁶¹ He sent a petition with the signatures of 50 chiefs from Ruatahuna and Maungapōhatu, requesting a flag with the words “Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe” (The Separate Authority of Tūhoe). He asked that the flag be gifted because of the ‘treaty’ marked at Ruatahuna by the ‘rata stone.’ Binney deduces that this is a reference to a marker that recorded the place where peace was sealed at Ruatahuna in 1871 between Tuhoe and the British Crown, following the invasion of Ruatahuna and Maungapōhatu.²⁶² Part of the request sent by Tūtakangahau to Seddon was that he wanted the flag to show that they had come “under the mana of your government and under the mana of Queen Victoria.”²⁶³

²⁵⁸ ‘The Governor’s Trip’, *Auckland Star*, 21 March 1891, p.5.

²⁵⁹ ‘The Premier and the Ureweras’, *Auckland Star*, 3 April 1894, p.5.

²⁶⁰ ‘The Premier and the Ureweras’, *Auckland Star*, 3 April 1894, p.5.

²⁶¹ Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2010, p.425.

²⁶² Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.425.

²⁶³ 21 January 1898, Justice Department 1/1898/1066, National Archives, Wellington, cited in Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.425.

A dispute arose between Numia, another Tūhoe chief, and Tūtakangahau, as to the exact wording of the flag and who would have the custody rights to it. In 1898, a delegation of Tūhoe, including Numia and Tūtakangahau, went to Wellington and asked Seddon for a flag for all hapū of Tūhoe, which should now read “Te Mana Motuhake o te rohe o Tuhoe” (The Separate Authority of the District of Tuhoe), as they had observed that as each hapū had their own flag, they wanted one to represent Tūhoe at their hui.²⁶⁴ Tukua Te Rangi wrote to Seddon that they wished the flag to be with them prior to the arrival of the European commissioners, yet the government believed it best to wait until the commission had met.²⁶⁵

Following consultation between Percy Smith and the five Tūhoe commissioners, a flag was ordered that read “Te Ture Motuhake mo Tuhoe” (The Separate Law for Tuhoe), which was presented to the commission in February 1899.²⁶⁶ The instructions that accompanied the flag, from the government, were that it was to be held only by the commission and flown by the same body.²⁶⁷ Tūtakangahau wrote to Seddon about the flags that he and Numia had requested, stating that he already had a flag for Maungapōhatu, but asked him not to mention it. He said he wanted the wording of the flag to be “Ko Maungapohatu te reta i runga i taua haki kotahi te ture mo nga iwi e ru[a]”; (Maungapohatu being the lettering thereon, for that is one law over the two races).²⁶⁸

The flag “Kotahi Te Ture/Mo Nga Iwi E Rua/Maungapohatu” on the Jack, was said to be the famous flag of the hapū Tamakaimoana.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Item 4, Urewera Deputation to Seddon, 26 September 1898, Justice Department 1/1898/1066, National Archives Wellington cited in Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.425.

²⁶⁵ 21 December 1898, Justice Department 1/1899/124, National Archives Wellington, cited in Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.426.

²⁶⁶ Percy Smith to J. memo dated 3 February 1899, Justice Department 1/1898/1066, Wellington, cited in Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.426.

²⁶⁷ J to Smith, 27 February 1899, Justice Department 1/1898/1066, Wellington, cited in Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.426.

²⁶⁸ Tutakangahau to Seddon, 2 October 1898 (from Wellington), Justice Department 1/1898/1066 in J to Smith, 27 February 1899, Justice Department 1/1898/1066, National Archives Wellington, cited in Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.426.

²⁶⁹ Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.426.

When seized from Kēnana in 1916, following his arrest for sedition due to his opposition to Māori being conscripted in World War I, Kēnana said that his grandfather, Tūtakangahau, had obtained it from Lord Ranfurly in 1904, yet the flag was flying at the tangihanga of the granddaughter of Tūtakangahau, Marewa-i-Te-Rangi, in 1897.²⁷⁰ Binney wrote:

In Tutakangahau's vision, both flags were intended to bear statements of fundamental principles. He clearly commissioned the flag Maungapohatu, and the words that he chose affirmed the important principal that the dominant culture should not pass laws discriminating against Māori... Tutakangahau had wanted the Tūhoe flag to represent the territorial autonomy of the Urewera, under its own leaders... But the wording on the Urewera Commission's flag was changed to emphasise the separate law ('ture'), rather than the separate 'mana' of Tūhoe... This flag signalled restrictions to their autonomy rather than being a celebration of it, as they had wished.²⁷¹



Fig. 41. *Kotahi Te Ture/Mo Nga Iwi E Rua/Maungapohatu Flag*.²⁷²

Another flag owned by Kēnana was a New Zealand flag that had the words 'Te Tahī o te Rangi' stitched onto it, the name being one of his tīpuna from Tūhoe.

²⁷⁰ 'Nga Aitua o Tuhoe: How Marewa returned to Maungapohatu', clipping from the Hot Lakes Chronicle [September 1897], Polynesian Society, MS Papers 1187: 0034, Alexander Turnbull Library, cited in Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.426.

²⁷¹ J to Smith, 27 February 1899, Justice Department 1/1898/1066, National Archives Wellington, cited in Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.426.

²⁷² Auckland Museum, 'The Maungapōhātu Flag', 22 August 2014, <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/discover/stories/blog/2014/the-maungapohatu-flag> (accessed 20 August 2020).

It was claimed that the tīpuna protected his descendants, especially from the sea, and his task was to assist his people in times of trouble.

...Rua linked the ancestral traditions with his mission, while Kotahi Te Ture, in turn, looked to the unity of Edward's people (and later, King George's people) under the law. These words became the political centre of Rua's movement and it is for this reason that Rua Hepetipa [Kēnana] remains a living force for the Tūhoe, when his messianic claims have largely faded.²⁷³

Flags within Tūhoe had been a significant topic before the 1890s. In a report to the House of Representatives in 1874, a hui with the entire 'Urewera tribe' – with the exception of Te Makarini and those residing at Waikaremoana – had been held.²⁷⁴ A large house that was formerly at Te Tahora had been shifted to Ruatahuna, with two flags flying: one a red ensign; and the other showing the bust of a black man on a red ground, which was 'intended for the flag of Whitu Tekau (Seventy).'²⁷⁵



Fig. 42. *Intended flag of Te Whitu Tekau.*²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Binney, Chapman and Wallace, *Mihaia*, p.54.

²⁷⁴ Native Meeting of Urewera Tribes held at Ruatahuna, 23rd and 24th March 1874, AJHR, 1874 Session I, G-01a.

²⁷⁵ Native Meeting of Urewera Tribes held at Ruatahuna, 23rd and 24th March 1874, AJHR, 1874 Session I, G-01a.

²⁷⁶ sub.sist., 'Flying Flags in the Field of Architecture', 24 November 2010, <https://kaihoahoahare.wordpress.com/2010/11/24/flying-flags-in-the-field-of-architecture/> (accessed 20 August 2020).

In May 1869, Crown forces consisting of Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, and Whanganui troops crossed into Te Urewera in pursuit of Te Kooti, who had been given sanctuary by Tūhoe. In 1871, Tūhoe agreed to lay down their arms and assist in capturing Te Kooti, so long as the government terminated its scorched earth policy. The following year, Tūhoe created a governing council of chiefs titled 'Te Whitu Tekau.' This council closed access to its lands to Pākehā, having seen the impact settlement had had on other iwi.²⁷⁷ Binney, suggesting that the figure on the Te Whitu Tekau flag could be the archangel Michael, states that it was deposited by Sir George Grey to the Museum of New Zealand in 1879.²⁷⁸

Kēnana, at a number of hui, flew four flags on the one pole in the following order: "Kotahi Te Ture", with the large Union Jack floated at the top, followed by the New Zealand Flag, followed then by the New Zealand Red Ensign, followed by the flag that had been inscribed with the name of his tipuna "Te Tahī o Te Rangi."²⁷⁹ "Te Wairua Kino" [The Evil Spirit] was a black flag that was owned by Kēnana, which flew as a flag that warned of hostile visitors.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Rangi McGarvey, 'Ngāi Tūhoe - Self-imposed isolation', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngai-tuhoe/page-6> (accessed 20 August 2020).

²⁷⁸ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.359.

²⁷⁹ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.60.

²⁸⁰ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, p.60.



Fig. 43. *Flags flying in front of Hiruhama Hou with Rua Kenana, Christmas 1908. The uppermost flag is the “Kotahi Te Ture” flag, followed by the New Zealand Flag, the third is the red ensign, and the last flag is the ancestral flag ‘Te Tahi o te Rangi.’*²⁸¹

The ‘Kotahi te Ture’ flag was taken as evidence when Kēnana was arrested for sedition in 1916.²⁸² The Police Commissioner who was in charge of the operation, John Cullen, who had taken the flag from Kēnana, retained it well into retirement and decided to present it to the Auckland War Memorial Museum in 1930. The flag was returned to Tūhoe by the Minister of Treaty Settlements, Chris Finlayson, in August 2012, as part of the Crown-Tūhoe settlement.²⁸³

Of the last of the Urewera claimant hearings, before the Waitangi Tribunal hearings that were held in February 2005 at Maungapōhatu, Binney wrote:

²⁸¹ Auckland War Memorial Museum - Tāmaki Paenga Hira. TR650 B775.

²⁸² Tūhoe, ‘The Maungapōhatu Flag’, 22 August 2014, <https://www.ngaituhoe.iwi.nz/the-maungapohatu-flag> (accessed 20/08/2020).

²⁸³ Tūhoe, ‘The Maungapōhatu Flag’, 22 August 2014, <https://www.ngaituhoe.iwi.nz/the-maungapohatu-flag> (accessed 20/08/2020).

Four flags had been chosen. One was a facsimile of the flag made famous by Rua, ‘Kotahi Te Ture mo Nga Iwi e Rua/Maungapohatu’ (One law for Both Peoples/Maungapohatu)... This flag, with these words stitched onto the Jack (the national flag before the New Zealand ensign was created), had been acquired for the Maungapohatu marae in 1897; its message had been carefully chosen as a statement by the elderly chief Tutakangahau, who was the tuakana or elder relation to Rua’s grandfather Kopae (Tumoana).

Flags are the tohu, the construct and marker, of the people present on the marae. Also chosen for the Waitangi Tribunal hearing at Maungapohatu were two marae flags from Te Uwhiarae, at Ruatahuna. They represented the family of Pinepine Te Rika, the first (and tapu) wife of Rua. Rua and Pinepine’s descendants, through their eldest daughter Whakaataata (Meri Tukua), were about to give compelling evidence about the police behaviour in 1916. The fourth flag flying beside Tanenui-a-Rangi was Tuhoe’s reworked version of another nineteenth century flag, Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe (The Separate Authority of Tuhoe).²⁸⁴

Tūhoe has had a fraught and temperamental relationship with the British Crown and the New Zealand government. For Tūhoe, it has long maintained it operates under its own laws, with the government – on occasions – being accommodating and endorsing some provision of self-autonomy, as supported by the wording of certain flags provided by them. For the government, however, Tūhoe was still to operate within the laws of New Zealand. Kēnana was content to accept one law for both peoples, having adopted his grandfather’s “Kotahi Te Ture/Mo Nga Iwi E Rua/Maungapohatu” flag, following his peace accord with Premier Ward. Yet only eight years would pass before the explosive relationship between Tūhoe and the government would be put to the test, yet again, through the arrest of Kēnana.

²⁸⁴ Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.2.

Rātana

The nephew of Ātareta Kāwana Rōpiha Mere Rikiriki, Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana, had been chosen by her as her successor and became an ‘advocate for the Maramatanga’ (enlightenment), a term she had coined.²⁸⁵ Rikiriki herself held at least two flags. One was gifted by King Tāwhiao in the 1890s, after one of his followers was sent to investigate her. The flag contained the words ‘E te iwi, kia ora’ (Blessings to the people), and featured a white crucifix and a brown boar on a blue background.²⁸⁶ Rikiriki also flew a large flag at her house, between the two meeting houses at Parewanui, that had the words ‘Ko Rongopai He Mea Paihere Na Te Rangimarie’ (Peace and goodwill to all men).²⁸⁷

It was common for Māori prophets to use flags to carry messages of the theology they preached. One such example is Mere Pangari, from Waihou, who prophesied that the world would end on March 15, 1885. The flag held by Pangari measured six feet in length, in white calico, with the letters in red spelling ‘Hiona’ (Zion), Thirteen of the flags were arranged in two columns on the flagstaff to spell the letter ‘A.’²⁸⁸

Rātana argued, on his 1921 national tour, that Māori, regardless of their tribal affiliation, should break away from ancient superstitions, adopt ‘practical codes relating to health and morality’, and consider themselves as one people under ‘Ihoa o nga Mano.’²⁸⁹ In April 1926, Rātana went one step further, after being frustrated with divisions that he believed ‘kept them powerless.’²⁹⁰ In particular, he was met with opposition from Ringatū on the East Coast and the Kīngitanga in the Waikato. Writes Newman, “Ratana announced that he would no longer address people according to tribes or sub-tribes.”²⁹¹

²⁸⁵ Keith Newman, *Ratana: The Prophet*, Auckland: Raupo, 2009, p. 121.

²⁸⁶ Newman, *Ratana*, p. 21.

²⁸⁷ Newman, *Ratana*, p. 21.

²⁸⁸ *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library. Source: *New Zealand Herald* 23 August 1889, p.6.

²⁸⁹ Newman, *Ratana*, p. 64.

²⁹⁰ Newman, *Ratana*, p. 121.

²⁹¹ Newman, *Ratana*, p. 121.

He stated, “It doesn’t matter where you come from in this land, those of you who are in this maramatanga will be welcomed as morehu, for that is what the chosen people are called.”²⁹²

Rātana had a number of flags. In 1928, a flag read ‘Mangai kei te Temepara, Piri Wiri Tua, Mo Te Ture Tangata’, to announce that Rātana had transformed the spiritual works and powers, and in 1931 he released another flag called ‘Ringa Poto, Ringa Kaha.’ These words were spoken by the aunt of Rātana, Mere Rikiriki, who stated that the person to set Māori free from superstition would be a young man who would come bearing two books, who would bestow Jehovah’s word directly (Ringa Kaha) and without favour (Ringa Poto).

In 1921, the *Temuka Leader* published a description of the flag accompanying Rātana on his national tour. It was described as follows:

From the beginning God’s plan was to bring His people together. Constantine the Great, Emperor of Rome, put the sign of his Cross on his flag, 314 AD. England, Scotland, and Ireland all had the Cross on their flags. The three kingdoms federated, and thus the Union Jack was formed with the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick. In 1840 the Maori chiefs placed their mana honourably under the Union Jack. To-day God has seen it fit that the Maori shall complete his design. So His holy name is put upon Ratana’s flag – God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.²⁹³

Another description of the flag is provided by Newman. On the flag is a star and a crescent moon over a Union Jack, and the words ‘God the Father, God the Son, the Holy Ghost and the Holy Angels’ in English and Māori.²⁹⁴ The flag was interpreted by Newman as a calling for unity under one God, and the featuring of the Union Jack was seen, again by Newman, as a sign that he was willing to work with the Crown and the government to see the Treaty of Waitangi honoured.²⁹⁵

²⁹² Newman, *Ratana*, p. 121.

²⁹³ ‘Ratana’, *Temuka Leader*, 30 July 1921, p.3.

²⁹⁴ Newman, *Ratana*, p. 56.

²⁹⁵ Newman, *Ratana*, p. 62.

The symbols used on Rātana’s flag would also inform the symbol of the Rātana faith that continues to be worn today. During his world tour, which began in 1924, and as he and his followers passed close to the Mediterranean Sea on the *SS Barrabool*, Rātana woke the members of the troupe to show them a shining crescent moon with a bright star between its edges, on the deck. Newman writes:

He explained this was the *tohu* (mark, sign or proof) that was guiding them on their journey, and it was to be their emblem: ‘This was the star that rose in the east and led the three wise men to witness the birth of Jesus Christ. We will follow the star like the wise old men of old, as we make our way across the world.’ Then he explained that the crescent moon with the star was symbolic of completion and would later signify the coming together of all people throughout the world...When they arrived in London, Ratana sent his secretary to a jeweller to have badges made with the four-pointed star and crescent moon. The topmost point of the star was blue (The Father), the right point was white (The Son), the left point (The Holy Spirit) and the lowest point purple (The Angels). The crescent moon was blue...A second five-pointed star was introduced in 1925. It had a circle in the middle and the lower left point in pink. The colour pink, previously set aside as representing humanity, was adopted by Ratana himself. It was seen particularly in reference to his role as *Piri Wiri Tua*, ‘the campaigner’, in his efforts to bring the Treaty of Waitangi into law.²⁹⁶



Fig. 44. *Emblem of Rātana*.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Newman, *Ratana*, p. 89.

²⁹⁷ Keith Newman, 'Rātana Church – Te Haahi Rātana - Church growth', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/artwork/26302/whetu-marama> (accessed 29 June 2020).

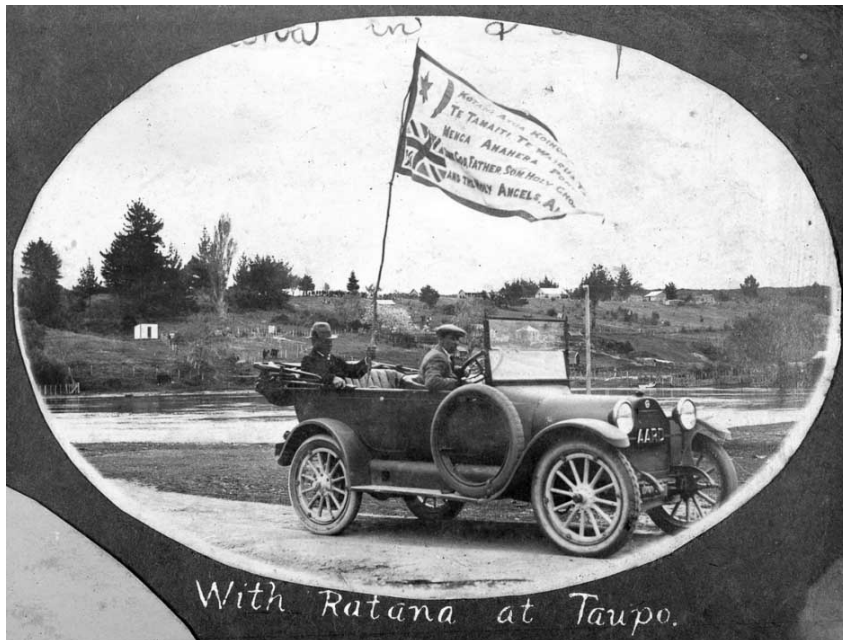


Fig. 45. Rātana Flag.²⁹⁸

Rātana spent much time with Bishop Juji Nakada, a Japanese evangelist, and claimed that the Japanese were another *iwi mōrehu* (nation of survivors) and he believed that they shared similar blood lines to Māori.²⁹⁹ Both Nakada and Rātana agreed that the sign of the rising sun on the Japanese flag was a sign of the ‘rising Son’, or the new dawn, that would see a return of Christ, and as such, was embraced not only on the Rātana flag, but the front of the temple, on the bonnet of the daughter of Rātana, Te Reo Hura, from 1924, and has been part of the Rātana youth logo since 1983. The relationship between Rātana and the Japanese led to accusations that the prophet was a Japanese sympathiser and disloyal to the British Crown, including an allegation that Rātana flew the Japanese flag at Rātana Pā. An official denial was issued, which led to some members of the movement being disappointed and withdrawing.³⁰⁰

The adoption of flags by Rātana to promote both his theology and political beliefs was an extension of flags used by his aunt, Mere Rikiriki. An ardent Māori nationalist, Rātana was at pains to demonstrate the relationship between Māori and the British Crown symbolically, through the use of the Union Jack.

²⁹⁸ Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/2-089569-F.

²⁹⁹ Newman, *Ratana*, p. 203.

³⁰⁰ Angela Ballara. 'Rātana, Tahupōtiki Wiremu - Ratana, Tahupōtiki Wiremu', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r4/ratana-tahupotiki-wiremu> (accessed 21 August 2020).

However, much like Rua Kēnana Hepetipa, he was viewed with suspicion after he incorporated Japanese symbolism, and was accused of being disloyal to the British Crown.

Māori and the Union Jack

There is evidence to suggest that it was custom to gift Union Jack flags to indigenous people who lived within British-settled territories. African tribes were one such population that received them as gifts.³⁰¹ Healy and Orenski write that, for Native Americans, the first use of flags by Indians in the United States occurred in the Confederacy, during the Civil War.³⁰² The Confederacy designed and gifted flags to the “Five Civilized Tribes” in the Indian Territory: the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Seminoles. Between the end of the Civil War in 1865 and the twentieth century, Indians very rarely used flags; and if they did, they were almost exclusively given to friendly chiefs of the United States military. The only known flag created by a Native American was that of Smohalla, a Warapam shaman who was associated with the Dreamer religion of the nineteenth century in the Pacific Northwest. During World War II, a few tribes wished to give their men fighting overseas a flag, but it would be the decade of the 1950s when tribal flags were actually created.³⁰³

Within New Zealand, there are numerous examples of both Māori flying Union Jacks and the government gifting Māori Union Jacks as signs of a relationship between the two treaty partners. The act of reciprocity is significant in Māori society, as the relationship is not fixed at one point in time, but rather is ongoing until both parties determine to terminate the arrangement.³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ Nick Groom, *The Union Jack: The Story of the British Flag*, London: Atlantic Books, 2007, p.235.

³⁰² Donald T. Healy and Peter J. Orenski, *Native American Flags*, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003, xix.

³⁰³ Healy & Orenski, *Native American Flags*, xix.

³⁰⁴ Mānuka Hēnare, ‘Not Simply An Act of Charity: Māori Gift Exchange’, 1 September 2015, <https://www.alliancemagazine.org/opinion/not-simply-an-act-of-charity-maori-gift-exchange/> (accessed 31 August 2020).

In 1857, the Union Jack was flown at a Native Assembly at Mangonui, at the Commission of Inquiry for the Northern Districts, which was heard by Francis Dillion Bell.³⁰⁵ Ururoa, of Whangaroa, said that they flew the flag to show trust in W.B. White, the Resident Magistrate at Mangonui, and that the flag at Kororāreka did not take all lands for the Queen. At Christmas in 1857, Eruera Maihi Patuone and 200 people held his customary feast at Waiwharariki on the North Shore of Auckland, having invited 300 people from Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hinetu, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Pāoa, Ngāti Whakane, Tawera, and Ngāpuhi.³⁰⁶ The sides of the tables were decorated with flags, and at each end, a Union Jack was hoisted as acknowledgement of being loyal subjects of Her Majesty.

Some Māori chose to fight alongside the British during the New Zealand Wars and were gifted flags for their efforts.³⁰⁷ In 1865, the colonial forces presented Mete Kīngi Te Rangi Paetahi, chief of Ngāti Poutama of Whanganui, a silk flag known as the Moutoa flag. He had led a contingent of Whanganui Māori, who drove a war party of Hauhau from Moutoa Island in May 1864, saving the Whanganui settlers from attack, as has been previously noted in this chapter.

The cost of the flag was £20 and Pākehā women – led by Mrs Logan, the wife of Lieutenant Colonel Logan – came from Whanganui, Rangitīkei and Manawatū to sew it.³⁰⁸ It had the Union Jack in the upper corner and a gilt crown in the centre, below which are two clasped hands, Pākehā and Māori, with the word Moutoa. The flag took some five months to construct, at which point another conflict between Upper and Lower Whanganui took place at Ōhoutahi, five miles from Pipiriki, where the loyal Māori leader, Hoani Wiremu Hīpango, lost his life.³⁰⁹ This was the first time the flag had been publicly seen, as it draped his coffin before being formally presented a week later on March 4, 1865.

³⁰⁵ 'Native Assembly at Mongonui to meet Mr Commissioner Bell', *New Zealander*, 4 November 1857, p.2.

³⁰⁶ 'From Auckland', *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 9 January 1858, p.3.

³⁰⁷ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, p.553.

³⁰⁸ 'The Battle of Moutoa', *Flags of Early New Zealand*, Shell Company, MS-Papers-5898-1, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³⁰⁹ 'The Battle of Moutoa', *Flags of Early New Zealand*, Shell Company, MS-Papers-5898-1, Alexander Turnbull Library.



Fig. 46. *Moutoa Flag*.³¹⁰

Following the conflict in Whanganui during the New Zealand Wars, there was a concerted effort to fly the Union Jack at sites that opposed the British Crown. Premier William Fox, accompanied by Major Kemp and Tōpia Tūroa, visited the principle residence of Te Peehi Tūroa, at Ohinemutu Pā on the Whanganui River, in 1869. Upon their arrival, Fox’s Union Jack was planted firmly in the middle of the pa, where no Queen’s flag had ever flown, with no other flag being hoisted during the hui.³¹¹

Five years later, a Union Jack flew at the whare runanga at Kaiwhaiki, on the Whanganui River, contained four stars and a cross on a white background with another white flag also flying, bearing the words “Wairarapa No.1” in red.³¹² The large hui was being held to hear Henare Matua, leader of the Repudiation Movement, from Pōrangahau – who brought with him a Union Jack – as well as other chiefs from Ngāti Kahungunu. A decade later, a large Hauhau hui was held at Koroniti, on the Whanganui River, with approximately 800 in attendance.³¹³ In the middle of the pā stood a 50ft flagstaff, with the Union Jack and Kemp’s flag flying.

³¹⁰ Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: Cowan Collection, 1/2-012420.

³¹¹ ‘Interview between Mr Fox and Topia at Ohinemutu’, *Wanganui Herald*, 3 December 1869, p.2.

³¹² ‘Native Meeting at Kaiwaiki’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 12 May 1874, p.2.

³¹³ ‘Koroniti Meeting’, *Wanganui Herald*, 2 April 1884, p.2.

Another flag gifted to Māori for their role in fighting for the British was the flag Tangiharuru, for the Urewera District. Named after a Waikato chief who took a large portion of Te Urewera, the flag is a British ensign and is riddled with bullet holes. Some Māori believed that the flag possessed powers and so kept thirty of their men safe when they were attacked by more than 1000 Hauhau soldiers, before the Europeans arrived to assist with the fighting.³¹⁴

It was also not uncommon for some Māori who fought against the British Crown to then switch allegiances and support British rule after the outcome of war. In 1864, Captain Jones of the *Sarah*, claimed Ngāti Kahungunu chief Te Hapukū acted duplicitously.³¹⁵ He stated that once news arrived in Napier of the defeat of Kīngitanga forces at Rangiriri, Te Hapukū – who had supplied arms and ammunition to the Kīngitanga – brought a Union Jack made by women of his tribe and told the Superintendent of his intention to fly the flag from the government flagstaff “as proof of the loyalty of himself and his tribe.”³¹⁶ This claim is supported by the Wairarapa and Hawke’s Bay District Commissioner for Native Lands, George Sisson Cooper, who wrote to McLean that Hapukū was a ‘miserable subterfuge’ and that he had sent for both the Hauhau and Kīngitanga people to come to the Hawke’s Bay.³¹⁷

Indeed, Te Hapukū made no secret of his support for the Kīngitanga, based on the flags ‘Māui’ and ‘Pōtatau’, which he flew from his village. Of the Māui flag, Clark argued that it illustrated some hope of nationalist unity or kotahitanga that an alliance with Tāwhiao could have represented (this flag could have been a precursor to the Māui flag used by the Paremata Māori in the 1890s).³¹⁸

³¹⁴ Malcolm Mulholland, 'Ngā haki – Māori and flags - Loyalists and flags', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-haki-maori-and-flags/page-5> (accessed 20 August 2020).

³¹⁵ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 6 February 1864, p.5.

³¹⁶ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 6 February 1864, p.5.

³¹⁷ George Sisson Cooper to Sir Donald McLean, 25 February 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0018.

³¹⁸ Clark, *Hauhau*, p.60.

Clerk of the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council, George Fannin, wrote that after the Hauhau had visited Pakowhai Pā and had converted some Māori to their cause, they then went to a pā at Te Aute at which two men held swords and pointed them at the Kīngitanga flag, which was erected.³¹⁹ A colleague of McLean, James Grindell, then reported further on the movement of the Hauhau through Hawke's Bay, writing that once they had left Te Aute, they then progressed to Ruataniwha.³²⁰ Grindell explained that the 'Māui' flag represented Māori, who were expected to reign supreme in the island and to revive the old customs.

Within the Hawke's Bay region, Maui was not the only flag that emphasised Māori heritage. At the turn of the twentieth century, 'a prominent Hawke's Bay native' was asked about a lizard flying on a native flag, rather than the Union Jack being flown, to which the person explained it was a 'matter of ancestral supremacy.'³²¹ Māori were at the small settlement of Waipawa to present gifts for the erection of a new church. Much discussion ensued about the lizard flag, with 'Haretta' expressing that the colours of 'Te Kuini' [The Queen] should fly in the supreme position on the flagstaff.³²²

Following the developments of the Pai Mārire within Hawke's Bay during the 1860s, and noting the support of certain hapū towards the Crown, John Harris, of Poverty Bay, strongly encouraged the Flag Hoisting Movement to be 'fostered without delay', to prevent the spread of the Hauhau faith.³²³ Land Purchase Officer Samuel Locke, writing from Wairoa in mid-1865, reported that two Union Jacks arrived after the arrival of the Hauhau to the region. One was for Pitiera Kopu, and the other for Paora Apatu.³²⁴ One was in the possession of Hamana Tiakiwai, which he hoisted at his pā.

³¹⁹ George Fannin, 25 February 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0263.

³²⁰ James Grindell, 25 February 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0304.

³²¹ 'Hastings', *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 13 June 1900, p.4.

³²² 'Hastings', *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 13 June 1900, p.4.

³²³ John Williams Harris to Sir Donald McLean, 22 May 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0327.

³²⁴ Samuel Locke to Sir Donald McLean, 14 June 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0018.

Upon doing so, Hauhau members threatened to cut it down, until it was explained that it was not an act of 'whakataki riri' (antagonism), but rather a sign of adhesion to the Queen's government. Upon the declaration that it would be defended, the Hauhau dropped the threat.³²⁵

Locke wrote again to McLean three days later, stating that a rūnanga had met at Whakakī to discuss what should be done about the flag flying at the pa of Hamana.³²⁶ Locke and others, including Paora Apatu and Pitiera Kopu, rode to the Hauhau Pa unaccompanied, to demand an explanation of the group's position and 'to have the final korero.'³²⁷ Apatu stood and told the 'loyal natives' he would defend the 'Queen's flag.'³²⁸ The hui ended with the Hauhau walking off. In December that year, Locke and others returned to Whakakī, and after spending a night talking at the pā of Paora Koiri, a few men cut down the Hauhau flag and took the oath of allegiance.³²⁹ They then went to the pā of Ropiha, of the Ngāi Tahu tribe of Whakakī, where they found flags flying – the Queen's flag at one end and Hauhau flags at the other. After talking with local Māori for a period of time, they consented to taking the oath of allegiance once McLean arrived at Wairoa 'which is expected daily.'³³⁰ Eventually, it was recorded that all principal pā on the Wairoa River now hoisted a Union Jack "and peace is finally established."³³¹

Union Jacks were also flown at unveilings and at significant hui in certain tribal areas, such as Te Arawa, where many of their men had fought alongside the British Crown during the New Zealand Wars. A large Union Jack flew at a pā at Rotoiti in 1881, where Captain Gilbert Mair presided over a large hui that was being held.³³²

³²⁵ Samuel Locke to Sir Donald McLean, 14 June 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0018.

³²⁶ Samuel Locke to Sir Donald McLean, 17 June 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0393.

³²⁷ Samuel Locke to Sir Donald McLean, 17 June 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0393.

³²⁸ Samuel Locke to Sir Donald McLean, 17 June 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0393.

³²⁹ Samuel Locke to Sir Donald McLean, 2 December 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0393.

³³⁰ Samuel Locke to Sir Donald McLean, 2 December 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0393.

³³¹ Native Land Purchase Commissioner, Unknown, MS-Papers-0032-0007. It should be noted that while hostilities ceased, land was subsequently confiscated.

³³² 'A Lady's Diary at the Lakes', *New Zealand Herald*, 9 July 1881, p.6.

Five years later, Māori assembled at the whareniui at Ōhinemutu, Rotorua, to discuss Rotorua Māori gifting Tūhourangi 2000 acres, with a frontage to Lake Rotorua, to build a village upon.³³³ At the hui, a bust of Queen Victoria was unveiled and the Union Jack was hoisted on the flagpole. Two years later, a Union Jack was reported to be flying at a pā at Maketu.³³⁴ That same year, on Christmas Day, the Anglican Church hosted its annual hui and meal for Māori living between Maketu and Taupō, at Te Awahou, seven miles from Rotorua.³³⁵ At the hui, a marquee of 80 feet in length, with a Union Jack, was erected.

When the Flag Consideration Panel held a hui at Ōhinemutu Marae in Rotorua in 2015, Te Arawa kaumātua Pihopa Kingi spoke against changing the New Zealand flag. Kingi wrote to the prime minister to state that only the current New Zealand flag would fly at Ngāti Whakaue marae and at the Muruika War Cemetery.³³⁶ Kingi also sent his letter to a wide network of iwi members, none of whom objected to what he said. Kingi wrote:

It is important that you are made aware of the authority granted by Queen Victoria to Te Arawa to fly the Royal Ensign on their marae. This honour was bestowed soon after the Land Wars in the 1860s as a personal token of appreciation and gratitude to Te Arawa who formed a squad of men under the captaincy of Gilbert Mair to pursue Te Kooti.³³⁷

The flags of Te Arawa that incorporate the Union Jack now hang at St Faith's Church at Ōhinemutu. Speaking to the *Rotorua Daily Post* in September 2015, Kingi noted "Flags are ensigns that represent a country, especially in warfare. That's why the Union Jack is so important to Ngāti Whakaue in particular."³³⁸

³³³ 'Meeting of the Natives', *Star*, 18 June 1886, p.3.

³³⁴ 'Maketu, East Coast', *New Zealand Herald*, 23 July 1888, p.3.

³³⁵ 'Christmas Day with the Maoris at Rotorua', *Bay of Plenty Times*, 2 January 1889, p.1.

³³⁶ 'New flag will not fly, Key told', *Rotorua Daily Post*, 29 September 2015, available online at http://m.nzherald.co.nz/rotorua-daily-post/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503438&objectid=11520591 (accessed 20 August 2020).

³³⁷ 'New flag will not fly, Key told', *Rotorua Daily Post*, 29 September 2015.

³³⁸ 'New flag will not fly, Key told', *Rotorua Daily Post*, 29 September 2015.



Fig. 47. Red Ensigns flown at Arawa Park, Rotorua, 1920, at a reception for the Prince of Wales. The United Tribes Flag flies atop, with the Union Jack flying bottom left.³³⁹

Not only was the flying of the Union Jack a common practice within Te Arawa during the nineteenth century, it was also a prominent fixture at the opening of rūnanga within Ngāi Tahu. A Union Jack bearing the name of the newly-built rūnanga house at the Kaik, Otago, was presented by Julius Vogel, the former politician from Otago who was now the Member of Parliament for Auckland East, in 1874.³⁴⁰ Not far from the Kaik, Otago, the Kaik at Moeraki, in 1889, opened its hall with a Union Jack and the inscription “Uenuku, 1889” on the flag, being hoisted.³⁴¹ The hall “Uenuku” was so named “from the first ancestors of the Maoris inhabiting this island.”³⁴²

At the opening of a rūnanga wharenuī at Kaiapoi in 1882, it was relayed that local Māori were called together to meet for the hoisting of a Union Jack, previously presented by Governor Gore Browne.

³³⁹ Alexander Turnbull Library, Ref: PAColl-7081-03.

³⁴⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, 10 January 1874, p.2.

³⁴¹ ‘The Maori Hall at Moeraki’, *Oamaru Mail*, 14 November 1889, p.2.

³⁴² ‘The Maori Hall at Moeraki’, *Oamaru Mail*, 14 November 1889, p.2.

However, due to its tattered state, subscriptions had been asked for, with enough being raised to purchase a new New Zealand ensign with the word ‘Ngai Tahu’ being at the centre of the cross.³⁴³

The gifting of a Union Jack also signified important relationships between Māori and the British Crown, such as the example of Ngāti Huia, a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa, which was sent a Union Jack by the former Governor of New Zealand, Lord William Onslow, in 1894.³⁴⁴ Measuring 24ft by 14ft, the flag had “Ngati Huia” inscribed upon it for its meeting house and, as Onslow wrote, “It has written across it the common name of your tribe and my son.”³⁴⁵

Onslow’s son, named ‘Victor Alexander Herbert Huia’, was the first vice-regal child born in New Zealand, and as it was New Zealand’s 50th jubilee year of the colony, it was suggested that if he was given a uniquely New Zealand name, Queen Victoria might honour him and the colony by being Godmother.³⁴⁶ His name had been suggested by Ngāti Huia, and Huia Onslow was presented to the hapū at a hui at Ōtaki, some months later.³⁴⁷

Three years later, following the tangihanga of Rutu Roera at Muhunua, near Lake Papaitonga, Ngāti Huia and other tribes assembled for the opening of a new meeting house.³⁴⁸ On this occasion, Sir Walter Buller, who lived at the lake, presented another flag that had been donated by Lord Onslow for Ngāti Huia. It was a large Union Jack, 25ft by 12ft, with the name “Huia” in large red letters across the middle of the flag.³⁴⁹

³⁴³ ‘Native Meeting at Kaiapoi’, *Globe*, 11 May 1882, p.4.

³⁴⁴ ‘Lord Onslow of the Natives’, *New Zealand Times*, 15 February 1894, p.3.

³⁴⁵ ‘Lord Onslow of the Natives’, *New Zealand Times*, 15 February 1894, p.3.

³⁴⁶ Ross Galbreath. ‘Onslow, William Hillier’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/206/onslow-william-hillier> (accessed 27 May 2020).

³⁴⁷ Ross Galbreath. ‘Onslow, William Hillier’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/206/onslow-william-hillier> (accessed 27 May 2020).

³⁴⁸ ‘An Interesting Function’, *Evening Post*, 18 February 1897, p.2.

³⁴⁹ ‘An Interesting Function’, *Evening Post*, 18 February 1897, p.2.



Fig. 48. *Huia flag at the Service of Commemoration of the death of Edward VII, 1910.*³⁵⁰

The purchase of Union Jacks appears to have been funded, during the reign of the Liberal Government at least, from a pool of funding dedicated towards Māori whose lands had been confiscated. In 1895, the Māori Member of Parliament for Waiapu, James Carroll, was dispatched to a camp at Te Whaiti, just below the pā in the area.³⁵¹ At the camp was the armed constabulary, who were assisting with a survey of the Urewera, including clearing a track to Ruatahuna. Māori at Te Whaiti were unsettled with the appearance of the armed constabulary, but permitted the survey to continue uninterrupted and flew a Union Jack as a sign of loyalty. It was later reported that the Union Jack that was hoisted was the one gifted by Seddon, but paid for from “their own funds.”³⁵²

The *Southland Times* reported that there was a “strong feeling” that Seddon and Carroll should not profit from the conversion of the native vote under the Civil Service, including claiming travel expenses and allowances for themselves.

³⁵⁰ Huia Flag paraded at civic “Welcome Home” to men from the Boer War, 1903, Horowhenua Historical Society Inc.

³⁵¹ ‘Uriwera Difficulty’, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 3 June 1895, p.2.

³⁵² ‘Wellington Notes’, *Southland Times*, 15 April 1896, p.3.

This vote, explained the newspaper, was established for natives whose lands were confiscated and who did not have sufficient means of support, and yet both Seddon and Carroll had claimed for the cost of horse hire, cabs and carriages, and a private secretary. The newspaper continued:

One wonders how many wretched Maoris will go short of blankets and clothes in the coming winter because these two Ministers chose to travel through the Uriwera [sic] country in state last year to express their love and sympathy in high flown language to the aborigines, and then leave them photos of the Premier and Union Jack as memoirs of the visit to be paid for out of their own funds. It is a demoralising and, at the same time, a grotesque chapter in the annals of the colony.³⁵³

Yet, despite the passage of time since the New Zealand Wars, some Māori were not prepared to accept flags viewed as ‘tribal’ and/or representing Māori religious movements such as the Hauhau. In 1897, a hui was held between Waitotara Māori and Māori from the Urewera, including Hauhau adherents.³⁵⁴ As those from the Urewera arrived, they carried with them a large white British ensign with a representation of a Māori chief and the word ‘Ngatiporou’ spread across it. There was also a smaller flag that, when translated, meant ‘God Abiding.’³⁵⁵

Those in Waitotara were flying a Union Jack on their flagstaff and, after having viewed the flag, those from the Urewera asked for their flag to be flown in its stead. Those from Waitotara refused, saying that they were ‘children of the Queen’ who gave them the flag through Governor Grey. Due to the word ‘Ngatiporou’ being inscribed across the white British flag, those from Waitotara replied that this, also, ‘limited its operation.’³⁵⁶ Waitotara also consulted the Native Department, who approved their resistance to flying the flag from the Urewera, as well as not wanting any trouble with the Hauhau.

³⁵³ ‘Wellington Notes’, *Southland Times*, 15 April 1896, p.3.

³⁵⁴ ‘The Battle of the Flags’, *West Coast Times*, 13 January 1897, p.4.

³⁵⁵ ‘The Battle of the Flags’, *West Coast Times*, 13 January 1897, p.4.

³⁵⁶ ‘The Battle of the Flags’, *West Coast Times*, 13 January 1897, p.4.

On New Year's Day, those from Waitotara hoisted two new large British flags to demonstrate their loyalty, with the flags being donated by Premier Seddon. On Seddon's recent tour, Waitotara Māori pointed out the deteriorating state of the flag gifted to them by Grey after the war, and Seddon sent two to replace the older ensign. Seddon noted in 1898 that, at the conclusion of Māori meetings, he was 'invariably asked for a flag.'³⁵⁷

When the two new flags were flown at Waitotara, a ceremony was performed. The chief of the tribe, an elderly man, aged nearly ninety and blind, was led to the foot of the flagstaff in costume and attended to by other chiefs. The two flags were then hoisted by the two eldest Māori children, amid cheering from those present. During the subsequent speeches, Hatirio, a local chief, stated that those from the Urewera and the East Coast would not return to Waitotara. Hatirio made the statement while those who were Hauhau conducted their worship in the paddock adjoining where those from Waitotara were.³⁵⁸

The gifting of flags to Māori by the government would continue, albeit with the flag being swapped from the Union Jack to the British Red Ensign, as the turn of the twentieth century approached. The practice of gifting Union Jacks to Māori was clearly a strategy employed by the New Zealand government to signal either an existing relationship with the chief, hapū or iwi in question, or to make amends with those Māori who had fought against the British Crown during the New Zealand Wars. Such flags were constantly flown by Māori over a long period of time, as Māori interpreted the giftings as a symbol of the relationship between themselves and the British Crown. Also, some Māori were accepting of being under the 'mana' of the British monarchy.

³⁵⁷ 'Local and General News', *The Marlborough Express*, 9 June 1898, p.2.

³⁵⁸ 'Local and General News', *The Marlborough Express*, 9 June 1898, p.2.

Union Jack as Pall at Tangihanga

During the late nineteenth century, it was a common practice to use a Union Jack as a pall for a prominent Māori chief. Upon the death of the brother of Tāmāti Wāka Nene, Eruera Maihi Patuone, in 1872, the chief was interred in the Anglican cemetery at the foot of Flagstaff Hill, on the North Shore of Auckland, with a Union Jack draping his coffin.³⁵⁹ Patuone had signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi.

In 1880, Kahungunu chief, Tāreha Te Moananui, passed away, and his tangihanga was held at Waiohiki, with the Union Jack on the flagstaff outside the whare rūnanga being hoisted half-mast, and the two names of Hapukū and Tareha beneath.³⁶⁰ Te Moananui was the first Māori Member of Parliament for Eastern Māori in 1868, and supported military actions against the Hauhau.³⁶¹ Upon the death of Ngāti Whātua chief Pāora Tūhaere in 1892, a Union Jack flew at half-mast.³⁶² Tūhaere had hosted a Māori Parliament at Kohimarama, near Ōrākei in Auckland, in 1879, at which a large Union Jack was hoisted over the purpose-built weatherboard house that seated 250 people, to indicate that those participating were “loyal Maori.”³⁶³

In 1935, the Department of Native Affairs, on behalf of its Minister, wrote to the Department of Internal Affairs to enquire whether or not a flag could be loaned to be unfurled at the side of the grave of Rewi Maniapoto, the Ngāti Maniapoto chief who led the Kīngitanga against the Crown during the 1860s, for the Silver Jubilee of King George VI.³⁶⁴ The latter consented, sending a six-foot Union Jack.

³⁵⁹ ‘Eruera Patuone’, *New Zealand Herald*, 23 September 1872, p.3.

³⁶⁰ ‘Taradale’, *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 29 December 1880, p.3.

³⁶¹ Paul Meredith and Rawinia Higgins, ‘Kāwanatanga – Māori engagement with the state - Containing Māori opposition’, *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/37445/tareha-te-moananui> (accessed 4 August 2020).

³⁶² ‘Funeral of Chief Paul of Orakei’, *New Zealand Herald*, 18 March 1892, p.5.

³⁶³ ‘The Native Meeting at Kohimarama’, *Globe*, 24 February 1879, p.3.

³⁶⁴ Memorandum from Native Department to Internal Affairs, 8 April 1935 in IA 1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

Māori and the Red Ensign

In a practice that dates back to the time of Governor George Grey, the government has provided Māori with the New Zealand Red Ensign, a flag normally reserved for merchant shipping, upon the opening of a new marae. The Minister of Internal Affairs in 1981, Allan Highet, when the second reading of the *Flag, Emblems and Names Protection Bill 1981* took place, stated that a clause of the legislation had been amended to allow Māori to use the red ensign at places or on occasions of Māori significance.³⁶⁵ In his statement, Highet said the practice was specifically authorised by Queen Victoria. It fell into abeyance during the nineteenth century, but was resurrected at the turn of the twentieth century. The legislation that governs the red ensign allows for Māori to receive a ‘defaced’ New Zealand Red Ensign, with the words of the marae, hapū, iwi, or waka upon the flag in white lettering.

Highet’s comments regarding the practice, dating back to the time of Queen Victoria, are corroborated by the response from the Minister of Māori Affairs to a query from the Department of Māori Affairs relating to a request for a red ensign from Ngāti Pāhauwera at Mohaka in 1950. The under-secretary of the department wrote:

At some time subsequently it became the practice for the Governor to present flags to Maori chiefs and since 1852 the cost has been paid for from the Civil List (Maori Purposes) Fund which was formerly administered by the Governor independently of Parliament. I understand that Queen Victoria was responsible for originating the custom and that the Maori tribes are the only people entitled to fly a red ensign apart from merchant shipping companies.³⁶⁶

Asked to give a response on the matter, the Department of Internal Affairs observed:

³⁶⁵ Hon. D.A. Highet (Minister of Internal Affairs), *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill – Second Reading, NZPD*, Third Session, Thirty-ninth Parliament, House of Representatives, Volume 441: Comprising of the Period from 10 September to 9 October 1981, Wellington: Government Printer, 1981, p.3990.

³⁶⁶ Under-Secretary of Department of Maori Affairs, 6 December 1950, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

It is an almost universal custom for the red ensign to be flown at all tribal gatherings – and draped over the coffin of a deceased ex-serviceman of the tribe. I do not think it is for us to interfere in this well-established custom.³⁶⁷

Two such flags were presented by Queen Victoria to Ngāti Porou leaders Rōpata Wahawaha and Tuta Nihoniho, in recognition of their loyalty.³⁶⁸ During the 1960s, the flag provided to Wahawaha was kept at Kiekie Marae, near Waipiro Bay. It was described as ‘colossal’ (estimated to be 20ft by 12ft), with a Union Jack in the corner, along with seven stars and a crescent facing away from the Jack.

The history of the flag of Wahawaha was written by Leo Fowler in an edition of *Te Ao Hou* in 1961.³⁶⁹ The flag was flown when the new school was opened in Mangatuna upon a flagstaff called ‘Te Rakau I Mataahu.’ The flagstaff was built the year following the presentation of the flag to Wahawaha in 1871, by Wahawaha himself, at Mataahu, just north of Waipiro Bay. Wahawaha, with the assistance of European volunteers and militia, attacked each Hauhau stronghold, including the conflict at Waerenga-ā-Hika.

Some three hundred Ngāti Porou men took up arms against Wahawaha, and were given the opportunity to march under the Union Jack and to declare their allegiance to the Crown or be shot. The name of the flag, according to Pine Taiapa, was ‘Pari Arau’ (‘Shadow of the Plume’), an inference that the rebels expressed their support of the Queen under the shadow of the flag that was the ‘Plume of Queen Victoria’. Wahawaha then drove Te Kooti and his men from the East Coast and through the Urewera to the sanctuary of the King Country, following the battle at Ngātapa.

In June 1872, a ceremony to hoist the flag on the new flagstaff was held, with thousands of Māori present who had fought for the Crown against the Hauhau and Te Kooti. Wahawaha used the occasion to reaffirm the allegiance of Ngāti Porou and some neighbouring tribes to the British Crown by marching under the flag. One ‘rebel’ refused to do so, chanting a short haka, that stated:

³⁶⁷ Memorandum for Chief Clerk, 11 December 1950, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁶⁸ *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³⁶⁹ Leo Fowler, ‘Te Rakau I Mataahu’, *Te Ao Hou*, 37, (December 1961), pp.9-13.

Tieke taratara; tieke taratara (Thou ragged Jack, thou tattered Jack);

Po! Tu ana I waho e (Behold! I stand aloof from thy circle).

Mataahu was selected as the place for the flagstaff, as it was the traditional landing place of war canoes returning from an expedition, and it was near the site where the government steamer had brought Wahawaha and his men, who forced Te Kooti and his followers into the King Country.

Te Arawa featured prominently in the presentation of red ensigns by the government. Ngāti Mākino of Ōtamarākau Pā requested a ‘Queen’s Flag’ in 1902, as smaller hapū possessed such flags.³⁷⁰ Mākino wanted a larger flag to be 8ft wide by 12ft long, with the words ‘WAITAHA AHE’ printed upon the ensign. Another ‘Queen’s Flag’ was requested from the Rotorua region that year, this time from Whakarewarewa, to “... be a token for us of our King... that flag would be hoisted on Sundays and on Anniversary days of himself and his mother, the Queen.”³⁷¹ Signed by Hatu and Iharaira Piriki, and Mita Taupopoki, the words ‘Kingi Eruera’ (King Edward) were to be inserted within the Union Jack.

Four years later, another ‘Queen’s flag’ was being discussed between ‘Mokoia Island Maoris’ and the Department of Native Affairs.³⁷² Te W.M. Karaka, writing to the Undersecretary of Native Affairs, disagreed that the name ‘Mokoia’ should be placed on a red ensign, as it is simply “...the name of an island itself.” Going further, Karaka wrote, “...the names of our own ancestors should be placed upon the flag; because a flag is a genuine emblem of rank...” Karaka concluded the letter by asking that the name ‘Te Rangikamatōe’ be inserted on the ensign.

³⁷⁰ *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library. Source: MA 24/13, 28 August 1902.

³⁷¹ *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library. Source: MA 24/13, 6 February 1902.

³⁷² *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library, Source: MA 24/13, “Queen’s Flag” – Mokoia Island Maoris (1906).

By that year, following a request for ‘Popoto’ to be placed upon a red ensign, it was standardised for flags to be the size of 12 x 6 feet.³⁷³

Te Arawa was not unique in the practice of being gifted red ensigns by the government. For example, Rongomaiwahine had its own tribal flag, on which was an image of its ancestress, that was used at all hui, tangihanga and other gatherings. John Mitchell, in Takitimu, wrote that – about 1894 – a move to strengthen the Church of England among the North Island was made by leading Anglican Māori.³⁷⁴ This involved erecting many churches and meeting houses, and to create enthusiasm, tribes were divided into groups, and each group identified their strongest ancestor or ancestress to be its mana. Flags were created with the names of the ancestors upon them and, at the commencement of each hui, each group marched into the marae courtyard following the flag bearer. The practice of gifting British red ensigns would continue after the conclusion of World War II.

Gifting the Red Ensign after World War II

Initially, after World War II, the approval of flags to marae appears to have been the joint responsibility of the judges of the Māori Land Court and the Department of Māori Affairs. For example, in 1949, the Under-Secretary of the Department of Maori Affairs, Tipi Rophia, wrote to Judge John Harvey to ask if he endorsed an application for a flag, made by Takurua Tamarau on behalf of Tūhoe in Rūātoki, to replace an older flag that was presented at the tangi of Sir James Carroll.³⁷⁵

The previous year, Maharaia Winiata requested a flag for Ngāti Ranginui, that was then forwarded to Judge Harvey for his opinion.³⁷⁶

³⁷³ *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library. Source: MA 24/13 31 July 1906.

³⁷⁴ J. Mitchell, *Takitimu: A History of Ngati Kahungunu*, Auckland: Reed, 1944, pp.89-90.

³⁷⁵ Under-Secretary of the Department of Maori Affairs, Tipi Ropiha, to Registrar of the Maori Land Court, Rotorua, re: Flag for Tuhoe Tribe, Ruatoki, 19 July 1949 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁷⁶ Under-Secretary of the Department of Maori Affairs, G.P. Shepard, to Registrar of the Maori Land Court, Rotorua re: Flag for N’Ranginui, 6 April 1948 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

The request made by Winiata, and informed by kaumātua at the time, provides some useful insight into the history of the Crown providing Māori with flags:

About the year 1864 [the year of the Battle of Gate Pa] flags were presented by the Government to the Tauranga peoples to mark their friendship and loyalty to the Crown... It was considered that in view of the very real resurgence of the Ngatiranginui Tribe a suitable emblem embodying the mana, identity, tradition of the tribe on one hand and confirming its loyalty and allegiance to the Throne on the other should be obtained. A Flag coming from the Department of Maori Affairs representing indirectly the Crown, would be a gesture of great value and significance to the tribe confirming its loyalty and allegiance to the King the descendant of their tipuna Queen Victoria.³⁷⁷

By the 1950s, the responsibility appears to have rested entirely upon the Department of Māori Affairs, with the cost coming from the department itself. District Welfare Officer for the department, Arapeta Awatere, wrote of the policy regarding flags that were beyond repair, when referring to a request that was made by the Patuwai Tribal Committee.³⁷⁸

If the flag was purchased from the Civil List – otherwise known as Section 106 – funds, then the marae was no longer entitled to more funds for the purchase of another flag. However, if the flag was self-funded by the marae, then the department could support an application for the purchase of a flag.³⁷⁹ Policy was also developed to gift a flag only to what was considered to be ‘a principal marae.’ In 1975, the department responded to a visit made by Hine Ropere on behalf of Waiatuhi Marae, Rotorua, for a flag.³⁸⁰ The response was that an agreement would have to be reached by local Māori, via the local Executive Māori Committee, that the marae was regarded as the principal marae.

³⁷⁷ Maharaia Winiata on behalf of Ngati Ranginui to the Under-Secretary of Maori Affairs, 8 March 1948 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁷⁸ Memorandum from District Welfare Officer, Arapeta Awatere, Whakatane, 16 September 1959 re: Patuwai Tribal Committee in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁷⁹ Memorandum from District Welfare Officer, Arapeta Awatere, Whakatane, 16 September 1959 re: Patuwai Tribal Committee in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁸⁰ District Officer of the Department of Maori Affairs, G.G. Taiepa, to Hine Ropere, Mourea, 19 March 1975 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

As the Minister of Māori Affairs during the 1970s, Duncan McIntyre, observed, the policy of gifting a principal marae one flag was largely developed during the time of Ralph Hanan as the Minister of Māori Affairs.³⁸¹ The policy was further articulated as per the following extract from the Department of Māori Affairs Manual from 1986:

When application is made by a tribe or hapu for a flag for its marae, the District Officer should furnish a report setting out details of the importance of the tribe or hapu, its numbers, and the general merits of the case. If the application is approved, a New Zealand red ensign is issued and presentation is made by the Minister of Maori Affairs, a Member of Parliament, or a Judge of the Maori Land Court.³⁸²

The criteria that assisted the department in determining whether a flag should be gifted to a marae included whether the marae had previously been gifted one, whether the marae was well utilised, and how well the facilities of the marae were maintained.³⁸³

The responsibility for gifting flags to marae was shifted from the regional office to the Head Office following a request for a flag that was received from Tōrere Marae, Ōpotiki, in 1979.³⁸⁴ The memorandum prepared by the Community Officer for the Department of Maori Affairs, T. Te Maipi, argued that the marae was a principal marae for Ngāitai and held the same status as the Tukaki Marae for Te Whānau-ā-Apanui,³⁸⁵ and a flag was posted to Tōrere Marae after it was requested by the Acting Minister of Māori Affairs.³⁸⁶ Head Office of the Department of Māori Affairs was quick to respond that flags should only be formally presented to each principal marae once, and not to minor marae, which should purchase their own.

³⁸¹ Minister of Maori Affairs, Duncan McIntyre, to Secretary of Maori Executive Committee, R. Nikora, 15 February 1971 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁸² Excerpt from Department of Maori Affairs Manual Vol. 1, Chapter 14 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁸³ Department of Maori Affairs, Rotorua Office to Head Office re: Potaka Marae Request for Flag – Ngati Te Ruatarehu, 25 July 1985 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁸⁴ Memorandum from Community Officer of the Department of Maori Affairs, T. Te Maipi to Rotorua Regional Office of the Department of Maori Affairs, 11 May 1979 re: Torere Maori Committee in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁸⁵ Memorandum from Community Officer of the Department of Maori Affairs, T. Te Maipi to Rotorua Regional Office of the Department of Maori Affairs, 11 May 1979 re: Torere Maori Committee in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁸⁶ Memorandum from the Head Office of the Department of Maori Affairs to Rotorua Regional Office re: Flag for Torere Marae, Opotiki, 1 June 1979 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

As this had not been the case with the flag for Tōrere Marae, all requests for flags were now to be directed to Head Office and not be the responsibility of the regional office.³⁸⁷

Exceptions to the rule of presenting a flag to the principal marae were extremely rare and required the intervention of the Minister themselves. For example, in Ruatahuna it was decided to gift three marae flags: one to represent marae on the eastern side of the valley (Tauarau), another for the western side (Ngāhina), and a flag for Owhakatoro.³⁸⁸ Another two marae, Ōhotu and Ōtenuku, did not receive flags as they had requested, yet – as the District Officer, John Rangihau, wrote – ‘...but I believe that we have been fortunate in getting the three [flags] because their original intention was to allow us one flag only.’³⁸⁹ The rationale for the gifting to the three marae was because Ruatahuna had ten marae in total, and that as Owhakatoro had already been presented a flag, that marae would represent all marae in the north west area, with the other two representing the east and west side of the Whakatāne River, which divides the valley.³⁹⁰

The initial request for flags for marae in Ruatahuna had come about due to the bad state most were in, as they had been presented during the late 1930s by either the Minister of Māori Affairs or the Judge of the then-titled ‘Native Land Court.’ The person who requested the flags be replaced also wrote:

It is customary for every Marae in our area to have in its possession a flag, to be used on the appropriate occasions... We use the New Zealand flag and the British Union Jack on our Maraes, on which is lettered the name of either the tribe, canoe or ancestor...³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ Memorandum from the Head Office of the Department of Maori Affairs to Rotorua Regional Office re: Flag for Torere Marae, Opotiki, 1 June 1979 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁸⁸ District Officer of the Department of Maori Affairs, John Rangihau to R. Nikora, Secretary of Western Tuhoe Maori Executive, 6 March 1972 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁸⁹ District Officer of the Department of Maori Affairs, John Rangihau to R. Nikora, Secretary of Western Tuhoe Maori Executive, 6 March 1972 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁹⁰ District Officer of the Department of Maori Affairs, John Rangihau to R. Nikora, Secretary of Western Tuhoe Maori Executive, 6 March 1972 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁹¹ Secretary R. Nikora to the Minister of Maori Affairs, D. McIntyre, 26 January 1971 in in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

Further evidence of the Department of Māori Affairs supplying only one flag, once, to a principal marae was illustrated when Waaka Vercoe, on behalf of the Te Arawa Trust Board, phoned the Regional Director of the department in April 1985 to request that a flag be purchased for the Hinemoa Point Marae (Tūtānekai), Rotorua. The request was declined on the basis that a flag had been previously supplied by the department and the marae was not eligible for a replacement.³⁹²

Despite the policy of not reissuing a flag to a marae that had previously received one, it would also appear that no historical precedent was required either. In 1986, a red ensign was presented by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Peter Tapsell, to Potaka Marae at Hicks Bay,³⁹³ after it was approved by the Minister of Māori Affairs, Koro Wetere.³⁹⁴ Interestingly, within the file notes, it was recorded that, as far as could be ascertained, the marae had never previously received a Union Jack from the New Zealand Government.³⁹⁵ The reasoning for requesting a flag was because the marae is a boundary marker between Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and Ngāti Porou, and as such, they observed that when a tūpāpaku lies in state, a number of Ngāti Porou marae do not hoist a flag, whereas marae in Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Mataatua, and Waiariki, do.³⁹⁶

Adding to the notes as to why Māori were entitled to the red ensign, and the importance of the colour red in Māori society, the author observed that Māori prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi would have been trading with British merchants who would have been flying the design on their vessels.³⁹⁷

³⁹² M.J. Roberts on behalf of Regional Director of Department of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, 16 April 1985 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁹³ W.N. Jaram to R. Faalili, 18 December 1986 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁹⁴ R. Faalili for Secretary of Maori Affairs to W N Jaram, 9 August 1985 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁹⁵ Memorandum from Director of Rotorua Office, WN Jaram, to Head Office of Department of Maori Affairs re: Potaka Marae: Request for Flag from Ngati Te Ruatarehu, 25 July 1985 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁹⁶ T. Te Maipi, Community Officer, Notes on Potaka Marae in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁹⁷ Flags for Maraes, Department of Maori Affairs in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

The department adopted a hard-line approach regarding the gifting of another flag to marae when a flag was no longer in their possession due to circumstances beyond the control of the marae. For example, Piki McGarvey, of Mataatua Marae, Rotorua, reported a stolen red ensign to the Police in 1973. Despite the flag being stolen, the department advised McGarvey that no replacement would be forthcoming and that the cost of the flag would have to be met by the marae.³⁹⁸ Secretary of the Te Puke Branch of the Māori Women's Welfare League, Noelene Graham, requested a flag from the department following a fire that destroyed the wharenuī at Ngāti Moko Marae near Te Puke.³⁹⁹

Despite the unfortunate circumstances by which the flag was destroyed, the department was unwavering in its policy of supplying one flag, once, to each principal marae.⁴⁰⁰ The department also held steadfast to the policy of only gifting flags to marae. Another declined request was processed in 1981 for a hostel in Whakatāne that housed Māori boys attending high school.⁴⁰¹ The students had carved a Māori design in the base of the purpose-built flag pole for the flag, but as explained by the Minister of Māori Affairs, Ben Couch, the policy that was set by the Minister of Māori Affairs in 1964 was that flags were only to be provided to significant marae.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁸ Notes by Taiapa and Northcroft re: Request for flag for Mataatua Marae, Rotorua, 30 November 1973 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁹⁹ Secretary of Te Puke Branch of Maori Women's Welfare League, N.V. Graham to District Officer of Department of Maori Affairs, 23 August 1978 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand. Note, the flag was presented to the marae in 1973. See: District Officer of the Department of Maori Affairs, J.E. Cater to Ben Moke, Rotorua re: Flag for Waitangi Marae, Te Puke, 27 August 1973 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁰⁰ Mrs M.T.W. Shuker for District Officer of Department of Maori Affairs to Secretary of Te Puke Branch of Maori Women's Welfare League, N.V. Graham, 30 November 1978 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁰¹ Member of Parliament, Duncan McIntyre, to Minister of Maori Affairs, Ben Couch, 15 June 1981 re: Flag for David Holt Hostel, Whakatane, in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁰² Minister of Maori Affairs, Ben Couch, to Member of Parliament, Duncan McIntyre, 2 July 1981 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

The one exception to the rule of only supplying flags to marae took place in 1950, when the Under-Secretary of Māori Affairs, Tipi Ropiha, asked Judge Harvey if he would recommend the gifting of a flag to the Arawa Returned Services League to drape over the coffins of Māori ex-servicemen, to which Harvey agreed.⁴⁰³

The department was more flexible on the issue of the gifting of flags on the marae itself, with the courtroom of the Māori Land Court acting as a substitute. In 1964, due to the workload of Judge Norman Smith, John Rangihau – on behalf of the department – proposed that the presentation of the flags for Te Whaiti and other marae be done at the Rotorua Māori Land Court.⁴⁰⁴ More than a decade prior, a flag was presented to the Hamua hapu at a sitting of the Court in Whakatāne, by Judge Harvey,⁴⁰⁵ and in 1951, Ngāti Ranginui was presented a flag at the sitting of the Court in Tauranga.⁴⁰⁶

The question of providing red ensigns, with the names of tīpuna, marae, hapū, iwi or waka, appears to have changed over time. In 1951, a flag for Waikirikiri was requested, with the name ‘HAMUA’ to be placed upon the ensign. Judge Harvey approved the issuing of the flag, but declined the lettering.⁴⁰⁷

Three years later, District Officer J.J. Dillion wrote that a new flag for Tawhaki Marae in Rūātoki was in need of being replaced, due to wear and tear, and asked that the name ‘TAWHAKI’ be emblazoned upon it.⁴⁰⁸ Dillion endorsed the request, but stated that as for the name being placed upon the ensign, this task should be left to the marae itself.

⁴⁰³ Under-Secretary T. Ropiha to Registrar of Rotorua Maori Land Court re: Flag for Arawa Returned Service League, 10 August 1950 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁰⁴ John Rangihau for the District Officer to Secretary of Te Whaiti Maori Committee Dr A. North, 1 April 1964 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁰⁵ Minister of Maori Affairs, E.B. Corbett, to Miria Taihako, Taneatua, 14 January 1953 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁰⁶ Registrar J.J. Dillion to Chas Pearson, 3 July 1951 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁰⁷ Registrar J.J. Dillion to Under-Secretary of Maori Affairs re: Flag for Waikirikiri: Hamua Subtribe, 4 May 1951 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴⁰⁸ District Officer of the Rotorua Office, J.J. Dillion, to the Secretary of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 9 February 1954 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

Duncan McIntyre, as the Minister of Māori Affairs, appears to have departed from the historic and legislated practice of allowing the name of a marae, hapū or iwi to be placed upon a red ensign, when he wrote, ‘The placing on an ensign of any other material such as words or symbols is really quite wrong and constitutes an offence. A common practice which has taken place is for a marae to have an additional flag or pennant of its own design which is flown beneath the red ensign.’⁴⁰⁹

When Hine Ropere requested a flag for Waiatuhi Marae, the response was that only a New Zealand red ensign would be presented, and that any name to be stitched on the flag (the name requested by Ropere was ‘KAHUMATAMOMOE’) would not be paid for by the government, the costs having to be met by the marae.⁴¹⁰ Yet nearly a decade later, the Māori Trustee wrote to Hutcheson, Wilson & Co to replace two flags that had been provided by Murumurunga and Waitokitoki trustees, and to produce a flag of the same design with the word ‘TUAHIWI’ placed upon it.⁴¹¹

The gifting to Māori of red ensigns, following World War II, by the Department of Māori Affairs became more bureaucratically stringent. Over the period of 40 years, the department’s policy evolved, and included: having regionalised Māori committees agree which marae would be considered the principal within the area; having decisions made at Head Office, rather than by the regional office; and not replacing the ensign, even if the marae was not to blame for its disappearance. Also during this time, the Māori population shifted from being largely rural to being largely urban.

As Walker would comment, “But gradually, as the [Māori urban] migrants became more sure of themselves, they put down roots and planted their culture in new ground.”⁴¹² Part of that transition led to the development of urban marae, as more Māori frequented their tūrangawaewae less and less.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁹ Minister of Maori Affairs, Duncan McIntyre to Secretary of Maori Executive Committee, R Nikora, 15 February 1971 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴¹⁰ Notes from hui with Hine Ropere, Waiatuhi Marae, N.D. in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴¹¹ R.H. Wharehinga, Maori Trustee, to Hutcheson, Wilson and Co, 18 November 1986 in BBFZ A1115 4945 Box 46 18/60, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

⁴¹² Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.199.

⁴¹³ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, pp.200-201.

It was within this context, that the Department of Māori Affairs made the process more difficult for marae to obtain a red ensign from the government.

Conclusion

Māori responses to British colonisation in the form of flags is revealing. Māori generally either opted to support the British Crown by flying Union Jacks or the red ensign, or devised their own symbolism and displayed it on their own flags. Common symbols, often underpinned by religious beliefs, included crosses, crescent moons, and Māori wording. They reflected the Māori experience of the time – a hurt inflicted by the British and the promise of new beginnings. Such narratives lent themselves to Māori believing that they are the relatives of the Israelites who are searching for a new home.

For Māori, the loss of rangatiratanga and land could easily be summed up within the fundamental concept of mana, which could be reflected in flags. Māori either came under the mana of the British Queen or they did not. Those who opposed British rule attempted to promote Māori nationalism under the one banner, as often symbolised through the representation of the three islands on numerous flags, or the use of the traditional Māori character, Maui.

Even those who had previously opposed the British either accepted the Union Jack or incorporated the emblem on their own ensign. The context of time and place can lead to an appreciation of a flag having “layers of meanings”, as articulated by Bryan and Gillespie.⁴¹⁴ Māori who previously may have been at pains to bring down a Union Jack in the heat of battle may, some years later, readily fly the flag. The display of the flag could be nuanced. It may not be an admission of defeat for Māori to the British, but rather a demonstration of their relationship with the British Crown, as per the Treaty of Waitangi.

⁴¹⁴ Bryan and Gillespie, *Transforming Conflict*, p.13.

At times, such distinctions could be lost on the viewer of the flags, who may mistakenly believe that Māori had succumbed to the British and had accepted the policy of assimilation that dominated New Zealand from the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi until the 1970s. As Chapter Five will demonstrate, the decade of the 1970s would see a Māori renaissance from a younger generation who were determined to reassert their mana, which would be reflected also in the form of flag

CHAPTER FOUR

INCULCATING PATRIOTISM

The culmination of the five historic events that illustrated New Zealand's close and strong link with Mother Britain at the turn of the twentieth century would come to the fore and be exhibited through the Hoisting the Flag Movement that was going to infiltrate and hugely influence New Zealand schools and pupils. The link to the British Empire had never been stronger, and was demonstrated in the selection of a flag in which the Union Jack featured prominently, to represent New Zealand on both land and water.

As noted during the speeches made by various Members of Parliament during the passage of the legislation regarding a flag for New Zealand, the Hoisting the Flag Movement was operating throughout New Zealand schools. Initially, the movement, founded in America, grew in momentum in Canada and Australia, two other British colonies, before reaching New Zealand. Moreover, the affiliation to the British Empire the movement engendered was, as this chapter will discuss, strengthened – rather than weakened – by New Zealand's participation in World War One and World War Two.

Indeed, the ongoing ambivalence over whether the Union Jack or New Zealand Flag ought to have primacy reflected a dual national identity encompassing both Britishness and New Zealandness, which persisted well into the 1960s. The notion that New Zealand soldiers fought under the New Zealand flag in World War One and World War Two which featured prominently in the 2015/2016 referenda are based on memories of this period. This chapter evaluates the extent to which the historical evidence supports this view.

The general sentiment of identification with Britain was influenced to only a small degree by legislative initiatives that ostensibly made New Zealand more independent. In 1907, New Zealand was no longer a British colony, and instead became a British dominion.

The status was created to generate the impression that dominions were a ‘step above’ colonies, but in reality, being a dominion was no more independent than being a colony of Great Britain.¹ Within seven years of New Zealand’s constitutional shift, World War I would only reinforce that the country was no more independent than colonies, from Britain, as the New Zealand Expeditionary Force formed part of the British military. Twenty-five years later, when the Second World War broke out, the New Zealand military was again really no more independent than it was during the First World War. As such, citizens wishing to demonstrate their patriotism towards both war efforts primarily flew the Union Jack, with a much smaller portion flying the New Zealand flag. New Zealand did not formally adopt the Statute of Westminster (formulated in 1931), which granted Britain’s anglo-saxon settler colonies full legislative autonomy, until 1947.

New Zealand National Identity 1900-1945

Before discussing the ‘Hoisting the Flag Movement’ in schools, it is important to outline the cultural context in which it operated. Belich identifies New Zealand identity during the period of World War I as ‘dominionism.’² It was a development of ‘Better Britonism’, defined by Belich as having three key components: “a strong New Zealand collective identity as Better Britons; a patriotic and martial British ‘imperialism’; and an assumption of full compatibility between the two.”³ Argues Belich, ‘Better Britonism’ was on the rise since the 1890s, but the First World War transmuted an ideology into a cult, as evidenced by the 18,000 martyrs who died from wounds, disease, or accident. Writes Belich, “the cult also had state endorsement, shrines, a sacred day, and even a powerful order of ‘monks’ who could protect the cult against any threat.”⁴

¹ ‘What changed?’, URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/dominion-day/what-changed>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 10-Jun-2014 (accessed 21 August 2020).

² James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Penguin, 2001, p.116.

³ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.116.

⁴ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.116.

Shrines, explains Belich, were erected to the war dead in the form of memorials throughout the country; the sacred day became legislated as Anzac Day in 1921; and the monks were the Returned Servicemen's Association.

For the soldiers who fought at Gallipoli, their experiences would define their identity in the opposite direction to those in New Zealand who viewed themselves as 'dominionists.' Pugsley argues that, for New Zealand soldiers, Anzac Day became the touchstone to an identity; "...a growing recognition of themselves as New Zealanders."⁵ When writing *Voices of Gallipoli*, New Zealand author Maurice Shadbolt interviewed elderly veterans from that campaign. Although his informants varied in the extent to which allegiance to the British Empire influenced their desire to fight overseas, Shadbolt concluded, from what they said, that Gallipoli signalled a point at which New Zealanders began to draw away from Britain and towards New Zealand as a nation apart:

As for New Zealanders, the tragedy [Gallipoli] nourished a new and tender nationalism. In the 1980s that nationalism has at last become assertive, with the country reconsidering traditional connections, and defying bullying allies... In 1915 the idea of New Zealand as a nation – distinct from Britain – was still relatively new and largely a wistful literary conception... The men who sailed off to Gallipoli may have gone as citizens of the Empire; those who voyaged home were unmistakably New Zealanders. For them, the mystique of Empire, of Britain as motherland, had perished at Chunuk Bair.⁶

One of the men Shadbolt interviewed, Tony Fagan, commented: "I suppose you could say I was looking for adventure. Today people would say we were brainwashed with patriotism. Britannia Rules the Waves on our side, and Deutschland Uber Alles on the other."⁷

The juxtaposition between the attitude of New Zealand soldiers and citizens towards Britain is noted by Eldred-Grigg in his history of New Zealand society in World War One.

⁵ Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990, p.358.

⁶ Maurice Shadbolt, *Voices of Gallipoli*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, p. 122.

⁷ Shadbolt, *Voices of Gallipoli*, p.17.

Acknowledging the narrative of the nation of New Zealand being forged in war, and in particular on the battlefields of Gallipoli, he also observes that troops stationed in Europe began to develop a sense of national identity. Eldred-Grigg reinforces the misplaced notion of a New Zealand identity being fashioned in World War One with a quote from Prime Minister Helen Clark, some ninety years after men landed at Gallipoli.⁸ Eldred-Grigg notes, however, that this emerging national identity did not undermine allegiance to Britain, arguing that “British identity, together with imperial loyalty, was in many ways strengthened rather than weakened by the war.”⁹

British military historian, Sir Hew Strachan, argues that modernity, in the form of becoming a dominion, did not translate into a separation between New Zealand and Britain, but that New Zealanders in 1914 still identified as British, “and seemed to have done so more than did the white settlers of the other dominions”, with the effect of the war intensifying the link, rather than rupturing it.¹⁰ Belich demonstrates the fervour through which the population felt a deep connection to Britain by means of the ‘British Israelite’, Prime Minister William Massey. For Belich, Massey was convinced that the British, ‘broadly defined,’ were God’s chosen people and that London, in Massey’s own words, was “the Mecca of every British citizen.”¹¹ Belich also observed that school children were being taught from the ‘dominionist gospel’, the *School Journal*, from 1907. He wrote:

A new history curriculum stressed race and Empire even more than the old. Flag-saluting ceremonies at schools were made compulsory in 1921, and teachers were forced to swear a loyalty oath from the following year. Schools became major vehicles for the indoctrination of sets of patriotic ideologies. A whole generation learned its history from a New Zealand text published in the 1920s, *Our Nation’s Story*. ‘Our Nation’ was Britain, not New Zealand.¹²

⁸ Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in WWI*, Auckland: Random House, 2010, pp.462-463.

⁹ Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War*, p.463.

¹⁰ Hew Strachan, ‘Foreword: New Zealand Society in the Great War’ in Steven Loveridge (ed.), *New Zealand Society at War 1914-1918*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016, p.11.

¹¹ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.118.

¹² Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.118.

The interwar period was an important era in regard to national identity in New Zealand. Mein-Smith writes: “The 1930s and 1940s was a formative era in nation-building through the conscious ‘making of New Zealand’.”¹³ With the Great Depression giving rise to a Michael Savage-led government, Moon pens that such circumstances led to:

an entire generation to reassess its ideas about the role of the state in national life... One of the lasting results [of the 1935 Labour government] was what was known as the Welfare State, the principles of which have remained largely intact since the 1930s.¹⁴

As with World War One, however, New Zealand’s evolving national identity in the interwar period did not undermine popular sentiment towards Britain. During World War Two, Arthur Mee’s *Book of the Flag* was published to induce a deep sense of patriotism amongst members of the British Empire. The opening two sentences of the text leaves nothing to the imagination as to the intent of the book:

Every one of us was born into a heritage of high renown. The world reels as we march into the middle of the Twentieth Century, but those who are young will see it like a rock again, and it will be the Island and the Empire that will save mankind.¹⁵

Of New Zealand, the Englishman, Mee, writes: “The flag flies over hundreds of races, speaking hundreds of languages, but it has no more loyal people under it than these devoted New Zealanders...”¹⁶ Belich argues that while the ‘great majority’ of New Zealanders agreed with Prime Minister Michael Savage when he declared New Zealand would participate in World War II with the words, ‘Where Britain goes, we go’, it was not ‘reflexively colonial.’¹⁷ He writes “This was not an act of cringing colonialism, but it was not an act of independent nationhood either.”¹⁸

¹³ Philippa Mein-Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.50.

¹⁴ Paul Moon, *Turning Points: Events that changed the course of New Zealand History*, Auckland: New Holland Publishers, 2013, p.142.

¹⁵ Arthur Mee, *Arthur Mee’s Book of the Flag*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1941, p.17.

¹⁶ Mee, *Arthur Mee’s Book of the Flag*, p.188.

¹⁷ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.271.

¹⁸ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.271.

Rabel elaborates that the Second World War gave rise to “a more distinctive national consciousness”, but that the war involved “no radical break from the longstanding instinctive association with transplanted British-ness.”¹⁹ Both Belich and Rabel are at pains to stress that, while there was no drastic departure from New Zealanders viewing themselves as British, there was, however, a slight change in how New Zealanders perceived themselves.

Also taking place during the Second World War was the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The centrepiece of New Zealand’s centennial was an exhibition in Wellington. The Minister of Internal Affairs, William Parry, was informed by his Under-Secretary, James Heenan, that the aim of the celebrations would be to “create a national spirit.”²⁰ Explains Renwick, Parry wanted the celebrations to rethink relationships with the ‘motherland.’ “British influences were everywhere to be seen, he said, and remained important, but New Zealanders should not cling to leading strings: the time had come to stop labouring the point that “we are a young country.”²¹ Parry, however, did not expect ‘a separate national culture’, nor for New Zealanders to “have added much to the age old English culture.”²² Wrote Renwick, “For Pakeha, being a New Zealander was inseparable from being British and as natural as the air they breathed.”²³

By and large, New Zealand’s perspective of its relationship with Mother Britain remained unchanged until the 1960s. Belich notes that the doctrine of ‘recolonisation’ remained in both the National and Labour parties, and with the vast majority of New Zealanders. Belich is supported in his views by a number of scholars. In his analysis of New Zealand’s foreign policy, Malcolm McKinnon cited the following quote from *New Zealand’s External Relations*, published in 1961:

¹⁹ Roberto Rabel, ‘New Zealand’s Wars’, in Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp.258-259.

²⁰ William Renwick, ‘Introduction’ in William Renwick (ed.), *Creating a National Spirit: Celebrating New Zealand’s Centennial*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004, p.13.

²¹ Renwick, ‘Introduction’, p.15.

²² Renwick, ‘Introduction’, p.15.

²³ Renwick, ‘Introduction’, p.20.

“The doctrine alignment of 'where Britain goes, we go' is still firmly implanted in New Zealand hearts – no New Zealand government could ever ignore an attitude so firmly entrenched in our tradition.”²⁴ Beaglehole observed that during Elizabeth II’s Royal Tour of 1953, New Zealanders were more likely to state they were ‘British’ than ‘New Zealander’, when asked for their nationality.²⁵ A social commentator noted in 1966 that “English influence dominates at all levels of New Zealand society...[it] is unnoticed because it is so dominant.”²⁶

Hoisting the Flag in Britain and Australia

The pro-British sentiment identified by historians was reinforced by flag-raising ceremonies. Hoisting the Flag was a movement that promoted the practice of hoisting the Union Jack in schools, with pupils undertaking semi-militaristic exercises in the way of formal speeches, marching, saluting, and the singing of patriotic songs. Arguably, it is an example of the transnational influences some historians perceive as having been largely unrecognised by New Zealand’s historians.²⁷

Before reaching New Zealand, the movement had been copied by Britain from America, and was extended to Australia. The Hoisting the Flag movement, which gained momentum in New Zealand from the early 1900s, arose out of the renewed patriotism evident in Britain during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In Britain, ‘Children had the Union Jack whether at home or at school.’²⁸ In 1880 the publication *Union Jack: Tales for British Boys* was published weekly and offered stories that focussed on the military.²⁹ The publication also contained verses about the flag, such as the following:

²⁴ Malcolm McKinnon, *Independence and Foreign Policy*, 1993, Auckland: Auckland University Press, p.147.

²⁵ J.C. Beaglehole, ‘The Development of New Zealand Nationality’, *Journal of World History*, 1954, Paris: UNESCO, cited in McKinnon, *Independence and Foreign Policy*, pp.106-123.

²⁶ Quoted in Malcolm McKinnon, *Independence and Foreign Policy*, p.180.

²⁷ The literature on transnational influences in New Zealand was discussed in the introduction.

²⁸ Nick Groom, *The Union Jack: The Story of the British Flag*, London: Atlantic Books, 2007, p.220.

²⁹ Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.220.

It's only a small bit of bunting, -
It's only an old colour'd rag: -
Yet thousands have died for its honour,
And shed their best blood for the flag.³⁰

New Zealand newspapers approvingly reported these developments. In 1893, it was reported that patriotism would be taught as a subject by school boards in London, and that a Union Jack would be given to all schools "...and honoured with some sort of ceremony every month."³¹ The reporter noted how far behind other nations New Zealand was 'in paying honour to our own Fatherland', going further to observe that perhaps citizens consider them 'sentimental.'³² The newspaper also stated:

What is especially wanted in England is to inculcate the old Roman principle that above all things no damage should be done to the State. This precept includes the preservation of all public rights, which should be held of greater consequences than private ones.³³

During Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, a photograph of Her Majesty, along with a Union Jack, was provided to all schools in the United Kingdom.³⁴

Again referencing 'the American plan of promoting patriotism', the *Evening Star* reported that there was a movement, led by the Earl of Meath, Reginald Brabazon, "afoot to give English boys and girls similar instruction."³⁵ Meath was to play a significant role in the development of the Empire Day movement, which began in 1902 and was celebrated on May 24, the anniversary of Queen Victoria's birthday.³⁶

³⁰ Union Jack (05/02/1880), I, VI, in Groom, *The Union Jack*, p.81.

³¹ 'The Union Jack in School', *South Canterbury Times*, 7 March 1893, p. 3.

³² 'The Union Jack in School', *South Canterbury Times*, 7 March 1893, p. 3.

³³ 'The Union Jack in School', *South Canterbury Times*, 7 March 1893, p. 3.

³⁴ 'Brief Mention', *Evening Star*, 8 February 1897, p. 3.

³⁵ 'Brief Mention', *Evening Star*, 8 February 1897, p. 3.

³⁶ Anne Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dance as Symbols of Imperialism', in J.A. Mangan (ed.) *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012, p.74.

Lord Meath commented in 1905, "...that it [Empire Day] had practically become a complete chain as far as the self-governing Crown colonies and the motherland are concerned."³⁷ Anne Bloomfield likened the movement to the Japanese 'bushido', that is "a code of honour extolling the virtues of loyalty, patriotism and obedience."³⁸ Writes Bloomfield:

Physical action or embodiment is a powerful means of expressing ideological belief. This method was used effectively in the creation of a national mentality through the symbolic and ritualistic use of dances and drills performed as a public spectacle by children.³⁹

The Union Jack featured prominently in Empire Day ceremonies. Bloomfield noted:

The message of Empire Day was to convey the importance of British imperialism and to further the cause of Empire through the veneration and perpetuation of honourable British traditions and privileges. This message was conveyed at each celebration and was delivered in short addresses by clergymen, politicians or local civic dignitaries amid flag-waving, cheering, the singing of patriotic songs and the performances of dances and drills.

The links between folk at home and the sons and daughters of Britain living abroad were strengthened through this annual ceremony, which centred on allegiance to the British flag. The Union Jack was considered to be the representative birthright of all classes of people, the visual symbol of Empire.⁴⁰

Brabazon himself was campaigning for the practice of having flags and photographs of Queen Victoria in all London schools as early as 1892, yet – as Bloomfield observes – it received official government support in 1916, as a result of World War I.⁴¹

³⁷ Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dance as Symbols of Imperialism', p.74.

³⁸ Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dance as Symbols of Imperialism', p.74.

³⁹ Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dance as Symbols of Imperialism', p.74.

⁴⁰ Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dance as Symbols of Imperialism', p.74.

⁴¹ Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dance as Symbols of Imperialism', p.75.

Brabazon's ideology was linked to the public school tradition of character training, which focussed upon 'duty, discipline and self-sacrifice.'⁴²

The *Thames Star* cited English historian and novelist, Sir Walter Besant, who questioned whether the children of the British Empire were being taught patriotism, and asked that a Union Jack be placed in each classroom, much like the Americans.⁴³ English immigrant and Victorian politician Sir Fredrick Sargood was responsible for the hoisting the flag movement in Australian schools.⁴⁴ Initially, Sargood approached authorities to provide a Union Jack for every school in Victoria, but due to the high cost, his requests were denied. Sensing an opportunity with the opening of the Commonwealth parliament at the Royal Exhibition Building in 1901, Sargood was well aware of moves to find a flag to represent Australia, and he offered two hundred Union Jacks to schools.

His real intention behind the proposal was: "to make children 'realise the fact of our being part of the greatest empire in the world' and to promote 'a love of the old mother country and a pride in the 'old flag'.'⁴⁵ In 1901, when the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York visited Australia, thousands of schoolchildren in Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, and South Australia, hoisted their flags and saluted the symbol with cheers and three volleys being fired, the singing of patriotic songs, speeches from dignitaries, and the presentation of commemorative medals. Rather than emphasising the Commonwealth of Australia, the ceremonies stressed the British Empire.⁴⁶

⁴² Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dance as Symbols of Imperialism', p.75.

⁴³ 'The Spirit of Patriotism', *Thames Advertiser*, 29 November 1899, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Kwan, *Flag and Nation: Australians and their National Flags since 1901*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006, p. 24.

⁴⁵ Sir Fredrick's son to Minister of Public Instruction, 19 October 1900, VPRS 794 Box 963 1900/39931 Public Record Office Victoria cited in Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p. 24.

⁴⁶ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.28.

American Patriotism: Stars and Stripes

Sargood's idea of flag hoisting had originated from Canada, where it had – in turn – been borrowed from America.⁴⁷ During the 1812 war between the United States and the United Kingdom, a flag was flown for the first time at a schoolhouse in Catamount Hill, Massachusetts.⁴⁸ Between then and the American Civil War of 1861 to 1865, the practice of flying the American flag at schools grew in popularity, with song and verse being added to the ceremony over time. This included Francis Scott Key's *Star-Spangled Banner*, which became the unofficial national anthem during the Civil War. Other noted authors who penned verses on the flag included Joseph Rodman Drake, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Julia Ward Howe, and John Greenleaf Whittier.

Following the American Civil War, American schools became instruments of patriotism. In 1866, at the Indianapolis meeting of the National Education Association, it was stated that:

Our schools must teach our children that patriotism is not genuine which is bounded by corporate limits or state lines, but that only is genuine which holds as its own and would fight to protect every foot of land belonging to the United State of America.⁴⁹

The United States Commissioner of Education, William Harris, preached patriotic responsibility to educators and encouraged them to develop, in every school, an appreciation of the nation, including unfaltering loyalty.⁵⁰ Shortly thereafter, manuals of patriotism began appearing in American schools. “By the 1890s, state after state was requiring by law that subjects deemed peculiarly fitted to inculcating patriotism, such as American history and civics, be taught on every educational level below college.”⁵¹

⁴⁷ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.30.

⁴⁸ Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, p.118.

⁴⁹ National Education Association's Proceedings and Lectures of National Teachers Association (Indianapolis, 1866), p.40, cited in Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty*, p.190.

⁵⁰ Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty*, p.190.

⁵¹ Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty*, p.190.

In 1890, North Dakota and New Jersey enacted legislation that required the flag to be flown every day, from every schoolhouse in their states, with other states quickly following their lead. The flag was given what Curti described as “almost religious sanctity”, with laws being passed for the flag not to be disrespected or used for commercial purposes.⁵² With the launch of the American Flag Association in 1897, the idea of the American flag being sacred grew, and within a decade, Flag Day was widely observed as a special occasion to observe the national banner of America.

Teaching Patriotism in New Zealand

The Hoisting the Flag movement was introduced into New Zealand schools in the early 1900s. New Zealand education historian Roy Shuker identifies this period as a high point in the promotion of imperial sentiment in schools:

During the early 1900s, the sentiments associated with the Flag, the Monarchy, the Empire, King and Country, were intensely popular, and an average of some 30 percent of the Journal [*New Zealand School Journal*] was devoted to imperial, military, and other ‘patriotic’ topics.⁵³

The teaching of history would also play a vital role in establishing patriotism towards the British Empire amongst New Zealand schoolchildren. Shuker argues:

The main reasons given for the inclusion of history in the secondary school curriculum around the turn of the [Twentieth] century were its considered value as a training for citizenship, and its role in encouraging patriotism by giving pupils a knowledge of the development of the English nation and the British Empire.⁵⁴

⁵² Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty*, p.191.

⁵³ Roy Shuker, *The One Best System? A Revisionist History of the State of Schooling in New Zealand*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1987, p.103.

⁵⁴ Shuker, *The One Best System?*, p.110.

History taught in New Zealand was almost exclusively English political history and the history of the British Empire.⁵⁵ As mentioned by Belich previously, *Our Nation's Story*, was a series of textbooks aimed at Standards III to VI, which informed the New Zealand curriculum from the mid-1920s until the 1940s.⁵⁶ Within the Standard IV text, it reads, “We speak of New Zealand as being a *young* country because less than a hundred years have gone by since it passed under the British flag and became part of the British Empire.”⁵⁷ Within the Standard VI text, it states about citizenship:

The good citizen is the citizen who realizes his duty to country and the community in which he lives. In the first place, he is proud to be a citizen of the British Empire, and second he is proud to be a citizen of New Zealand.⁵⁸

Other educational material also reinforced the notion of being ‘British first, New Zealander second.’ In 1914, the New Zealand school civics text, *The New Zealand Citizen*, was published.⁵⁹ Within the section on patriotism, it reads:

But we cannot separate New Zealand from the past, and our debt to the past is one of the springs of our patriotism. We remember that New Zealand was founded and developed by the race to which we are so proud to belong... So we would be ungrateful if we did not owe our Empire and our race.⁶⁰

Printed about the Union Jack and New Zealand's ensign is:

The Union Jack flies in New Zealand as the symbol of British authority and power, but New Zealand has a flag for her own purposes...

⁵⁵ Shuker, *The One Best System?*, p.110.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Caffin, 'Publishing - Educational publishing and Whitcombe and Tombs', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/object/42249/our-nations-story> (accessed 11 June 2020).

⁵⁷ *Our Nation's History*, Standard IV, New Zealand: Whitcombe and Tombs, p.7.

⁵⁸ *Our Nation's History*, Standard VI, New Zealand: Whitcombe and Tombs, pp.257-258.

⁵⁹ E.K. Mulgan and Alan Mulgan, *The New Zealand Citizen* (3RD edn.), New Zealand: Whitcombe and Tombs, N.D. Also see: Lawrence Jones. 'Mulgan, Alan Edward', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m67/mulgan-alan-edward> (accessed 11 June 2020).

⁶⁰ E.K. Mulgan and Alan Mulgan, *The New Zealand Citizen* (3RD edn.), pp.163,164.

The Union Jack denotes that New Zealand is a portion of the Empire, and the stars make it distinctive of our own country for no other country has exactly the same flag.⁶¹

The passage of more than twenty years did little in distancing New Zealand from Britain. *Our Race and Empire*, a compulsory text for all New Zealand Government officials during the 1930s, reads: “Does the New Zealander exist who can read this story of his people without being proud that he was born, or that he lives under the British flag?”⁶² Furthermore, it reads of citizens of the British Empire:

The white boy born in India or in Hong Kong says: “I am British”; the child of one of the loneliest outposts of Empire, the Shetland Islands, says: “I am British”. New Zealand boys and girls salute the British flag; and men who had never seen Great Britain went from all the continents of the earth to fight and die in France – for Britain.⁶³

An intermediate text on New Zealand history and civics for New Zealand pupils during the 1940s, under the section on “New Zealand’s Imperialism”, printed:

...now New Zealanders of the third and fourth generation still speak quite naturally of Britain as “Home.” Then again of all the Dominions New Zealand most resembles the Mother Country in climate and physical features. Now physical conditions have a great effect on the character of a people and almost all visitors tell us that New Zealanders are more like Englishmen in their ways than are the people of any other Dominion.⁶⁴

Thus, the New Zealand education curriculum being taught to successive generations of school pupils was about belonging to the British Empire, about being grateful for the freedoms granted by belonging to the Empire, and about recognising Britain as their home, as well as being bonded by blood as expressed through the Union Jack.

⁶¹ E.K. Mulgan and Alan Mulgan, *The New Zealand Citizen* (3rd edn.), p.59.

⁶² *Our Race and Empire; A Concise History Based on the Public Service History Course* (2nd edn., Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, c. 1924), p. 248.

⁶³ *Our Race and Empire; A Concise History Based on the Public Service History Course*, pp.6-7.

⁶⁴ *Our Country: A Brief Survey of New Zealand History and Civics* (7th edn.), Whitcombe and Tombs, n.d. p.143.

Clearly, the education system was the main instrument of nurturing patriotism towards the British Empire, whereas Māori were largely excluded from this interpretation of New Zealand nationhood.

Hoisting the Flag in New Zealand

Initiatives to promote allegiance to Britain and New Zealand via flag ceremonies began in the late 1890s. The Napier School Committee passed a motion that the boys at the school would be made to salute the national flag at regular intervals, by six votes to three, in July of 1897.⁶⁵ At the previous meeting, the motion was defeated on the grounds that pupils were living in a democratic age when loyalty and patriotism should not be thrust upon them. As for the motivation behind wanting pupils to show loyalty to the flag, the reporter opined:

Unfortunately in this colony the average school boy possesses very little patriotism... Nobody can deny that the wave of patriotism which passed over the land at the time of the Jubilee was a good thing.⁶⁶

At the school meeting, Mr Edwards, mover of the motion, stated: “That in order to inculcate a spirit of patriotism throughout our schools arrangements be made by which at stated intervals, during school hours, the British or New Zealand flag be introduced and properly saluted by the boys.”⁶⁷ Edwards stated his case that patriotism was sadly lacking amongst the boys and many did not know the colour or the meaning behind the flag. The motion was then sent to the Minister of Education, with a view to distributing the initiative throughout the country.

⁶⁵ ‘Saluting the Flag’, *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 15 July 1897, p.2.

⁶⁶ ‘Saluting the Flag’, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 17 July 1897, p.2.

⁶⁷ ‘Saluting the Flag’, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 17 July 1897, p.2.

In October 1898, the *Waimate Daily Advertiser* reported that a number of people assembled to see the Union Jack hoisted on the flagpole that had recently been erected in the school grounds. The flag was purchased by way of subscriptions and the school children were led by the Waimate Brass Band. The Chairman of the School Committee, Mr Taylor, addressed the ceremony, stating that:

The flagstaff had been erected and the flag procured with a definite object, that of kindling in the hearts of the girls and boys a spirit of patriotism and enthusiasm, to inspire in them feelings of loyalty and devotion to Great Britain, and to help them to recall what they owed, under God, to the British Empire... Was it not a great thing to belong to such a nation, a nation which produced such men as Wellington, Havelock, Gordon and Kitchener. When they read of those men's deeds and of those hundreds of others who had fought and bled for their mother country, did it not send the blood coursing through their veins? Where the British rule was established, peace, progress and prosperity would follow in its train. They were Britain's sons and daughters and were ready to play their part in the making of the Empire.⁶⁸

By April 1900, New Zealand newspapers were reporting the increased number of Hoisting the Flag ceremonies. Newspapers noted that the ceremony was popular in Auckland with the public schools in Chapel Street, Parnell, North Shore, and Mount Eden, having participated. It went on to state that Premier Richard Seddon was a keen supporter and that the government would match the cost of the exercise, pound for pound.⁶⁹

The ambiguity discussed in Chapter Three, over whether the Union Jack or New Zealand flag ought to be flown on ceremonial occasions, was also evident in the Hoisting the Flag Movement. An example of both the Union Jack and the New Zealand flag being flown together was in May 1900, at Mount Eden School, Auckland.

⁶⁸ 'Hoisting the Flag', *Waimate Daily Advertiser*, 22 October 1898, p.3.

⁶⁹ 'Saluting the Flag in Schools', *Press*, 28 April 1900, p.7.

On this occasion, the focus was very much on the Union Jack, as opposed to both the British and New Zealand flags, with the event doubling as an unveiling of a plaque for an old boy who had died during the Boer War. Upon arrival of the Governor, students sang the national anthem, *God Save the Queen*. The Headmaster, Mr Hosking, commenced proceedings by asking the Governor-General, Lord Ranfurly, Uchter Knox, that he tell the Queen that she was beloved by the scholars of Mount Eden School in far-away New Zealand. Ranfurly, after having performed the honours of releasing the Union Jack, delivered his address to rapturous applause. He stated:

I have heard that one of the old boys of the school had gone to the war in the First New Zealand Contingent and had died in battle. The lives that have been lost in South Africa for the Empire have not been lost in vain. The Empire has gained an enormous advantage in federation – in binding together the colonies to her, who needed no Act of Parliament to bind them. The same blood ran in our veins, and when the Mother Country suffers, we suffer. It needed no laws to bind the colonies to the Motherland but the law of love – the strongest law in the universe – and in New Zealand the tie would never be broken. I feel it an honour to represent the Queen in New Zealand and what I have learned in this colony will be used for her advantage.⁷⁰

At the end of the month, Devonport School hoisted the Union Jack, with His Excellency present to perform the duties once again. He commented that, as Britain had entered Johannesburg as a result of the Boer War, today was a great day to be flying the flag. In yet another address littered with British jingoism, Ranfurly said:

Let them look at the Peninsula and Waterloo and remember that it was the blood of the veterans that bled there that flows through their veins, and of those of Australia, and Canada, and that blood was joining all together.⁷¹

The Boer War was providing the impetus for the Union Jack to be placed in schools throughout New Zealand.

⁷⁰ 'Hoisting the Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 19 May 1900, p.6.

⁷¹ 'Hoisting the Flag at the Devonport School', *Auckland Star*, 31 May 1900, p.2.

Following the news of Lord Fredrick Robert's victory over the Boer General, Piet Cronje, and 4000 men surrendering at the Battle of Paardeberg, the *Wanganui Chronicle* reported the celebrations in the town, with flags being hoisted everywhere.⁷² At the suggestion of Seddon, pupils at Wanganui Boys High School were assembled in the playground and it was proposed to begin a penny subscription from each boy, to go towards the purchase of a Union Jack. Swiss-born builder Nicholas Meuli also spoke and guaranteed to find a flagstaff, if enough money was raised to purchase a Union Jack.⁷³ In response to the British Empire's victory in South Africa, the Southland Education Board enquired as to the cost of purchasing Union Jacks for every school, "...members being of the opinion that the national emblem should be provided to every school."⁷⁴

In May 1900, the *Bruce Herald* printed a letter from one 'Ensign', regarding an article that had been published about Union Jacks being hoisted in New Zealand schools.⁷⁵ Reflecting that, almost every week, articles were published with a Union Jack being presented to a school, then being hoisted and saluted, 'Ensign' suggested that old pupils of Milton High School subscribe towards the cost of a flagstaff, provided the school could provide a Union Jack. The writer penned:

Such ceremonies and practices are of great value in instilling a love of country into our public school children, and in the present stirring times now inculcated will have an enduring effect. It is almost certain that the practice of saluting the flag – the symbol of the greatness and glory of our country – and of hoisting it on the anniversaries of historic occasions would foster a patriotic spirit in the rising generation...⁷⁶

⁷² 'Our Own Rejoicings', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 1 March 1900, p.2.

⁷³ 'Our Own Rejoicings', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 1 March 1900, p.2.

⁷⁴ 'Fostering Patriotism', *Mataura Ensign*, 3 March 1900, p.3.

⁷⁵ 'School Union Jack', *Bruce Herald*, 29 May 1900, p.5.

⁷⁶ 'School Union Jack', *Bruce Herald*, 29 May 1900, p.5.

By June 1900, it was reported that the Governor-General had been to several hoistings of the Union Jack on school flagstaffs, after the flag had been presented by patriotic citizens, "...with a view of fostering the spirit of patriotism in the growing youth."⁷⁷ The *New Zealand Herald* printed that the "...“hoisting of the flag” movement is progressing apace."⁷⁸ The article conveyed that, at three schools – Church Street, Richmond Road, and Bayfield public schools – a Union Jack was to be hoisted at each venue, on the same date, and that a New Zealand ensign would also be furnished if public subscriptions permitted. Other flag-hoisting ceremonies included Newton West and Onehunga District schools.⁷⁹

In September 1900, the *Otago Witness* reported that, over the past several months, the unfurling of the flag had become a regular occurrence and the editor believed that Dunedin schools had been in the ‘van’ of the movement, with a Union Jack or ensign being hoisted on flagstaffs around the town’s schools.⁸⁰ The movement continued to gain momentum through the remainder of 1900, so much so that the *Otago Daily Times* wrote that the Federation Movement in Australasia, and the South African War, had provided an ‘outburst of enthusiasm for the flag of the empire, the Union Jack.’⁸¹ The newspaper reported on the actions of Sir Fredrick Sargood in Melbourne, who had promised 200 flags – one to each school – and that his offer had been supported with as many poles and fittings by a member of the public. The expectation was that every state school would have a flag by the end of the year. The newspaper asked why every New Zealand school should not have its own British flag with which to commence the new century and commemorate the birth of a new empire.

⁷⁷ ‘Our Letter Home’, *New Zealand Herald*, 8 June 1900, p.1.

⁷⁸ ‘Local and General News’, *New Zealand Herald*, 13 June 1900, p.4.

⁷⁹ ‘Local and General News’, *New Zealand Herald*, 13 June 1900, p.4.

⁸⁰ ‘Unfurling the Flag’, *Otago Witness*, 19 September 1900, p.67.

⁸¹ *Otago Daily Times*, 15 November 1900, p.4.

Noting that Seddon had promised every school a New Zealand Ensign, the *Otago Daily Times* extolled the virtues of the Union Jack, which can be found “in all quarters of the globe.”⁸² To initiate proceedings of the patriotic gesture, the proprietors of the newspaper offered to present a Union Jack to each of the city’s schools.⁸³

A collective of Old Boys from Christchurch Marist Brothers School donated a New Zealand flag to demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism.⁸⁴ However, the speech – delivered by his Worship the Mayor, William Reece – did not distinguish between the Union Jack and the New Zealand flag. This was often the case, as seen in the views expressed by several speakers at hoisting the flag ceremonies throughout the country, and can also be seen during the debate on the passing of the New Zealand Ensign Bill. Many did not make the distinction and some viewed the New Zealand flag as the same as the Union Jack. Reece, when referring to the New Zealand flag, said he:

expected that as the students grew older that they would know and appreciate far better what the meaning of the hoisting of the British flag was and that, as had been said by an eminent American divine, wherever the British flag was hoisted in any part of the world its people would fight to the death before it was hauled down.⁸⁵

Seddon, during a flag-raising ceremony in Palmerston North the following year, confirmed his commitment to such ceremonies. He stated that as school children were the men and women of the future, if trained correctly, they would be a credit to their parents, their teachers, their colony, and the British Empire. He also emphasised that, “An insult to the British flag meant an insult to the nation. Every Britisher would resent it and fight to the last to wipe out the stain.”⁸⁶

⁸² *Otago Daily Times*, 15 November 1900, p.4.

⁸³ *Otago Daily Times*, 15 November 1900, p.4.

⁸⁴ ‘Hoisting the Flag’, *Press*, 16 October 1900, p.3.

⁸⁵ ‘Hoisting the Flag’, *Press*, 16 October 1900, p.3.

⁸⁶ ‘Unfurling the Flag’, *Manawatu Standard*, 18 April 1901, p. 4.

The practice of hoisting the flag remained in New Zealand Schools for the best part of half a century. In 1903, the *New Zealand Journal of Education* issued ‘flag drills’, to be performed by primary school children.⁸⁷ The Wartime National Efficiency Board, in 1917, recommended that schools should salute the flag on a weekly basis; and by 1921, weekly ceremonies to salute the flag were compulsory.⁸⁸ That year, the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools, T.B. Strong, wrote a commentary titled *The Inculcation of Patriotism*, in which he stressed the influence schools and teachers had on determining children’s political ideas:

The recently gazetted regulation requiring that the Flag shall be saluted regularly and the National Anthem (*God Save the King*) sung is a counterblast to the openly expressed disloyalty that would, if it could, tear the Empire asunder and wreck social peace.”⁸⁹

From 1903, Empire Day celebrations were held annually on May 24, the day of Queen Victoria’s birthday, even though by that time, a new monarch – Edward VII – was on the throne. In time, the day of observation became June 3, which was King George V’s birthday. The purpose of the day, which featured parades, saluting the flag and patriotic speeches, was to inculcate patriotic fervour, with that zeal focussed on Britain. As the *School Journal* containing the *Message of the Flag* verses observed:⁹⁰

Britain is like a mother with many children who have gone from her into other countries to earn their living. She still loves them; she sends them many kind messages, and helps them in every way she can. And the children, the people far away from her, love her in return... This little mother and all her big children we call the Empire, and we keep up Empire Day just as we might keep up our mother’s birthday in the family, to show that we are still her loving children.

⁸⁷ Flags in schools, URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/flags-schools>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 11-May-2015 (accessed 21 August 2020).

⁸⁸ Shuker, *The One Best System?*, p.106.

⁸⁹ *Education Gazette*, 1 November 1921, cited in Shuker, *The One Best System?*, p. 105.

⁹⁰ ‘Empire Day’, New Zealand History (website): <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/empire-day> (accessed 21 August 2020).

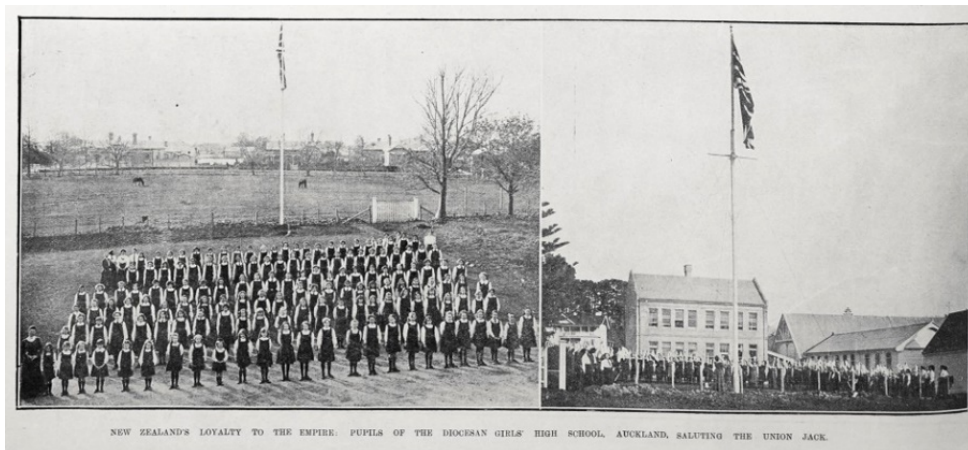


Fig. 49. 'Hoisting the Flag' at Auckland Diocesan Girls High School, 1911.⁹¹



Fig. 50. Empire Day, Victoria Square, Christchurch, May 24, 1907.⁹²

Hoisting the flag ceremonies became the main vehicle by which patriotism was to be taught to New Zealand pupils. The display of loyalty, however, was not towards New Zealand, but to the larger British Empire – an Empire that was at war with the Boers – which goes some way to explaining that the predominant flag being used was the Union Jack. At the ceremonies, students were delivered speeches littered with jingoism that included creating familial ties with Mother Britain and eugenic references regarding people of British descent.

⁹¹ Sir George Grey Special Collections, AWNS-19110706-14-4, Permission of Auckland Libraries Ngā Whare Mātauranga o Tāmaki Makaurau.

⁹² Canterbury Public Library, CCL Photo CD 14 IMG0097.

Seddon, the Premier of New Zealand, was the greatest protagonist of the movement as the practice became codified and compulsory in New Zealand schools.

Flags in World War I

The use of the Union Jack to represent New Zealand on the battlefields of Europe mirrored what was happening at home. The New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) formed part of the British military during World War I, and served where and how the British directed.⁹³ During the conflict, the flag used by the NZEF was the Union Jack. Writes Loveridge, “Within New Zealand, wartime representations drew heavily upon a conception that New Zealand was a distinctive part of a global British order – a Greater Britain; the ‘value sets, culture and civilisation’ were near invariably designated as ‘British.’”⁹⁴

Such dedication to identifying with being British can be found in the New Zealand music that was in vogue during World War I. Chris Bourke, in his work on the subject, stated:

By the armistice they [New Zealand songwriters] had written approximately 200 songs responding to the conflict. A large percentage championed the British Empire and its way of life: what the war was trying to preserve. Some songs emphasised New Zealand, romanticising it as ‘Maoriland’, while highlighting the country’s loyalty, familiarity and connections with Britain... Early songs such as ‘England’s Watching’ and ‘Sons of New Zealand’ emphasised the dominion’s subservient status.⁹⁵

As for the sacrifice made by New Zealand to the Great War, Belich writes:

What New Zealand did send was a vast army; 100,000 men, about 9 per cent of the whole population... and a staggering 58,000 of them were killed or wounded.

⁹³ 'First World War military formations', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/first-world-war-military-formations>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 2-May-2017 (accessed 21 August 2020).

⁹⁴ Stephen Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p.28.

⁹⁵ Chris Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland: The Songs & Sounds of New Zealand’s Great War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017, p.139.

World War One featured the highest casualty rates in military history – in New Zealand’s case, about three times those of World War Two.⁹⁶

Examples exist of the New Zealand flag being used, but the majority of these instances involved the actions of an individual soldier, rather than an official action by their regiment or division. At Gallipoli, there were at least two New Zealand flags. One was owned by Lieutenant Colonel William Malone, from Taranaki, who wrote in his diary, “I have the only New Zealand flag in Egypt”,⁹⁷ and Private Taylor, of Quinn’s Post, also possessed one. At the end of World War I, New Zealand troops flew a New Zealand ensign after they had liberated the French town of Le Quesnoy.⁹⁸

Also during World War I, the British Admiralty instructed the headquarters of the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces to have all New Zealand ships that transported troops fly the New Zealand Red Ensign. This was subsequently authorised by New Zealand’s Minister of Defence, James Allen.⁹⁹ As New Zealand did not have a Navy at the time, the command was passed on to the charter ships that were tasked with transporting the New Zealand men. At the conclusion of World War I, Army Council instructions required His Majesty the King to approve a silk Union flag for each battalion of overseas troops.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.96.

⁹⁷ John Crawford (ed.), *No Better Death: The Great War Diaries and Letters of William G. Malone* (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2014), p. 106.

⁹⁸ ‘The liberation of Le Quesnoy’, New Zealand History (website): <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/le-quesnoy/the-liberation-of-le-quesnoy> (accessed 21 August 2020).

⁹⁹ J. Allen, Minister of Defence, to the Manager of the Union Shipping Company, 2 September 1914, in AD1 Box 920 46/79, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁰⁰ Army Council Instruction, No. 444 of 1919, AAYS 8638 AD1 Box 931/48/37, National Archives of New Zealand.



Fig. 51. *The New Zealand Flag at Le Quesnoy.*¹⁰¹



Fig. 52. *Armistice Day at Dunedin Municipal Chambers, 1918.*¹⁰²

Despite the relative infrequency with which the New Zealand flag was flown by its soldiers during World War I, the RSA would argue, during the 2015 Flag Referendum, that New Zealanders had fought under the New Zealand flag in two world wars. These sentiments were not confined to New Zealand. Peter FitzSimons, an outspoken advocate of changing the Australian flag, wrote, on the centenary of the Anzac conflict:

Let me just raise one quick counter-point to those who always, against change, are seduced by the sophomoric argument that, "our Diggers fought and died for that flag." They didn't. At least not broadly, not in the Iwo Jima sense...

¹⁰¹ Alexander Turnbull Library: 1/2-013787-G.

¹⁰² Dunedin City Council Archives: Photo 206/1.

Back on the battlefields of the Great War itself, Australian flags of any description were rarely sighted, and not what it was all about in any case.¹⁰³

Thus, contemporary references to New Zealand and Australian forces fighting under their current flags in both world wars are inaccurate and may be viewed as ‘invented traditions.’

Union Jack or the New Zealand Ensign?

The ambiguous status of the New Zealand flag during World War I, echoed earlier debates. As early as 1900, questions arose as to which flag should be flown in New Zealand: the Union Jack or the New Zealand ensign? One who did ask was ‘J.P.’ from the Bay of Plenty, who wrote:

Now that the much-to-be-desired custom is becoming general, it is timely if we ask ourselves if it will be better for us to have the diversity of liberty, or the uniformity of order? In the few instances that have been reported, we already have diversity. In Parnell they hoisted the Red Ensign with the New Zealand Ensign; in Mount Eden they hoisted the Union Jack; at Clevedon they also hoisted a very fine Union Jack; in some other places we are not told so clearly what flag was hoisted... I am not complaining about the diversity of British flags; we may rather rejoice in that, varied though they may be, the Union is ever present!... But the question still remains: Shall each school adopt just that flag it happens to favour, or is it desirable that as far as possible all shall adopt the same? We are taking the custom from our American brethren.¹⁰⁴

The Official Secretary of Government House, A.C. Day, enquired to the New Zealand Solicitor General’s Office what flags should be flown on buildings on anniversary days. Despite believing that it should be the New Zealand ensign, Day observed that “...more often than not one sees the Union Jack on the poles of such buildings as Town Halls.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Peter Fitzsimons, ‘Australia Day 2015’, January 26 2015, <https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/australia-day-2015-peter-fitzsimons-explains-why-its-time-to-change-the-australian-flag-2015> (accessed 21 August 2020).

¹⁰⁴ ‘Saluting the Flag’, *New Zealand Herald*, 16 June 1900, p.5.

¹⁰⁵ Official Secretary of Government House, A.C. Day, to Solicitor-Generals Office, W.C. MacGregor, 25 May 1922 in IA 1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

The response recalled a statement made in the House of Lords by the Secretary of State and the Earl of Crewe, Robert Crewe-Milnes, that, “the Union Jack may be flown on land by every citizen of the Empire, as well as Government Buildings” and that, by being a member of the British Empire, this rule applied to New Zealand.¹⁰⁶

There had been a number of other rulings that supported the position taken by the Earl of Crewe. In 1906, the British Counsel at Chifu, China, adjudicated that the Union Jack could be flown as an indication of the nationality of British subjects. In June 1933, the Home Secretary said that the Union Jack could be flown by any British subject on land. And a letter from the Private Secretary to King Edward VII stated that a British citizen could always fly the Union Jack.¹⁰⁷

The Secretary of the Education Board of Southland wrote to the Director of Education in 1926, after an inspector found that the convent school in Winton did not possess a flag and that they sang the New Zealand Anthem [*God Defend New Zealand*].¹⁰⁸ Strong, in his response, drew attention to Section 133 of the Education Act, which read “...suitable provision is made for the inculcation in the minds of the pupils in sentiments of patriotism and loyalty.”¹⁰⁹ Despite the convent being a private school, Strong relayed that he would not be happy unless the school saluted the flag and sung the national anthem [*God Save the King*].¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Solicitor-General’s Office, W.C. MacGregor to Official Secretary of Government House, A.C. Day, 27 May 1922 in IA 1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Use of Flags’, *New Zealand Herald*, 10 May 1937 in IA 1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁰⁸ Memorandum from Secretary of Education Board, Southland, to Director of Education, 13 August 1925 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁰⁹ Director of Education to Secretary of Education Board, Southland, 30 August 1926 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹⁰ Director of Education to Secretary of Education Board, Southland, 30 August 1926 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

James Henderson wrote to the Director of Education, who was concerned over what he observed as ‘disrespect’ shown towards the flag and had drafted a code that could be applied to schools regarding the flying of the flag.¹¹¹ The Director typed:

I feel certain that no other people would find the indifference towards the national emblem that we find among the British... Is it worth consideration as a means of better inculcating patriotism in our children? Would we as a nation be the better for a greater display of patriotic fervour towards the emblem of our Empire and our Dominion?¹¹²

In 1930, the Chairman of the Whakatane School Committee, Dr. J.C. Wadmore, wrote to the Minister of Education to ask for advice over the flying of flags at school. Wadmore suggested that the New Zealand ensign be flown on all national days of importance, whereas the Union Jack should be flown on days of imperial importance. Wadmore conveyed, “The whole affair is such a muddle when in the hands of schoolmasters of varying tastes and knowledge, that it is liable to become ridiculous.”¹¹³ Under direction from the Director of Education, William Bird, to publish a statement regarding a matter of ‘considerable importance’, the Under-Secretary of Education stated:

It is considered that the New Zealand Ensign is the proper flag to be flown on New Zealand Schools, but the question of the occasions on which it should be flown appears to be a matter for the School Committee to determine.¹¹⁴

Leading into the Second World War, the New Zealand public was confused as to which flag was best to fly, to represent the country.

¹¹¹ James E Henderson, The School, Aratoro, Kopaki, King Country to Director of Education, 9 June 1928 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹² James E Henderson, The School, Aratoro, Kopaki, King Country to Director of Education, 9 June 1928 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹³ Dr J.C. Wadmore to Minister of Education, 22 October 1930 in IA 1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹⁴ Memorandum for Under-Secretary of Education, 17 November 1930 in IA 1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

While officials were clear that the flag of honour was the New Zealand ensign, they were relaxed, and encouraged the use of the Union Jack to symbolise the membership of New Zealand to the British Empire.

Flags in World War II

Just as New Zealanders had fought in World War I, New Zealand soldiers in World War II fought as the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force (2NZEF).¹¹⁵ The New Zealand Airforce was largely a training command for the Royal Air Force, with other airmen serving the Royal Air Force in 'titular New Zealand squadrons.'¹¹⁶ At the outbreak of the war, the New Zealand Navy was still a division of the Royal Navy.¹¹⁷ The Royal New Zealand Navy did not come into being until 1942. The British Navy White Ensign remained the Royal New Zealand Navy's ensign until the New Zealand White Ensign replaced it in 1968.¹¹⁸

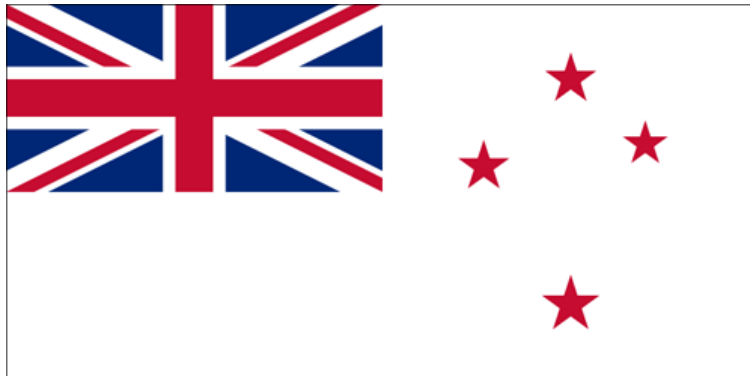


Fig. 53. *Royal New Zealand Navy Ensign*.¹¹⁹

Writes Belich:

¹¹⁵ 'The Second NZ Expeditionary Force', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/second-world-war/2nzef>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 17-May-2017 (accessed 21 August 2020).

¹¹⁶ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.272.

¹¹⁷ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.280.

¹¹⁸ 'The New Zealand White Ensign', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/new-zealand-white-ensign>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 11-May-2015 (accessed 21 August 2020).

¹¹⁹ 'The New Zealand White Ensign', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/new-zealand-white-ensign>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 11-May-2015 (accessed 21 August 2020).

...both Freyberg and Fraser struggled to make the British high command understand that their division – one of Britain’s 40 – but a national army... In the end, both Freyberg and Fraser were seldom prepared to overrule the British high command, if it really insisted, over the use of New Zealand troops.¹²⁰

Prior to the outbreak of World War II, regulations for the military of New Zealand in 1927 stated that the Union Jack was to be flown at the General Headquarters at Wellington, with the New Zealand ensign in operation at other military posts.¹²¹ As the Union Jack was the distinguishing flag of the admiralty, it was not to be flown on any military boats and vessels, with New Zealand military boats and vessels permitted to fly the New Zealand ensign.

The first time the New Zealand flag was flown in World War II was at the Battle of the River Plate, in December 1939.¹²² The New Zealand ship, the *HMS Achilles*, along with British vessels the *Ajax* and *Exeter*, opened fire upon the German ship the *Admiral Graf Spree* in the South Atlantic Ocean. Although the New Zealand ensign was flown, much in the same way as the exploits of New Zealand soldiers during the First World War, it was the actions of a signalman on the *Achilles* that ensured the New Zealand Blue Ensign flew on the mainmast, as he exclaimed, ‘Make way for the Digger flag!’¹²³

¹²⁰ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.284.

¹²¹ ABFK W4776 7291 Box 82, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²² ‘The battle begins’, *Episodes & Studies*, Volume 1, Historical Publications Branch, Wellington, (online): <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WH2-1Epi-c3-WH2-1Epi-b.html> (accessed 21 August 2020).

¹²³ ‘The battle begins’, *Episodes & Studies*, Volume 1 (online): <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WH2-1Epi-c3-WH2-1Epi-b.html> (accessed 21 August 2020).



Fig. 54. *HMS Achilles at the Battle of the River Plate. The New Zealand flag can be seen flying, yet the superior flag being flown is the British White Ensign.*¹²⁴

Despite the usage of the New Zealand flag on some occasions, the Union Jack still retained primacy for significant occasions. For both World War I and II, the pall used was the Union Jack, when burying the New Zealand dead. As one World War I veteran recalled, "Every morning, a dreadful significant line of figures lies in the stern covered with the Union Jack..."¹²⁵ In 1942, funeral director E Morris Junior wrote to the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, Joseph Heenan, to enquire which flag should be used at military funerals. Morris wrote that funeral directors:

...maintain that there is only one flag that represents the King and Empire and that is the Union Jack and therefore that is the only flag permissible to be used at military funerals... Every soldier swears allegiance of this King and Empire, and the Union Jack is the only flag that truly represents King and Empire.¹²⁶

Heenan responded that:

¹²⁴ Auckland War Memorial Museum: Print L793.

¹²⁵ Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, p. 214.

¹²⁶ E. Morris Jnr. Ltd., Funeral Directors, Wellington, to Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, Wellington, in 8 July 1942, AALJ W3508 7291, Box 98, 215/1/5 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

The Army Secretary's reply to the question was that so far as military funerals are concerned, the custom is to use the Union Jack to cover the casket. The Naval Secretary has stated that it is customary for the coffin of any deceased member of the Naval Forces to be draped with a six breadth Union Jack.¹²⁷

The Air Force also agreed with the practice, as stated within its orders.¹²⁸ The protocol of draping coffins with the Union Jack was reinforced by New Zealand chaplains, who oversaw burials at sea for the New Zealand Royal Navy.¹²⁹ One such example of the Union Jack being used as a pall was at the funeral of Gunner Leslie Gauld, in 1941. Gauld had been invalided to New Zealand from England, after serving as a member of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force, and died on his return. The *Auckland Star* reported "representatives of the Otahuhu Returned Association were present and provided the Union Jack which covered the casket."¹³⁰

In May 1943, the Auckland Returned Servicemen's Association had a proposal accepted by the Auckland City Council to erect a permanent flag pole at the Waikumete Cemetery at Glen Eden, Auckland. The donor of the flag pole had, however, stipulated a condition that the Union Jack, and not the New Zealand Flag, should be hoisted and lowered to half-mast every time a serviceman died, "because ex-servicemen of Empire forces other than those of New Zealand were frequently buried in the cemetery."¹³¹ Captain Reginald Judson V.C., of the association, expressed doubts that anyone had the right to hoist the Union Jack without express authority.¹³² Heenan waded into the debate, sending a memo to James Melling, the Auckland Town Clerk. He wrote:

¹²⁷ Joseph Heenan, Under Secretary of Internal Affairs to C. McIntyre, E. Morris Jnr., Funeral Directors, Wellington, 14 October 1942, AALJ W3508 7291, Box 98, 215/1/5 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²⁸ Consolidated Air Department Orders for the Royal New Zealand Air Force 1938-1942, Air Department, Wellington, 1943, 2. R.N.Z.A.F. Ensign (3), p.2.

¹²⁹ Rev. M. L. Underhill, Sydney D. Waters, Squadron Leader J. M. S. Ross, Rev. N. E. Winhall, *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War*, Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie, 1950, p. 155.

¹³⁰ 'Soldier's funeral', *Auckland Star*, 20 September 1941, p. 8.

¹³¹ 'Flag in cemetery', *Evening Post*, n.d., in IA 1, Box 1839, 81/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³² 'Flag in cemetery', *Evening Post*, n.d., in IA 1, Box 1839, 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

I notice that it is proposed to use the Union Jack for all burials. This does not seem to me to be right, since, as far as New Zealand soldiers are concerned, the only proper flag to use is the New Zealand Ensign. With regard to Imperial men, the Union Jack would be the proper flag.¹³³

With regard to funerals for members of the Returned Servicemen's Association following World War II, the practice was for the Union Jack to be used. In 1962, the General Secretary of the Returned Servicemen's Association contacted the Department of Internal Affairs on behalf of the Patea branch, regarding flag etiquette, upon the death of member J.L. Sullivan. The response, on behalf of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, was that a flag could be used on the day of the death or the funeral, or both. Further advice proffered:

If it is desired to half-mast the flag, this should be done for the funeral only, and the flag to be used should be the Union Jack, as the New Zealand Ensign is only half-masted on the death of a National or Empire statesman and on the occasion of the death of the Head of a Foreign State or demise of the Crown. I think you will appreciate that should the practice of half-masting the New Zealand Ensign at the funerals of Returned Association members, especially in the smaller centres, be encouraged, this would lead to confusion and would become a purely automatic gesture which in time would become meaningless. However, all would be in order if the Union Jack was used, and this would be an adequate mark of respect on such occasions.¹³⁴

The position provided by the Department of Internal Affairs supported the former determinations made by the department in 1951 and 1954.¹³⁵ Again, the prevailing flag in use by New Zealand soldiers and officials was the Union Jack. This was particularly demonstrated when New Zealand men were being buried, either overseas or at home.

¹³³ J. W. Heenan to James Melling, 10 May 1943, in IA 1, Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³⁴ J. J. O'Sullivan to M. A. Carson, 8 November 1962, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³⁵ Secretary for Internal Affairs to Chief Administrator, RSA, 9 November 1954, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.



Fig. 55. *Victory over Europe Celebrations, Lambton Quay, Wellington, May 1945.*¹³⁶



Fig. 56. *Victory over Europe Celebrations, Lambton Quay, Wellington, May 1945.*¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Alexander Turnbull Library: 1/4-001510-F.

¹³⁷ Alexander Turnbull Library: 1/4-001517-F.

Resurgence of Flag-Hoisting Ceremonies

With the advent of World War II, flag-raising ceremonies in New Zealand schools enjoyed a resurgence. Communities wanted to demonstrate their support for soldiers serving in Europe and the Middle East, as they had done during the Boer War and World War I. The Headmasters Association had passed a motion that headmasters should be approached, so that children would salute the Union Jack daily. The Chairman of the Miramar South School Committee wrote to the Minister of Education and supported the motion, urging that he issue an edict to all headmasters instructing them that they should fly the Union Jack every day.¹³⁸

The response referred to the syllabus of instruction and that, “The narrow nationalistic interpretation of history should be avoided... national anthems and national songs (of all nations) can always be used.”¹³⁹ The *Truth*, however, took issue with ‘all’ national anthems being able to be sung and printed: “If that is so, it is perfectly proper, according to the syllabus, for New Zealand children to sing the Nazi hymn, “Horst Wessel”, Germany’s anthem, “Deutschland Uber Alles”, and the fascist anthem, “Giovinezza.”¹⁴⁰ With regard to when the Union Jack should be saluted, the newspaper printed:

...every day, from the outbreak of the war until the present, has been an appropriate day to call the children together so that they might salute the flag. That would not be narrow nor nationalistic. It would, however, be wholesome and patriotic when the Empire is in the direst peril.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ T.K. Moody to the Minister of Education, 6 June 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³⁹ Director of Education to T.K. Moody, 12 June 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴⁰ *Truth*, 18 June 1940, in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴¹ *Truth*, 18 June 1940, in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

These sentiments were supported in July 1940, when the Nelson Education Board recommended to the Minister of Education that the flag be flown every day during World War II.¹⁴² At the same time, the Wellington Education Board discussed adopting the weekly ceremony performed by the Masterton Central School for saluting the flag, and asked the Minister of Education to issue a ruling.¹⁴³ Every Monday for seven years, pupils sang both *God Save the King* and *God Defend New Zealand*, saluted the flag, and sung verses of Kipling's children's songs.¹⁴⁴ The Returned Soldiers Association recommended to the Minister of Education that all schools follow the Masterton Central School example, as:

...it is imperative as well as appropriate that the young citizens of this wonderful Dominion should be encouraged to reverence the ideals which British flags typify, in view of the recent demonstrations of treachery which have meant the loss of the Honour of the nations concerned.¹⁴⁵

In October 1940, the Birkenhead Borough Council asked that the Union Jack be flown from all public buildings and schools on a Monday.¹⁴⁶ The Auckland Education Board, when discussing the matter, was reminded of its own by-laws.¹⁴⁷ By-law 27 stated that the New Zealand ensign was to be flown on appropriate days, including February 6 (Treaty of Waitangi), May 24 (Empire Day), and October 8 (landing of Captain Cook). An Order-in-Council required that special lessons be provided on anniversaries such as Anzac Day and Dominion Day in schools throughout the Dominion. It was further stated that at every celebration, and at the beginning and end of every week, the New Zealand flag and the Union Jack were to be saluted and the national anthem sung.

¹⁴² 'Flag flying in war years raised debate', *Evening Post*, 11 April 1984, p.4 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁴³ *Dominion*, Wellington, 20 June 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴⁴ *Dominion*, Wellington, 20 June 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴⁵ General Secretary of the Returned Soldiers Association, 26 July 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴⁶ *Dominion*, 20 June 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴⁷ 'Saluting the Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 21 June 1940, p.4.

The situation in Hawke's Bay was different. G.A. Maddison, Chair of the Hawke's Bay Education Board, remarked that he found it amazing that 34 local schools did not possess a Union Jack or a New Zealand ensign. "It is essential... that the rising generation should have instilled in their minds all that the Union Jack stands for."¹⁴⁸

Refusal to Participate on Religious Grounds

The need for regulations to be issued by the Minister of Education surfaced again in the case of an assistant teacher at Waikino School, Louisa Kennedy, who refused to participate in the flag ceremony due to religious grounds. Her position was stated thus:

I am truly loyal to the British Empire, and I have every respect for the flag, and the principles for which it stands. I feel however that to salute the flag, is a form of worship which to me is forbidden by the commandment of my Creator...¹⁴⁹

A meeting was called between the Minister of Education, Henry Mason, and the Secretary of the New Zealand Educational Institute. Notes from the meeting record that the Minister stated, "If you could go quietly and gently get the thing forgotten by the Board [Auckland Education] it would be a win."¹⁵⁰ Unfortunately for the Minister, the case was taken to the Teacher's Court of Appeal. The magistrate stated that the by-law requiring the flag to be saluted by both pupils and teachers was ultra vires (beyond one's law), and that while the Government regulations of 1921 contained a specific direction for saluting, the direction had been deleted in the regulations of 1928. The magistrate, in his judgement, also stated:

¹⁴⁸ 'Union Jack in Schools', *New Zealand Herald*, 26 June 1940, p.11.

¹⁴⁹ Louisa Grace Kennedy to Secretary of New Zealand Educational Institute, 30 November 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵⁰ Minister of Education, 3 December 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

In coming to this conclusion I am not unmindful of the possible effect of the Appellant's conduct on the minds of the young children and I agree that everything should be done (particularly at the present time) to inculcate loyalty and love of Empire in children.¹⁵¹

The ruling of the court case led to the Minister of Education instigating the "Ceremony of the Honouring the Flag Regulations 1941."¹⁵² The Director of Education, in 1941, wrote to the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs to inform him of the regulations the department was considering about the use of flags.¹⁵³ The Director stipulated a convention that, with the ceremony of the flag, schools would employ the New Zealand ensign, unless one was not available and, in that instance, the Union Jack should be used. He further stated:

While the Education Department wishes to encourage the use of the New Zealand Ensign, it is faced with the position that many schools have only a Union Jack. It would be impossible at the current time to procure a sufficient number of New Zealand Ensigns to provide one for every school, and it would also be very costly.¹⁵⁴

The Minister of Education observed that the purpose behind the regulations was "...to awaken the spirit of patriotism in children."¹⁵⁵ The regulations included that, during the ceremony of honouring the flag, a member of staff or a pupil was to recite from memory the following passages:

We give thanks for the privileges we enjoy as New Zealanders and members of the British Commonwealth of our Nations; we honour the memories of all those who have served our country;

¹⁵¹ Secretary of the Education Board, Auckland, to the Minister of Education, 1 July 1941 in in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵² Secretary of the Education Board, Auckland, to the Minister of Education, 1 July 1941 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵³ Director of Education Department to Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, 13 August 1941 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, New Zealand National Archives.

¹⁵⁴ Director of Education Department to Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, 13 August 1941 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, New Zealand National Archives.

¹⁵⁵ 'Saluting the Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1941, p.6.

We declare that we will honour our king, obey the laws of this Government, and serve our country to the utmost of our ability;¹⁵⁶ We honour the flag because it stands for New Zealand, and for our love of truth, justice, freedom, and democracy, in which we are united through the person of our king, with all other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.¹⁵⁷

Kennedy was not the only person involved in the New Zealand education system who refused to participate in flag-raising ceremonies. And, like Kennedy, some school children, under instructions from their parents, also rejected the practice on religious grounds (those who objected tended to be members of Jehovah's Witness). In instances where children did not salute the flag, the Education Board had no power to enforce compulsion.¹⁵⁸

One such example took place in Taranaki, with several teachers stating that members of the Jehovah's Witnesses refused to participate in the morning ceremony of saluting the flag.¹⁵⁹ A member of the Taranaki Education Board commented:

It is an extraordinary position. No one sitting round this table would be prepared to dictate one iota as to the religious convictions of the Jehovah's Witnesses, but I wonder what they would do if bombs were dropped on them in their district, as they were in London, the heart of the Empire, and if that should happen, to whom would they fly for aid. It is amazing that these children should refuse to pay a tribute to the flag of the country in which they live.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Memorandum to the Minister of Education from the Education Department, 13 June 1941 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵⁷ Memorandum to the Minister of Education from the Education Department, 13 June 1941 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵⁸ *Evening Post*, 17 September 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵⁹ *Taranaki Herald*, 20 November 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁶⁰ *Taranaki Herald*, 20 November 1940 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

Lack of New Zealand Flag Supplies

A significant impediment towards New Zealand schools flying the New Zealand flag was a lack of supplies of the flag itself, especially during the Second World War. In August 1941, the Education Department, having realised that the demand from schools for the New Zealand ensign was outstripping departmental supplies, wrote to the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, Joseph Heenan, with the latter responding it would be both impossible and costly to provide a New Zealand ensign to each school.¹⁶¹

Requests for the New Zealand flag to the government from schools resulted in varied responses at the conclusion of World War II. The Head Teacher at the Native School at Mitimiti, Hokianga, wrote to the Department of Education of a wish to erect a school memorial flag pole in honour of the Old Boys who served overseas during the war.¹⁶² They requested that either a Union Jack or the New Zealand ensign be sent, with the department responding that it was unable to supply a flag, as it had ceased doing so many years ago.

The Dannevirke High School Hostel wrote to the Minister of Internal Affairs in 1960 to ask where it could obtain a New Zealand flag, as it was hosting a school social that had an international theme, and it had been successful in locating the flags of other countries.¹⁶³ The Secretary of Internal Affairs responded that the department would loan the flag, but asked that it be returned once the hostel had finished with it.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Director of Education to the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, 13 August 1941, in IA 1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.

¹⁶² BAAA 1001 A334 Box 784/b, New Zealand National Archives, Auckland.

¹⁶³ Dannevirke High School Hostel to Minister of Internal Affairs, 12 August 1960 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives.

¹⁶⁴ Secretary of Internal Affairs to Dannevirke High School Hostel, 19 August 1960 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives.

The following year, Te Waha-o-Rerekohu Maori District High School, in Te Araroa, made another request for an ensign for its secondary department, stating that it did not know where to obtain one.¹⁶⁵ Internal Affairs informed the high school that flags for schools were to be supplied by the Education Department.¹⁶⁶

Another query about where to purchase a heavy-duty New Zealand ensign for outside purposes was filed by the Patriotism Committee of the Church College of New Zealand, in 1963. In its letter, it observed that “...we realise that most public schools do not display the flag daily...”¹⁶⁷ In this instance, the department’s secretary recommended that such flags could be purchased from Hutcheson, William & Co., Wellington, and that:

It has become accepted practice to fly flags from Government buildings only on the days set out on the schedule as the too frequent use and display of them tends to obscure in the minds of the general public their purpose and significance.¹⁶⁸

As had been the case during the Boer War and the First World War, New Zealand pupils were being encouraged, and regulated, to participate in hoisting the flag ceremonies, to invoke a deep sense of patriotism and loyalty towards the British Empire. Despite the regulations enacted and the best efforts of teachers, not all students were compelled to partake, on religious grounds. Notwithstanding authorities writing that their preference was for a New Zealand ensign to be flown, a desperate lack of supplies ensured that the flag being used was the Union Jack. As was the case with New Zealand soldiers, most New Zealand pupils were being exposed to the British ensign and everything it was said to embody.

¹⁶⁵ Te Waha-o-Rerekohu Maori District High School to the Secretary of Internal Affairs, 17 March 1961 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives.

¹⁶⁶ Secretary of Internal Affairs to Te Waha-o-Rerekohu Maori District High School, 22 March 1961 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives.

¹⁶⁷ Patriotism Committee of Church College of New Zealand to the District Officer of Internal Affairs, 11 April 1963 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives.

¹⁶⁸ Secretary of Internal Affairs to Patriotism Committee of Church College of New Zealand, 22 April 1963 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

Confusion over Australia's National Flag

A similar problem arose in Australia regarding which flag represented the country. Admittedly, the design of the Australian flag was decided by a Commonwealth government competition in 1901, following the British government's request to the Australian Prime Minister Edmund Barton for a flag design for the new Commonwealth, as opposed to the New Zealand flag design, which was declared as representing the country in 1869.¹⁶⁹ In Australia, confusion was first recognised following the coronation of Edward VII in 1902: was it the Union Jack or the British Red Ensign, and could the Union Jack be flown by private citizens? (The 1901 design was not authorised for use by British officials until 1903.) Remarks Kwan, "Consistent with decisions on the New Zealand ensigns [made by the British Admiralty], the choice emphasised Australia's colonial status."¹⁷⁰ Thus, the flag selected from the 1901 competition was not the national flag – that honour remained with the Union Jack.

In 1911 it was decided by Australian officials that the Union Jack would be flown when vice-regal representatives were present, and that the Australian flag would be flown on all other occasions.¹⁷¹ However, shortly thereafter, the Admiralty and the Governor-General made it explicitly clear that Australia's national flag was still the Union Jack.¹⁷²

In World War I, writes Kwan, Australian forces flew two flags, to demonstrate their dual nationality: the Union Jack and the Australian Blue Ensign. Yet the pair, as per the military instructions from 1911, did not have equal status.¹⁷³ Much like the New Zealand experience, "Australian flags would play a secondary role in an imperial war", with the Union Jack being extremely popular with the Australian public and the flying of an Australian flag being left to individuals who had taken the task upon themselves.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.16.

¹⁷⁰ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.23.

¹⁷¹ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.49.

¹⁷² Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.54.

¹⁷³ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.55.

¹⁷⁴ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.56.

Confusion remained among the Australian public about which flag should be flown, and which flag represented Australia, for a number of decades. On the eve of World War II, a prime ministerial department paper titled *Flying of Flags* recognised the need for an Australian national flag, and it recommended the blue ensign for that purpose, after the matter was raised by the Victorian premier, Albert Dunstan.¹⁷⁵ However, the issue was shunned for the duration of World War II for fear of appearing not ‘loyal enough’ to the British, and the practice of government officials was a ‘dual flag policy’—flying both the Union Jack and the Australian Blue Ensign.¹⁷⁶

Geoff Hocking, author of *The Australian Flag*, writes of the use of flags during World War I and II:

Australians have fought under several flags during both World Wars. They rallied behind the Union Jack, the Red Ensign and the Blue Ensign... The diggers [from World War I] would have remained faithful to their schoolyard lessons as they ‘honoured the flag, served their King’... Australian soldiers went to war for the British empire in 1914 behind the Union Jack... Later, in 1939 it was Prime Minister R.G. Menzies who responded immediately to Britain’s declaration of war against Germany by announcing that as Britain was at war, so too was Australia. Once again the Aussies went into battle to defend the British empire, with the flags of the empire flying before them, and the ‘Southern Cross’ in their knapsacks.¹⁷⁷

The issue regarding the official status of the Australian flag was resolved in December 1950, when the Australian cabinet proclaimed the blue ensign to be the Australian national flag. It would be three more years until the Flags Act was passed, as Prime Minister Robert Menzies waited upon official advice regarding whether or not the national flag should be recognised as such by legislation, by approval of the King, or by the Governor-General.¹⁷⁸ Within the legislation, Menzies was at pains not to alienate those citizens who still regarded the Union Jack as the national flag. Writes Kwan:

¹⁷⁵ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.90.

¹⁷⁶ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.96.

¹⁷⁷ Geoff Hocking, *The Australian Flag: The First 100 Years*, China: The Five Mile Press, 2002, p.57.

¹⁷⁸ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.102.

Use of the term ‘Australian national flag’, rather than national flag of Australia, was useful in that it allowed those still attached to the Union Jack to regard it as the national flag, as *God Save the Queen* was the national anthem of Australia.¹⁷⁹



Fig. 57. *Flag of Australia*.¹⁸⁰

Canada’s National Flag

Much like New Zealand and Australia, the Union Jack also featured predominantly in Canada. Before and after the confederation of Canada in 1867 (when the British colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were united into one federation, with the colony of Canada then being divided into the provinces of Ontario and Quebec), the Union Jack was the official flag for Canada.¹⁸¹

A brief history of the Canadian Red Ensign, by Rick Archbold, shows that the flag came into existence as early as one year after the confederation, when it was viewed flying from the Victorian Tower (the prominent bell tower of the original parliament building in Ottawa, Ontario). Canada’s Governor-General, Lord Stanley, in 1891, identified the flag as the recognised flag of the dominion on sea and land, and the Admiralty warrant of 1892 simply recognised that Canadian ships had the right to fly the red ensign.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.105.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Flag of Australia’, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_of_Australia (accessed 21 August 2020).

¹⁸¹ Rick Archbold, *A Flag for Canada*, Vancouver: Stanton Atikins and Dosil Publishers, 2008, p.6. and Government of Canada, ‘The History of the National Flag of Canada’, 2 April 2020, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/flag-canada-history.html#a2> (accessed 21 August 2020).

¹⁸² Archbold, *A Flag for Canada*, p.46.

An Order-In-Council in 1924 permitted the flag to be flown from federal buildings abroad. Twenty years later, it was able to be flown at all units of the Canadian army serving with other nations; and in 1945, the flag was permitted to fly on government buildings on Canadian soil “until such time as Parliament shall adopt a national flag.”¹⁸³

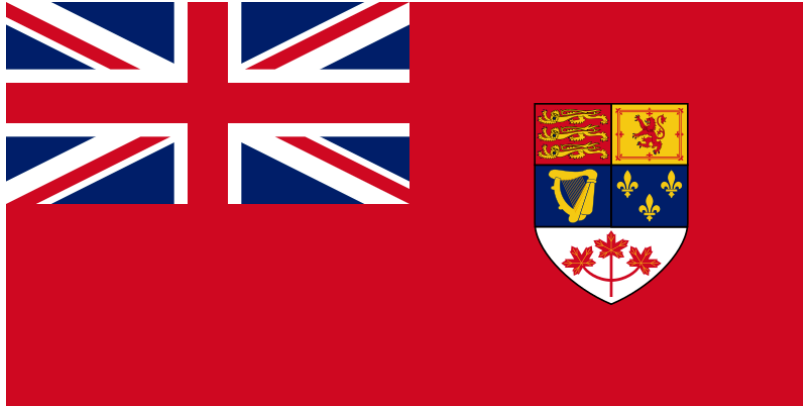


Fig. 58. *Canadian Red Ensign*.¹⁸⁴

Much like Australia and Canada, the flag used to represent Canadian troops during World War I and II was predominately the Union Jack, with some troops waving the Canadian red ensign. Writes Archbold, of a speech delivered by Lester Pearson, the Canadian Prime Minister:

In World War I, the flag that flew for Canadian soldiers overseas was the Union Jack. Pearson, who had not served in France, believed this to be true; many veterans in his audience who had fought in the trenches remembered seeing the Red Ensign used, if unofficially, by the soldiers at the front. “In World War II, in January 1944, the Red Ensign came officially on the scene...”¹⁸⁵

The Canadians flew their red ensign after their victory at the Battle of Vimy Ridge in April 1917; the New Zealand flag was flown at the liberation of Les Quesnoy (80 kilometres from Vimy Ridge) in December 1917.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Archbold, *A Flag for Canada*, p.6.

¹⁸⁴ ‘Flag of Canada (1957-1965)’,

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_Canada_\(1957%E2%80%931965\).svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_Canada_(1957%E2%80%931965).svg) (accessed 21 August 2020).

¹⁸⁵ Archbold, *A Flag for Canada*, p.3.

¹⁸⁶ Archbold, *A Flag for Canada*, p.151.

The Australians flew the Australian flag following the Battle of Polygon Wood, Belgium, in September 1917, and at the liberation of Harbonnieres, France, in 1918.¹⁸⁷ Archbold, reflecting on the significance of the Canadians' success at Vimy Ridge, wrote:

Like Great Britain's other former colonies, Canada served in France as part of the British army. All the top commanders were British, and few of them knew a Canadian from an Australian from a South African from a New Zealander. That changed in April 1917, after the Canadian Corps, operating as a combined force for the first time, captured Vimy Ridge, a key strongpoint in the German defences in northeast France... Following the victory at Vimy Ridge this officer – and all his brothers – knew what a Canadian was. Canada's conquering heroes carried home their new-found sense of a Canadian – as opposed to Imperial – identity.¹⁸⁸

Archbold also observed the confusion among Canadians as to what flag to wave: “Between the wars...confusion [existed] over which of Canada's “flags” was supposed to fly. Some schools flew the ensign, some the jack; more often than not, the basis for choice seemed to be which flag was in good supply.”¹⁸⁹

The national experiences regarding flags that represented the British colonies of New Zealand, Australia and Canada, were extremely similar. In both World Wars, the predominant flag was the Union Jack, as all forces fought under the command of the British. However, confusion existed amongst citizens as to which flag could be flown: the Union Jack or their own ‘national flag.’ Yet troops that had been sent abroad to fight, especially during World War I, flew their own ‘national’ flags at defining battles along the Western Front. As the following section will demonstrate, confusion regarding which flag to fly would continue to plague New Zealand citizens into the 1960s.

¹⁸⁷ ANFA, ‘History of our Flag’, <http://www.anfa-national.org.au/history-of-our-flag/> (accessed 21 August 2020).

¹⁸⁸ Archbold, *A Flag for Canada*, p.56.

¹⁸⁹ Archbold, *A Flag for Canada*, p.61.

Still Confused: Union Jack or the New Zealand Flag?

Following the conclusion of World War II, confusion still reigned into the 1950s and 1960s, regarding which flag should be flown. This might be interpreted as supporting Belich's argument that New Zealand remained in its 'recolonial' phase until the 1960s.

The national manager of the National Mutual Life Insurance Association of Australasia wrote to the Department of Internal Affairs in 1952, asking what flags association members could fly. 'We notice today, for instance, that some buildings are flying Union Jacks and some New Zealand Ensigns.'¹⁹⁰ The secretary replied that it could be either the Union Jack or the New Zealand ensign. He noted, however, that if a person or firm held a New Zealand ensign, the department would prefer that the ensign be flown.¹⁹¹

A decade later, the Mosgiel Jaycees Club wrote to the Secretary of Internal Affairs with its observation that New Zealand organisations should fly the Union Jack. It stated:

We feel there is an appalling ignorance regarding our flag... We have noticed that many New Zealand organisations persist in flying the Union Flag... As we have our own flag, surely we should all use it; no disrespect is intended to the Mother Country as the Union flag is incorporated into our own ensign.¹⁹²

In early 1964, Bill Glue, from the Historical Publications Branch of Internal Affairs, wrote a proposal for a booklet on the New Zealand ensign. Glue's proposal was prompted by a response written on behalf of the Secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs to the General Secretary of the Returned Services Association, in which it was indicated that a leaflet should be prepared regarding the flag's use and history.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Manager of National Mutual Life Insurance Association of Australasia, 7 February 1952, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.

¹⁹¹ Secretary of Internal Affairs to Manager of National Mutual Life Insurance of Australasia Ltd, 14 February 1952, IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹² Mosgiel Jaycee Inc. to Secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs, 25 November 1964, in IA1W1839, Box 10, 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹³ E.T. O'Connor to General Secretary of Returned Services Association, 18 February 1964 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives.

The previous year, the Dominion Council of the Returned Services Association had passed a resolution that the council ‘take every action possible’ to have the New Zealand Parliament formulate specific rules regarding the use of the New Zealand ensign.¹⁹⁴ It noted recent misuses of the flag, including as a ‘table drape’, a ‘starter flag’ for a motor racing, and at funerals for “...citizens who have contributed little or nothing to our Country’s wellbeing.”¹⁹⁵

The reference to the flag being used as a table cloth came from a photograph at the opening of the Maungaturoto Dairy Company’s new casein factory.¹⁹⁶ The image prompted the General Secretary of the Returned Services Association to bring the matter to the attention of the Department of Internal Affairs.¹⁹⁷ In response, J.L. O’Sullivan, writing on behalf of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, noted that such uses were against ‘good taste’, “...[although] these are not hard and fast rules but are practices...”¹⁹⁸ The reference to the flag being used as a ‘starter flag’ was from a complaint laid by the Chairman of the New Zealand Ex-Prisoners of War Association, S. Shaw, in 1958.¹⁹⁹

That year, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Bill Anderton, met with Shaw, on which occasion, the Levin Car Racing Club’s use of the New Zealand flag to start its races was raised. Under the Levin Racing Club’s parent constitution in England, it was written that each race should be started with the country’s own flag. The Minister thought that this was a way of showing respect to the host country and would later write, “In common with other Commonwealth countries New Zealand has no legislation to protect the Ensign in undignified circumstances.”²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ A.H. Phillips to Secretary of Internal Affairs, 17 December 1963 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives. The RSA had written to the Government previously to request a booklet to be written regarding the national flag in 1959. See: General Secretary F.D. McGabe to Secretary of Internal Affairs, 25 February 1959 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹⁵ A.H. Phillips to Secretary of Internal Affairs, 17 December 1963 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Maungaturoto Dairy Co’s Diamond Jubilee, Opening of New Casein Factory’, *Northern Advocate*, 10 October 1962 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹⁷ General Secretary to Secretary for Internal Affairs, 29 October 1962 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹⁸ J.L. O’Sullivan to M.A. Carson, 7 November 1962 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹⁹ Discussion in Office Minister of Internal Affairs, 15 April 1958 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

²⁰⁰ Minister of Internal Affairs, W.T. Anderton, to Chairman of the Ex-Prisoners of War Association, S. Shaw, 2 May 1958 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

Anderton had sought official advice, prior to his meeting with Shaw, regarding the proper use of the New Zealand flag.²⁰¹ Under the *Shipping and Seamen Act 1952* (Section 5), it is stated that the recognised flag for general use on shore within New Zealand is the New Zealand ensign. The section also adds that any person who defaces the ensign by placing a sign, representation, or a letter, commits an offence against the Act of no more than £5. The 1952 Act followed the 1908 Act of the same name. Section 3 of the legislation replaced the *New Zealand Ensign Act*.²⁰²

It is evident, from viewing the internal communications, that there was a disagreement within the Department of Internal Affairs, regarding whether the New Zealand ensign or the Union Jack should occupy the superior place if both fly together from different flagpoles or from the same flagpole. Until that year, the official ruling had been that the Union Jack should always fly above the New Zealand ensign and take the place of superiority, which was the case in New Zealand schools.

The draft of *The New Zealand Ensign*, authored by Glue, read, “If both the Union Jack and the New Zealand Ensign are flown from the same building, the Union Jack shall occupy the senior position to the right of the New Zealand Ensign.”²⁰³

Glue wrote:

...I submit that the references in the text giving the Union Jack the place of honour should be allowed to stand. These are based on earlier rulings by the Department, of which I made notes on three on file I.A. 81/1, dated 16 Aug 1926, 15 Jul 1947, and 16 Sep 1958; there are also others that I did not record. Displaying the Union Jack in the position of honour on the right when flown with the New Zealand Ensign and other flags is a long-established courtesy.

²⁰¹ ‘Use of New Zealand Ensign’ in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

²⁰² Memorandum for the Director of Information Services, Publicity Division, Department of Tourist and Publicity, from Secretary of Internal Affairs, 23 December 1952 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

²⁰³ Draft of ‘New Zealand Ensign’, W. Glue in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives of New Zealand.

I submit that that courtesy should be continued; a change would provoke controversy. It might please a few ‘rugged’ nationalists, but I think that most New Zealanders (if they notice at all) would like to see the courtesy continued. It is a mark of respect for the ‘seniority’ of the Union Jack and a mild reminder of our ties with the Commonwealth.²⁰⁴

Glue’s position is further supported by correspondence from the Acting Secretary of Internal Affairs to the Town Clerk of Tauranga in 1952, which clarifies that every citizen of the Empire may fly a Union Jack on land; although it would be preferable, if that person also possessed a New Zealand ensign, that they fly the latter.²⁰⁵ The letter goes on to state that if both the Union Jack and the New Zealand flag are flown from the same building, then the Union Jack should occupy the ‘senior’ position.²⁰⁶

Another example of advice being given by Internal Affairs for the Union Jack to be flown in the senior position comes from 1948, when issuing instructions regarding flag etiquette to local authorities for the upcoming Royal Tour of King George VI, which was cancelled due to his ill health.²⁰⁷ The Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs argued that the New Zealand ensign should have precedence over the Union Jack, and that this should be brought to the attention of the Minister, Prime Minister, and Cabinet.²⁰⁸

Referring to the backlash over the deletion of the word “British” from New Zealand passports, the Under-Secretary recommended that some pre-publicity should precede the announcement, without it being seen to have come from any ‘official source.’

²⁰⁴ W. Glue, 31 July 1964 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

²⁰⁵ Acting Secretary of Internal Affairs to Town Clerk of Tauranga, 28 November 1952 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

²⁰⁶ Acting Secretary of Internal Affairs to Town Clerk of Tauranga, 28 November 1952 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

²⁰⁷ Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, 16 November 1948 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

²⁰⁸ Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, 10 September 1964 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives.

The Secretary of Internal Affairs, J.V. Meech, agreed with the Under-Secretary's position and indicated that he would bring it to the attention of the Minister,²⁰⁹ which he did in an official memorandum.²¹⁰ Having the New Zealand ensign take place of honour was agreed to by the Minister, and Glue was instructed to amend his manuscript accordingly.²¹¹ The department was clearly nervous regarding the publication of Glue's work, and met with the Minister to discuss whether or not the publication should be approved by Cabinet.²¹² The Minister decided not to escalate discussion on the booklet, but rather "...make sure that sufficient advance publicity of its content was given to gauge any possible public reaction."²¹³

Despite the quiet decree that the New Zealand flag should take the place of honour when being flown with the Union Jack or other national flags, confusion still reigned. J.W. Goodwin, the Director of Parks and Reserves for New Plymouth, queried the position of honour when flying the New Zealand flag and the Union Jack together, in 1967, stating that the city had always flown the Union Jack at the extreme left.²¹⁴ He was corrected by Miss V Kerr, writing on behalf of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, who cited the Glue publication.²¹⁵ While there was confusion, there was no suggestion that the Union Jack ought to be supplanted; indeed, most seemed to accept it should be in the superior position.

²⁰⁹ J.V. Meech to Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, 11 September 1964 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

²¹⁰ J.V. Meech to Minister of Internal Affairs, 14 September 1964 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

²¹¹ E.J. Fairway to Executive Officer of Historical Publications, Internal Affairs, 28 September 1964 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

²¹² Notes of Meeting with Minister, 22 September 1964 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

²¹³ Notes of Meeting with Minister, 22 September 1964 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

²¹⁴ Goodwin to Internal Affairs, 7 March 1967 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

²¹⁵ Kerr to Goodwin, 14 March 1967 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

Conclusion

The decision to declare, quietly, that the New Zealand flag should be the superior flag to the Union Jack, when flown together, in the mid-1960s, demonstrates the worry of politicians not to upset the New Zealand public over their ruling. Undoubtedly, the bond between New Zealand citizens and their British heritage was profound; so much so that publicity was to be avoided for an official government publication, so not to offend voters. Hoisting the flag ceremonies were designed to instil a deep sense of patriotism towards the British Empire, with the practice descending into jingoistic speeches and the use of metaphors to convince New Zealand pupils that they shared the same blood as their British counterparts overseas.

There was a strong 'recolonial' element evident in the continued usage of the Union Jack and New Zealand flag. The sentiments of imperialism became heightened during two world wars, when New Zealand men joined the efforts of the British to overcome all those they fought against. It would appear a minority of New Zealand soldiers developed a 'nationalistic' sense of identity, and an even smaller number displayed a New Zealand ensign if they possessed one. However, the bulk of New Zealand soldiers seemed content to march under the Union Jack. Back in New Zealand, New Zealand citizens enthusiastically showed their allegiance to the British Empire by waving a Union Jack.

The following decade, the 1970s, would test New Zealand's relationship with Mother Britain through her preference to pursue a trade deal with Europe. The move sparked a nationwide debate that resulted in the rise of *God Defend New Zealand* becoming the national anthem, rather than *God Save the Queen*. The public was more open to thinking about changing the New Zealand flag to something more suited to a New Zealand identity. As the following chapter will discuss, however, many operated on the false belief that New Zealand soldiers had fought and died under the national ensign.

CHAPTER FIVE

TOWARDS A “NEW ZEALAND” IDENTITY

Calls to change the New Zealand flag became more vocal and widespread during the 1960s and 1970s as a result of Britain first attempting, and then being successful, in joining the European Economic Community (EEC). With Britain severing economic ties with New Zealand, the country was forced to realign trade and security alliances with America, Australia and Asia. Such a shift, however, did not result in an influx of non-white immigrants until a change in immigration policy in 1987. Also, during the 1970s and 1980s, Māori identity had been bolstered as a result of a renaissance that saw both Māori culture and a Māori economy grow from strength to strength. An increasing number of Pacific and Asian peoples in New Zealand also began asking about their own identity within their new homeland. The resulting diversification of ethnicities left many Pākehā to question their own identity and what it meant to be a New Zealander.

Since the 1960s, politicians had determined that any change of the flag could only take place with a groundswell of public support. Over time, more high-profile efforts were made to change the flag, such as a design from the famed Austrian-born New Zealand artist, Friedensreich Hundertwasser. This led to the first and only official attempt to change the flag in 2015/2016, through a referendum process, whereby an alternative preference was chosen to compete against the existing New Zealand flag. In attempting to find an appropriate flag, the search had begun for a suitable design that incorporated apposite iconography that would best embody a New Zealand identity. The result was that 56% of New Zealand electors voted in favour of staying with a flag that had represented the country for more than a century. This chapter analyses the evolving debate on flags in New Zealand since the 1960s. It focusses on the discussion regarding what flag ought to represent New Zealand. It also discusses the emergence of a flag to represent Māori; the design commonly known as the Tino Rangatiratanga flag.

New Zealand Identity 1970 – 2020

Calls to change the flag reflected a profound change in the ethnic composition of New Zealand. Not since the introduction of Europeans to New Zealand had the country undergone such a drastic identity change as the period 1970 to 2020. The 1971 New Zealand Census shows that Māori constituted just over 8% of the population, with Asians and Pacific peoples being under 1%.¹ By the 2018 New Zealand Census, the four largest ethnicity groupings in New Zealand were: Europeans, with 70.2%; Māori, with 16.5%; the Asian ethnic group constituted just over 15%; and the Pacific peoples were 8.1%.² This section of the thesis deals, firstly, with the demise of the British Empire and New Zealand's decolonisation from Britain; and secondly, with the place of New Zealand's national identity among the four largest ethnic groups within the country as of 2018: Pākehā New Zealanders, Māori, Asians, and Pacific peoples.³

Before the advent of the *British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act 1948*, New Zealanders were labelled 'British subjects' and held British passports. Even with the change in definition of citizenry within New Zealand, passports continued to label New Zealanders as both 'British subjects and New Zealand citizens' until 1973.⁴ That year, New Zealand was granted full law-making powers, with the passing of the *New Zealand Constitution Amendment Act*.⁵

¹ Statistics New Zealand, 'New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1971', https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1971/NZOYB_1971.html#idchapter_1_8890 (accessed 31 August 2020) and 'Demographics of New Zealand's Pacific Population', http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/pacific_peoples/pacific-progress-demography/population-growth.aspx#gsc.tab=0 (accessed 31 August 2020).

² Statistics New Zealand, '2018 Census Population and Dwelling Counts', <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/2018-census-population-and-dwelling-counts> (accessed 31 August 2020).

³ Statistics NZ, 'New Zealand's Population Reflects Growing Diversity', 23 September 2019, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/new-zealands-population-reflects-growing-diversity> (accessed 31 August 2020).

⁴ David Green, 'Citizenship - Towards New Zealand citizenship', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/914/new-zealand-issues-its-own-passports> (accessed 31 August 2020).

⁵ P.A. Joseph, 'Foundations of the Constitution', available online at <http://www.nzlii.org/nz/journals/CanterLawRw/1989/5.pdf> (accessed 26 August 2020).

The rapid demise of the British Empire began following World War II. The dissolution of the Empire was reluctantly agreed to by the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, when he entered into the Atlantic Charter with America, which opposed imperialism.⁶ The third paragraph of the joint declaration of the two countries for their goals at the conclusion of the World War II included a sentence constructed by both Churchill and the American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The first part, formulated by Churchill, reads: “respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live”; with Roosevelt inserting the following words, against Churchill’s wishes: “and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.”⁷

The ‘Jewel in the Crown’ of the British Empire, India, secured independence from Britain in 1947. Two years later came the modern Commonwealth of Nations, following a meeting with all the Prime Ministers of the various British colonies and dominions, which discussed India’s desire to remain a member of the Commonwealth.⁸ However, following India’s departure from Britain, a number of nationalist movements emerged in British colonies that resulted in conflict in Malaysia (1948-1958), Kenya (1952-1956), and Cyprus (1954-1959).⁹ During the 1950s, only the Sudan, the Gold Coast (Ghana), and Malaya became independent. During the 1960s no less than 27 other countries, including 16 in Africa and five in the Caribbean, became independent from Britain.

The majority of the remaining countries followed suit in the ensuing decade.¹⁰ The decolonisation of British colonies during the 1960s made it obvious that not all former British territories believed in the concept of the British Commonwealth as an organisation designed to inculcate an ongoing sense of loyalty towards Britain. Rather, Porter argued:

⁶ Brian Lapping, *End of Empire*, London: Granada Publishing, 1985, p.5.

⁷ Lapping, *End of Empire*, p.6.

⁸ The Commonwealth, ‘Our History’, <https://thecommonwealth.org/about-us/history> (accessed 31 August 2020). The term ‘modern Commonwealth’ is the most recent iteration of the collective; the British Commonwealth of Nations was coined at the 1926 Imperial Conference.

⁹ Bernard Porter, *The Lion’s Share: A History of British Imperialism 1850 to the Present* (5th ed.), Great Britain: Pearson Education, 2012, p.265.

¹⁰ Porter, *The Lion’s Share*, pp.274-275.

Its members did not have common interests, not even the ‘white’ dominions, which were too far apart to. For the black and brown nations their membership was not an expression of filial gratitude and loyalty. Rather it provided merely a convenient platform on the world stage, from which they could air their grievances, especially their grievances against Britain; and an entitlement to a share of what British aid there was going.¹¹

In terms of flags, of the 53 independent British Commonwealth nations,¹² four countries had never adopted a flag with the Union Jack, and forty-four have removed the Union Jack from flags that represented those countries.¹³ Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of countries changed their flags during the decade of the 1960s, including all past British colonies in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Americas.¹⁴ New Zealand, then, stands out as one of the few Commonwealth nations to have retained the Union Jack in its flag.

Britain and the European Economic Community: 1973

The year 1973 was extremely significant in terms of New Zealand trade, and consequently, identity. For Belich, when the United Kingdom joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973, this marked the beginning of the decolonisation of New Zealand from Britain; a process that would last until 1985.¹⁵ The reduction of more than 50% of New Zealand's external trade going to Britain, to a mere 7% by 1989, resulted in an economic, cultural and security shift for New Zealand.¹⁶ Keith Sinclair penned that the decline in New Zealanders seeing themselves as British coincided with the entry of Great Britain into the EEC. He wrote:

Mother had deserted. Instead of an ennobling American revolution, New Zealand experienced a somewhat humiliating rejection by the Motherland.

¹¹ Porter, *The Lion's Share*, pp.276.

¹² The Commonwealth, ‘Member Countries’, <https://thecommonwealth.org/member-countries> (accessed 26 August 2020).

¹³ Malcolm Mulholland, *New Zealand Flag Facts*, Flag Consideration Panel, 2016, p.49.

¹⁴ Mulholland, *New Zealand Flag Facts*, Flag Consideration Panel, 2016, p.49.

¹⁵ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders – From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Penguin, 2001, p.425.

¹⁶ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.426.

Of many New Zealanders it may be said that they were not born to it and did not achieve it, but had nationalism thrust upon them.¹⁷

According to Michael Robson, a New Zealand journalist, Britain's intent and eventual success signalled a 'new' New Zealand; a country that would have to stand alone.¹⁸ He wrote:

New Zealand's debt to Britain is a considerable one and it is foolish to deny it. Our law, our Parliament, our conceptions of the civil service, our press – all of these are modelled to great advantage on their British counterparts. Then there are the very strong family ties. This accepted, New Zealanders are New Zealanders and not British... New Zealand's drift away [from Britain] has been peaceful and evolutionary, the changes often so subtle and gradual they have been scarcely discernible.¹⁹

While Carlyon and Morrow contest that the influence of the British market on New Zealand had been in decline for some years, prior to 1973, they do observe that, as a result of Britain joining the EEC, new markets were pursued with Australia and Asia.²⁰ Undoubtedly, Britain uniting with the EEC represented a major departure from a previously close relationship with New Zealand. The majority of Pākehā New Zealanders who considered themselves either British or being of strong British lineage, now had to pursue other relationships in the name of trade and security, which in turn, would lead to new notions of national identity.

ANZUS Suspended: 1986

An upsurge in nationalism during the mid-1980s was linked to a further severing of the ties with Britain and America, in the form of the anti-nuclear movement.

¹⁷ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin, 1991, p.340.

¹⁸ Michael Robson, *Decision at Dawn: New Zealand and the E.E.C.*, Trentham: Baynard-Hillier, 1972, p.i.

¹⁹ Robson, *Decision at Dawn*, p.118.

²⁰ Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow, *Changing Times: New Zealand Since 1945*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013, p.72.

Argues Belich, “the British military alliance was as much shattered as the American, and in this sense the term ‘ANZUS crisis’ is a misnomer because Britain was never a member of ANZUS.”²¹ Despite an obvious shift towards America for international security, in comparison with Britain, New Zealand still remained closely connected culturally and economically.

Under growing pressure over a number of years, the fourth Labour government refused in 1985 to accept the American warship, the *USS Buchanan*, to visit New Zealand, as American authorities would neither ‘confirm nor deny’ that their warships were nuclear armed or powered. The sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland Harbour in 1985, by French secret agents, killing Portuguese photographer Fernando Pereira, brought matters to a head between New Zealand and the British and American authorities. The boat was to lead a flotilla of protest ships against France's nuclear testing at Mururoa Island in the Pacific Ocean – testing that the French had been conducting since 1966. “[New Zealanders were shocked] by the unwillingness of both allied governments [British and American] to condemn the bombing, even when it was acknowledged to have been the work of the French government.”²² As of 1986, America suspended its treaty obligations to New Zealand under the ANZUS pact, and the following year, the nuclear ban was legislated for.²³ Summarises Belich:

As a target for nationalist sentiment, France was in some ways a proxy for the United States, which in turn was a proxy for Britain. It was not only ANZUS that went down with the Rainbow Warrior, but also the remnants of the British Alliance.²⁴

Māori Identity 1970-2020

The adoption of a Māori flag occurred within a wider resurgence of Māori during the 1970s and 1980s. As has been previously stated in chapter three, the majority of the Māori population in 1970 was based in towns and cities, as a result of urbanisation. Observes Walker:

²¹ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.435.

²² Michael King, *Death of the Rainbow Warrior*, Auckland: Penguin, 1986, p. 193, cited in Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.439.

²³ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.437.

²⁴ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.440.

One of the consequences of the urban migration of the Maori over the last thirty years [1969-1989] has been a sharpening of Maori identity in relation to the dominant Pakeha group. When the Maori lived in rural tribal enclaves, Maori identity, language and culture were taken for granted, and it was readily assumed that the basic elements of Maori identity would be transmitted to subsequent generations. But migration to towns and cities exposed the Maori for the first time to the full assimilationist ethos of metropolitan society.²⁵

For Walker, “The lizards of our colonial past are being laid to rest in the bedrooms of the nation.”²⁶ Given the close proximity in which Māori and Pākehā now lived, more relationships between the two races took place. John Harré undertook a study in 1966 of mixed marriages.²⁷ He noted that “One of the most significant features of race relations in New Zealand is the rapidity and frequency with which the stereotype is broken down when events force a close association.”²⁸ Harré predicted that if contact between the two races continued via urbanisation and intermarriage, the Pākehā stereotype would break down and the range of social situations would increase “to such an extent that interracial friction will be minimized.”²⁹

Haare’s prediction was not realised and by the 1970s, a new generation of Māori leaders had emerged and they focused on addressing both current and historical grievances. Walker called the 1970s, for Māori, *Nga Tau Tohetohe* (Years of Anger). He lists a succession of high-profile Māori protests, including the formation of Ngā Tamatoa (The Warriors), the Māori language petition of Hana Jackson in 1970, the Māori land march led by Whina Cooper in 1975, the occupation of Raglan Golf Course by Eva Rickard in 1978, the occupation of Takaparawhā (Bastion Point) that ended in 1978, and the He Taua incident of 1979 when Māori confronted engineering students at Auckland University to prevent them from performing a mock haka.³⁰

²⁵ Ranginui Walker, ‘Maori Identity’, in David Novitz and Bill Willmott (eds.), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, 1989, Wellington: Bookprint Consultants, p.49.

²⁶ Ranginui Walker, ‘State of the Nation’, *New Zealand Listener*, 20 February 2004, <https://www.noted.co.nz/archive/archive-listener-nz-2004/state-of-the-nation> (accessed 28 August 2020).

²⁷ John Harré, *Maori & Pakeha: A Study of Mixed Marriages in New Zealand*, Auckland: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1966.

²⁸ Harré, *Maori & Pakeha*, p.144.

²⁹ Harré, *Maori & Pakeha*, p.145.

³⁰ Ranginui Walker, *Nga Tau Tohetohe: Years of Anger*, Auckland: Penguin, 1987, pp.12-13.

Harris and Williams noted that “rising anger and frustration about the plight of Māori lands, culture and language” was being voiced by a new generation of Māori, who were prepared to “hold New Zealand’s history of colonisation to account for the ailments of the contemporary Māori world.”³¹

Maori Sovereignty,³² authored by Donna Awatere in 1984, ignited what Claudia Bell labelled “a big debate”, regarding who Pākehā believed they were and questioning their own commitment to New Zealand, in light of the resurgence of Māori identity during the Māori renaissance.³³ Awatere defined Māori sovereignty as:

the Maori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence, Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Maori land, and further seeks the return of that land. At its most conservative it could be interpreted as the desire for a bicultural society, one in which taha Maori receives an equal consideration with, and equally determines the course of this country as taha Pakeha. It certainly demands an end to monoculturalism.³⁴

As the 1980s drew to a close, Walker observed that Māori were entering into another phase of development as a consequence of urbanisation, which he labelled a “positive embracing of identity” that was manifesting through an assertiveness in terms of Māori culture; a people no longer willing to participate in assimilative practices.³⁵

Mason Durie argues that Māori advancement is synonymous with Māori development, and identifies the Hui Taumata of 1984 as the starting point for the latter.³⁶ Durie remarks:

³¹ Aroha Harris and Melissa Matutina Williams, ‘Rights and Revitalisation, 1970-1990’, in Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris (eds.), *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014, p.416.

³² Donna Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, Auckland: Broadsheet, 1984.

³³ Claudia Bell, *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996.

³⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p.10.

³⁵ Walker, ‘Maori Identity’, in Novitz and Willmott (eds.), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, p.50.

³⁶ Mason Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998, p.6. See also Tahu Kukutai and Melinda Webber, ‘Ka Pū Te Ruha, Ka Hao Te Rangatahi: Māori Identities in the Twenty-First Century’, in Avril Bell, Vivienne Elizabeth, Tracey

There was an expectation that Māori people could realise greater levels of economic self-sufficiency, improved social well-being, and less dependency on the state if they took advantage of their own distinctive social institutions such as iwi and hapū and actively developed their own tribal resources.³⁷

By the 1970s, a new generation of Māori leaders had emerged and they focused on addressing both current and historical grievances. Opportunities for Māori development have since emerged from numerous Treaty of Waitangi settlements with various iwi and hapū since the early 1990s. As of May 2019, \$2.4 billion had been provided from all finalised settlements over a 30-year period.³⁸ The worth of the Māori economy in 2020 is estimated at \$50 billion.³⁹ Durie also observes that Māori identity today is not one solitary Māori cultural stereotype:

Māori are as diverse as any other people – not only in socio-economic terms but also in fundamental attitudes to identity. Nor can a Māori identity any longer be dismissed in favour of a tribal identity. The reality is that some Māori also choose to identify with a particular tribe, others might wish to but have lost access, and others might be content simply as Māori, with no desire to add a tribal identity.⁴⁰

Māori, who – prior to the turn of the twentieth century – were in danger of becoming extinct as a people, had now firmly re-established their presence in New Zealand. The renaissance of the 1970s resulted in historical grievances being brought before the Waitangi Tribunal a decade later, which, in turn, gave rise to an expanding economy. While not all Māori pursued a tribal identity, the close proximity in which Māori and Pākehā now found themselves would result in Pākehā New Zealanders beginning to create a sense of who they were as a result.

McIntosh and Matt Wynyard (eds), *A Land of Milk and Honey? Making Sense of Aotearoa New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017, pp.71 – 82.

³⁷ Hon. K.T. Wetere, 1994, 'Opening Address Hui Taumata – Hui Whakapūmau Ten Years of Māori Development', cited in Kia Pūmau Tonu, pp.11-13, cited in Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, p.7.

³⁸ Michael Nielson, 'Iwi Power: \$2.4 b from 30 Years of Treaty of Waitangi Settlements', *New Zealand Herald*, 6 May 2019, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12224284 (accessed 31 August 2020).

³⁹ 'Māori Economy 2020: Beyond the Magic \$42 billion Māori Asset Base', berl, June 29 2020, <https://berl.co.nz/research/maori-economy-2020> (accessed 31 August 2020).

⁴⁰ Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, p.59.

Pākehā New Zealanders

During the 1970s, calls to address historical Māori grievances had become more prominent. Writing in 1993, Paul Spoonley defined Pākehā as: “New Zealanders of a European background, whose cultural values and behaviour have been primarily formed from the experience of being a member of the dominant group in New Zealand.”⁴¹ Spoonley elaborated:

Why do I call myself a Pakeha? First of all, it clearly says what I am not. I am not a European or even a European New Zealander. I am a product of New Zealand, not of Europe. I am not English, despite immediate family connections with that country. Nor am I Maori or one of the other ethnic groups that exist here.

I am a Pakeha. Not simply because it is the only term that adequately describes that residual group of New Zealanders who are not one of the others mentioned above; it also conveys a pride in something tangible, as all such labels do. It identifies the influence of this country as creating a particular sort of New Zealander.⁴²

Hoey wrote “the idea of Pākehā as an identity or ethnicity began to arise around the mid 1980s in what may have been an inevitable reaction to the assertion of Māori nationalism that began a decade or so earlier.”⁴³ As previously stated, the debate about Pākehā identity was largely sparked by the publication *Māori Sovereignty* in 1984, by Donna Awatere, with historian Michael King authoring *Being Pakeha* the following year.⁴⁴ Seven years later, King edited a collection of essays from Pākehā New Zealanders, titled *Pākehā: The Quest for Identity in New Zealand*.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Paul Spoonley, *Racism and Ethnicity* (2nd ed.), Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993, p.57.

⁴² Paul Spoonley, Being Here and Being Pakeha, in Michael King (ed.) *Pakeha: The Quest for Identity in New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin, 1991, p.146.

⁴³ Douglas Hoey, ‘There Will Always Be a Taupō: Some Reflections on Pākehā Culture.’ in Claudia Bell and Steve Matthewman (eds.), *Cultural Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004, p.191.

⁴⁴ Michael King, *Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renasissance*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985.

⁴⁵ Michael King (ed.) *Pakeha: The Quest for Identity in New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin, 1991.

King, more than other New Zealand historians, wrote extensively on the subject of identity and of being Pākehā. In *Being Pakeha Now*, he observed:

The recovery of lost ground by Maori [during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s] raised almost as many questions as it answered, however. Some Pakeha, such as [Maurice] Shadbolt, seemed to believe that if Maori were gaining ground, it had to be at the expense of Pakeha. And some Pakeha who watched the waxing of the Maori cultural renaissance began to question the basis for their own presence in the country. If Maori were tangata whenua, indigenous people with whom the agencies of the Crown had an obligation to consult, who or what were Pakeha... Did Pakeha belong in New Zealand. Or were they destined to be forever tauwiwi or strangers in the country of their birth?⁴⁶

In attempting to answer his own question, King contentiously argued that Pākehā became indigenous "...at the point where our focus of identity and commitment shifted to this country and away from our countries and culture of origin."⁴⁷ He continued to argue that 'mainstream Pākehā culture' altered in the relationship with the land and its flora and fauna, and that both Māori and Pākehā cultures have changed as a result of the interaction between the two races. King stated, "It is simply not valid to make sweeping judgements that identify Pakeha as rapacious explorers of natural resources and Maori as kaitiaki committed to protect them."⁴⁸ King argued that such judgements and generalisations fail to recognise a spectrum of values applicable to both Pākehā and Māori identities. He concluded:

For me, then, to be a Pakeha on the cusp of the twenty-first century is not to be European; it is not to be an alien or a stranger in my own country. It is to be a non-Maori New Zealander who is aware of my antecedents, but who identifies as intimately with this land, as intensively and as strongly, as anybody Maori. It is to be, as I have already argued, another kind of indigenous New Zealander.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Michael King, *Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native*, Auckland: Penguin, 1999, p.234.

⁴⁷ King, *Being Pakeha Now*, p.235.

⁴⁸ King, *Being Pakeha Now*, p.236.

⁴⁹ King, *Being Pakeha Now*, p.239.

King also argued that Pākehā have a culture. He wrote:

It includes the arts, of course, the music, painting and literature to which I have made reference, and which is perhaps most easily distinguishable from the cultural expressions of other countries. But it also includes the experience of history, it includes going to school and what is taught there, going to church, playing rugby or netball, membership of the Returned Services Association, and so on. It includes using a language in a manner that is not quite the same as the manner as in which that same language is used elsewhere. And it includes habits and customs that also differ from those in other countries, even closely related countries.

In these senses, it is readily apparent that Pakeha New Zealand and Pakeha New Zealanders do have a culture. It may not be coherent or tightly cohesive. Few of its ingredients may be exclusive. But the combinations in which those ingredients come together are exclusive. And this is most often revealed by the manner in which Pakeha New Zealanders are capable of closing ranks against people from other countries and cultures.⁵⁰

King observed that “Pakeha culture continues to borrow and learn from Maori.”⁵¹ He cites examples such as the use of Māori words and concepts such as mana (authority), tapu (sacred), whānau (family), haka (ceremonial war performance), and tūrangawaewae (place where you have the right to stand); attitudes such as whānaungatanga (relationships with others) or manaakitanga (hospitality or kindness); ways of doing business, such as consensus decision-making; and rites of passage, such as tangihanga (Māori ceremony to farewell the dead).⁵² King expanded upon the idea of Māori and Pākehā cultures being influenced by each other in *Being Pakeha: The Quest for Identity in New Zealand*.⁵³ He articulated:

⁵⁰ Michael King, ‘Being Pakeha’, in Michael King (ed.) *Pakeha: The Quest for Identity in New Zealand*, pp.17-18.

⁵¹ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin, 2003, p.519.

⁵² King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p.519.

⁵³ Michael King, ‘Being Pakeha’, in King (ed.) *Pakeha: The Quest for Identity in New Zealand*, p.19.

My brush with all these [Māori] things doesn't make me Maori. But they are an essential part of the experience that makes me Pakeha – experiences I could not have had access to in any other part of the world. For a growing number of people, even those who react negatively to the encounter, Pakeha-ness embraces some experience of Maori history, habits, values and expectations.

Yet, on the spectrum of Pākehā identity, writes Hoey, not all are “bicultural progressives”, as identified by Spoonley (or willing to admit that they have been influenced by Māori culture). Hoey penned:

Their definition of Pākehā is a negative one, of not being Māori and this is how they define themselves: as being in a battle for resources with Māori. While they perceive that Māori aspirations are being met they feel it is at their expense, leaving them with diminishing expectations.⁵⁴

The most prominent example of someone taking a negative view of being identified as a Pākehā is the former leader of the National Party, Dr Don Brash. In his speech titled *Nationhood*, from 2004, Brash stated:

We are one country with many peoples, not simply a society of Pakeha and Maori where the minority has a birthright to the upper hand... One principle above all others guides my thinking: The Treaty of Waitangi should not be used as the basis for giving greater civil, political or democratic rights to any particular ethnic group... The Maori ethnic group is a very loose one... And most of the rest are themselves of multi-ethnic identity, itself a consequence of two centuries of intermarriage... Having done all that, we really will be one people – as Hobson declared us to be in 1840.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Hoey, 'There Will Always Be a Taupō: Some Reflections on Pākehā Culture', p.192.

⁵⁵ 'Nationhood – Don Brash Speech, Orewa Rotary Club', New Zealand National Party, 27 January 2004, <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA0401/S00220/nationhood-don-brash-speech-orewa-rotary-club.htm> (accessed 31 August 2020).

National enjoyed a massive increase in the polls of 17%, as a result of Brash's speech,⁵⁶ and at the 2005 election, National reached 39% of the party vote.⁵⁷ Walker explained that he believed Brash had "triggered a raw nerve" among Pākehā who believed Māori had denied them advantages that would normally come to them, and argued that Brash had accessed public fatigue and ignorance of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁵⁸ Mutu was more scathing in her critique of Brash, writing: "The attacks were unashamedly and openly racist and the long-held pretence that most Pākehā New Zealanders do not harbour racist attitudes towards Māori could no longer be sustained."⁵⁹

Identity for European New Zealanders from 1970 would see the emergence of Pākehā New Zealanders as a more-appropriate label, as Pākehā reacted to a renewed sense of a strong Māori identity, as well as an admission that Māori culture had influenced various aspects of Pākehā life. Fundamental Māori concepts and *tikanga* (protocols), such as *whānau* and *tangihanga*, were now permanent features of, not only the Māori world, but of New Zealand life. As such, some Pākehā New Zealanders proudly declared their identity and some had a commitment to biculturalism in New Zealand. However, this is one end of the spectrum of the Pākehā New Zealander identity continuum, with other Pākehā New Zealanders seeing Māori identity as a misnomer and viewing Māori as unfairly receiving privileges; a belief that stems back to the eighteenth century and was central to the colonisation of New Zealand.⁶⁰

Pacific Peoples in New Zealand

New Zealand's transition towards multiculturalism was another factor in calls to change the flag. Multiculturalism in New Zealand became more evident from the 1970s.

⁵⁶ Helen Tunnah, 'Don Brash to Spread Race Message Buoyed by Poll Results', 16 February 2004, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=3549474&pnum=0 (accessed 31 August 2020).

⁵⁷ Elections, '2005 General Election – Official Result', https://www.electionresults.govt.nz/electionresults_2005/ (accessed 31 August 2020).

⁵⁸ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p.394.

⁵⁹ Margaret Mutu, *The State of Māori Rights*, Wellington: Huia, 2011, p.144.

⁶⁰ Peter Meihana, *The Paradox of Maori Privilege: Historical Constructions of Maori Privilege circa 1769 to 1940*, PhD Thesis, Palmerston North, Massey University, Manawatu, New Zealand, 2015.

While Britain was joining the EEC, the first wave of notable non-white immigrants were disembarking in New Zealand. The migration of Pacific peoples into New Zealand began during the 1960s, and by 1976, more than 60,000 were in the country, mainly residing in Auckland.⁶¹

Māhina-Tuai writes that many Pacific peoples arrived to New Zealand due to formal and informal education and work schemes.⁶² She states “For its part, New Zealand welcomed migrants when it needed cheap labour, but was quick to send them [Pacific peoples] home once the need was met or when problems arose.”⁶³ The growth of Pacific peoples in New Zealand was significantly aided due to a high fertility rate.⁶⁴ Fraenkel notes that, as a quarter of Auckland’s population are either Māori or Pacific peoples since 2013, the city is often described as the world’s largest Polynesian city.⁶⁵ Spoonley observes that the diaspora of Pacific peoples, especially to Auckland, has now led to the maturation of what were once ‘migrant communities.’⁶⁶ He writes:

These communities, made up of New Zealand-born Pacific peoples, are developing new cultural norms and identities which are challenging both the origin communities (or ‘homelands’) and cultural traditions, and the rules of entitlement and belonging, coming as they do from a position of multiple loyalties and identities, and being in a community that maintains strong transnational networks.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p.533.

⁶² Kolokesa Māhina-Tuai, ‘A Land of Milk and Honey? Education and Employment Migration Schemes in the Postwar Era’, in Sean Mallon, Kolokesa Māhina-Tuai and Damon Salesa (eds.) *Tangata O Le Moana: New Zealand and the People of the Pacific*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2012, p.161.

⁶³ Māhina-Tuai, ‘A Land of Milk and Honey?’, p.161.

⁶⁴ Carlyon and Morrow, *Changing Times*, p.392.

⁶⁵ Jon Fraenkel, ‘Pacific Islands and New Zealand’, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/pacific-islands-and-new-zealand/print> (accessed 31 August 2020).

⁶⁶ Paul Spoonley, ‘Transnational Pacific Communities’, in Cluny Macpherson, Paul Spoonley, Melani Anae (eds.), *Tangata O Te Moana Nui: The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2001, p.94.

⁶⁷ Spoonley, ‘Transnational Pacific Communities’, pp.94-95.

Macpherson agrees, arguing that, whereas early Pacific people who migrated to New Zealand settled in urban enclaves where agreements on central elements of ‘national identities’ were possible, for those who are New Zealand-born Pacific peoples, identities have been constructed differently.⁶⁸ They have to be defined in relation to different ‘others’, which has resulted in questioning the identities that served their parents and grandparents. Thus, rather than a solitary Samoan or Tongan identity being identifiable, different Samoan or Tongan identities are found within an emerging Pacific identity that includes common experiences as a Pacific person growing up in New Zealand.

Melani Anae observed, in a *New Zealand Herald* feature on New Zealand-born Pacific people, that they are “flapping for an identity”; that the only leaders or role models they can look up to are musicians, artists and sport figures, and that their “lifestyle cues” come from American hip-hop videos and “a naive notion of gangster glamour.”⁶⁹ Anae was concerned about the lack of traditional concepts of spirituality, tautua (to serve) and fa’aaloalo (respect), which are considered the foundations of the ideal Samoan character. *New Zealand Herald* columnist Tapu Misa stated that most second- or third-generation Pacific peoples have more in common with themselves than they do with their own ethnic group in the Pacific Ocean. She says:

What connects us as PIs [Pacific Islanders] are the common experiences of being PI in New Zealand. In the same way, you will find that Pacific identity forging, or reforging, connections with Maori. For example, some urban Maori who don’t have a strong cultural base, more readily identify with their urban Pacific brothers and sisters than with members of their own tribe. I think Pacific culture is the glue, the unifying, connective tissue between Maori and Pakeha culture. You don’t have to be Pasifika/PI to claim it as your own;

⁶⁸ Cluny Macpherson, ‘One Trunk Sends Out Many Branches: Pacific Cultures and Cultural Identities’, in Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae (eds.), *Tangata O Te Moana Nui: The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, p.67.

⁶⁹ Alan Perrott, ‘Pasifika – Identity or Illusion?’, 2 August 2007, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=10455473 (accessed 31 August 2020).

it offers a New Zealand/Pacific identity that it is inclusive of everyone, including Pakeha New Zealanders and potentially Asian New Zealanders, too, but not so much for new arrivals because they still have a strong connection to their home cultures.⁷⁰

It is clear that identity for Pacific peoples in New Zealand is changing remarkably. Since large-scale immigration of Pacific peoples began in the 1960s to meet the cheap labour needs of the New Zealand market, those who are now second- and third-generation New Zealand-born Pacific peoples construct their identity differently from their forebearers.

In contrast to the first wave of Pacific people immigrants who arrived to New Zealand with a strong sense of cultural identity, future generations of Pacific peoples, especially those who live in Auckland, do not hold the same cultural values and principles as their grandparents and parents, and are forming a sense of identity based on a wider notion of being 'Pacific', including the popular culture they are being exposed to within the neighbourhoods in which they live.

Rise of Multiculturalism in New Zealand since 1987

McLauchlan wrote *The Passionless People* about New Zealanders in the 1970s. Writing of his frustration that New Zealand may suffer an implosion due to homogeneity, he stated, "We need new blood, new ideas, new attitudes. Large-scale immigration from a number of European countries other than Britain would be desirable in a cultural sense as it has proved in Australia... We should look to Asia for new people."⁷¹

⁷⁰ Alan Perrott, 'Pasifika – Identity or Illusion?', 2 August 2007, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=10455473 (accessed 31 August 2020).

⁷¹ Gordon McLauchlan, *The Passionless People: New Zealanders in the 1970s*, Auckland: Cassell New Zealand, 1977, p.212.

McLauchlan's call for new immigrants from Asia would be realised a decade later. In 1986, explained Zodgekar, the government departed from the 'White New Zealand Policy' – whereby preference was given to 'traditional source countries' such as Britain, northwest Europe and North America – and the door was opened to 'wide-ranging cultural groups.'⁷² Zodgekar wrote "Immigration and multiculturalism are inseparably linked. Together they are integral to the evolution of national and cultural identity."⁷³

Barker observed that changes to New Zealand's immigration laws in 1986 and 1991 (a reference to the *Immigration Amendment Act*, which enabled immigrants to enter New Zealand who had appropriate qualifications, work experience, business skills, or those who could self-support themselves upon arrival) have led to "increased immigrant flows and rapid ethnic change in New Zealand."⁷⁴

In 1986, only 1.5% of the New Zealand population identified as being of Asian descent and 3.7% identified as being of Pacific descent.⁷⁵ Those born overseas, in the 2018 New Zealand Census, constituted 27.4%.⁷⁶ The diversity of ethnicity is heavily concentrated in Auckland, with the 2018 Census showing that close to two-thirds of the Asian and Pacific ethnic group populations live there.⁷⁷

⁷² Arvind Zodgekar, 'The Changing Face of New Zealand's Population and National Identity' in James H. Liu, Tim McCreanor, Tracey McIntosh and Teresia Teaiwa (eds.), *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2005, pp.141 – 142.

⁷³ Arvind Zodgekar, 'The Changing Face of New Zealand's Population and National Identity', p.140.

⁷⁴ Fiona Barker, 'National Identity and Diversity', in Janine Hayward (ed.) *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed.), Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2015, p.42.

⁷⁵ Statistics New Zealand 2014, 2013 QuickStats About Culture and Identity, Statistics New Zealand Wellington, www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity.aspx in Barker, National Identity and Diversity, in Hayward (ed.) *New Zealand Government and Politics* (6th ed.), p.42.

⁷⁶ Statistics New Zealand, 'New Zealand's Population Reflects Growing Diversity', 23 September 2019, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/new-zealands-population-reflects-growing-diversity> (accessed 31 August 2020).

⁷⁷ Statistics New Zealand, '2018 Census Population and Dwelling Counts', 23 September 2019, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/2018-census-population-and-dwelling-counts> (accessed 31 August 2020).

Barker argues that such ethnic diversity represents more “world views, ways of ‘being a New Zealander’ and understandings of the nation”,⁷⁸ and cites numerous examples of Prime Ministers Helen Clark and John Key engaging in discussing New Zealand as a ‘multicultural society.’⁷⁹ The most notable pronouncement of Asian immigration to New Zealand by a New Zealand Prime Minister was in 1993, when Jim Bolger stated that New Zealand was an Asian nation.⁸⁰

Ip and Murray remark that the ‘Asian Invasion’ of the 1990s also brought about a racist revival.⁸¹ They state, “Callers to talkback radio complained about the Asian newcomers’, non-kiwi ways of queue-jumping, loud talking, and incessant bargaining. The *Automobile Association Magazine*, not to mention all the popular newspapers, ran articles on allegedly poor Asian driving skills.”⁸² Popular opinion polls run by the *National Business Review* asked if there were ‘too many, too few, or just right number of immigrants from Britain, Asia, the Pacific Islands, South Africa?’, with the response being that the number of immigrants from Britain was ‘just right’, that a significant majority were more welcoming of South Africans, whereas for Asian and Pacific people immigrants, the numbers were ‘too high.’⁸³

For Ip & Murray, the unease towards Asian immigration within New Zealand stems from deep-seated historical factors regarding anti-Asian opinions, such as measures put in place to prevent the Chinese from coming to the country.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Barker, 2011, ‘We, the Peoples: Debating Constitutional Change in New Zealand’s Diverse Population’, Institute for Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, posttreatysettlements.org.nz/we-the-peoples-debating-constitutional-change-in-new-zealands-diverse-population, cited in Barker, ‘National Identity and Diversity’, p.43.

⁷⁹ Barker, ‘National Identity and Diversity’, p.43.

⁸⁰ Paul Spoonley, “‘I Made a Space for You’’: Renegotiating National Identity and Citizenship in Contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand’, in Gautam Ghosh and Jacqueline Leckie (eds.), *Asians and the New Multiculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015, p.52.

⁸¹ Manying Ip and Nigel Murray, *Aliens at My Table: Asians as New Zealanders See Them*, Auckland: Penguin, 2005, p.14.

⁸² Ip and Murray, *Aliens at My Table*, p.14.

⁸³ Malcolm McKinnon, ‘Immigrants and Citizens: New Zealanders and Asian Immigration in Historical Context’, Wellington, Institute of Policy Studies, 1996, and Manying Ip, 1997, ‘Successful Settlement of Migrants and Relevant Factors for Setting Migrant Targets’, Proceedings of the Population Conference, 12-14 November 1997, Wellington, New Zealand Immigration Service, cited in Ip and Murray, *Aliens at My Table*, p.15.

⁸⁴ Ip and Murray, *Aliens at My Table*, p.16.

K. Emma Ng wrote an essay that examined the “consistent exclusion of the Asian population from nation-building and any shared vision of ‘New Zealandness.’”⁸⁵ Like Ip & Murray, Ng attributes racism in New Zealand society as originating from the mid-nineteenth century, and that “whiteness was for a long time the informal cornerstone of our [New Zealand] nation building.”⁸⁶ Ng ultimately warns against biculturalism existing only between Māori and Pākehā, and supports the notion of tangata whenua and tauiwi as a starting point to negotiate multiculturalism, in which she may have her New Zealand identity better expressed.⁸⁷ The state shift towards multiculturalism concerned many Māori, who were concerned that biculturalism would be subsumed within the wider multicultural context. Writes Walker:

The Pakeha in-word ‘multi-culturalism’ has negative connotations for Maoris because it denies the basic reality of biculturalism. New Zealand is a bicultural country. The primary task of the Maori is to convert the Pakeha to recognise that reality and modify the country’s institutions to incorporate compatible Maori values.⁸⁸

Ip also observed a deterioration in the relationship between Māori and the Chinese in the early 2000s.⁸⁹ Despite having previously enjoyed a cordial relationship over past years as the two most significant ‘others’ (Asians and Māori), Ip noted that since the influx of Chinese migrants since 1990, Māori complain about ‘Asians’ who are taking their jobs and pushing Māori to the bottom of the economic scrapheap. For Chinese, they are at a loss to understand Māori ‘privileges’ and see the indigenous people as being spoilt by receiving government benefits.

⁸⁵ K. Emma Ng, *Old Asian, New Asian*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2017, p.9.

⁸⁶ Ng, *Old Asian, New Asian*, p.82.

⁸⁷ Ng, *Old Asian, New Asian*, p.85.

⁸⁸ Ranginui Walker, *Nga Tau Tohetohe*, p.221.

⁸⁹ Manying Ip, ‘Introduction’, in Manying Ip (ed.) *The Dragon and the Taniwha: Māori & Chinese in New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, 2009, p.2.

Ward and Lin observed that, while defining national identity is complicated, one obstacle is the “unnecessary and artificial tension” between biculturalism and multiculturalism.⁹⁰ They argue that biculturalism and multiculturalism are not competing interests, nor are they mutually exclusive. Put simply, gains in multiculturalism need not be at the expense of biculturalism. They also argue that, while most agree that increased immigration to New Zealand has consequences for national identity, the disagreement is whether or not the changes are positive or negative; and what role, if any, new immigrants should play in shaping national identity.⁹¹ Winston Peters, leader of the New Zealand First (NZ First) political party, provided a negative view of increased immigration:

This obsession – this fetish with diversity is destroying our national identity. Mass immigration threatens our values, our customs and our way of life. New Zealand is well on the way to becoming nothing more than a collection of ethnic minorities. We are changing from a cohesive society with a distinctive history and identity into a smorgasbord of separate and distinct communities.⁹²

In contrast, *Statistics New Zealand* stated, “The [twentieth] century has ended with recently arrived but strong new migrant cultures, a powerful Maori renaissance and a growing cross-cultural sense... of our diversity as being a national strength, or something special about us as New Zealanders.”⁹³

Historically, New Zealand enforced a ‘white-only’ immigration policy between the 1880s and 1987. This has been to the detriment of Chinese immigrants, who faced targeted racist policies such as poll taxes.

⁹⁰ Colleen Ward and En-Yi Lin, ‘Immigration, Acculturation and National Identity’, in James H. Liu, Tim McCreanor, Tracey McIntosh and Teresia Teaiwa, *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2005, p.169.

⁹¹ Ward and Lin, Immigration, Acculturation and National Identity, p.167.

⁹² Winston Peters, May 2003, ‘New Zealand’s Identity Crisis: Colony or Nation?’ Address to Grey Power, North Shore, Auckland. www.nzfirst.org.nz/content/display_item.php?t=1&i=1018. Retrieved 21 February 2005, cited in Ward and Lin, ‘Immigration, Acculturation and National Identity’, p.167.

⁹³ Statistics New Zealand, 2005, ‘Facets of Wealth in New Zealand: Cultural and National Identity’, www.stats.govt.nz/looking-past-20th-century/culture-national-identity. Retrieved 13 February 2005, cited in Ward and Lin, Immigration, Acculturation and National Identity, p.167.

New Zealand immigration legislation was relaxed during the mid-1980s and allowed for an increasing number of Asian immigrants, so much so that Asians now constitute the third largest ethnicity within New Zealand. For Māori, in particular, concerns have been raised about New Zealand changing from a bicultural to a multicultural society; a shift that has been welcomed by politicians from both major political parties. Yet, as some argue, the two terms are not mutually exclusive and a reframing of the partners who were party to the Treaty of Waitangi, from Māori and Pākehā, to tangata whenua and tangata tiriti, allows for fears about multiculturalism to be allayed somewhat. However, through a significant increase in Asian immigration to New Zealand, age-old prejudices have resurfaced, resulting in a number of Asian immigrants feeling excluded from the ‘nation New Zealand.’

Remembering the War Dead

There is a strong link between New Zealand’s military past and New Zealand nationalism. Anzac Day commemorations enjoyed a resurgence during the 1980s and became extremely popular under the Prime Ministership of Helen Clark, in the first decade of the twenty-first century. It is important to observe this trend, as it goes some way in explaining the oft-quoted invented tradition, during the 2015/2016 flag referenda, that the forefathers of New Zealand ‘fought and died under the New Zealand flag.’ The reinvigorated efforts to remember New Zealand’s war dead resulted in a new-found sense of pride and identity in acknowledging New Zealand’s military past and contribution to both world wars.

Clarke argued that, through the 1970s, Anzac Day commemorations languished, with falling attendances, such as the 60th anniversary of the Gallipoli campaign, in 1975, going unnoticed.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Stephen Clarke, *After the War: The RSA in New Zealand*, 2016, Auckland: Penguin, p.214.

He attributes the decline of Anzac Day commemorations to the anti-Vietnam protests, from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, but said that following the withdrawal of New Zealand troops from the conflict, protests on Anzac Day centred on the other victims of war. Feminists lamented the ‘forgotten women’ and were joined in the proceeding years by gay, anti-nuclear, peace and Māori activists.⁹⁵ In 1975, one *Evening Post* columnist asked “Is the time approaching for Anzac observance to die?”⁹⁶

However, as Clarke observed, at the same time, some were writing obituaries for Anzac Day, and there was a resurgence in Anzac Day commemorations, with young people and children attending.⁹⁷ Clarke assessed the increased popularity of Anzac Day accordingly:

The burgeoning mood of nationalism evident in the 1980s found expression in Anzac Day; a combination of external influences, such as the ANZUS crisis; and a new awareness as a result of books, plays and documentaries on New Zealand’s military history...⁹⁸

The rising sentiment of nationalism, evident in Anzac ceremonies, gained in momentum during the Prime Ministership of Helen Clark (1999-2008). Hucker argued that “Helen Clark has done more to promote and preserve New Zealand’s military heritage than any other of her Prime Ministerial predecessors.”⁹⁹ During Clark’s term in office, she became the first Prime Minister to meet her Turkish counterpart at Gallipoli, in 2000, for the 85th commemorations. She also oversaw the internment of New Zealand’s unknown warrior in 2004; and two years later, she opened, with Queen Elizabeth II, the New Zealand Memorial at Hyde Park Corner in London.

⁹⁵ Clarke, *After the War*, pp.213-214.

⁹⁶ *Evening Post*, 24 April 1975, cited in Clarke, *After the War*, p.6.

⁹⁷ Clarke, *After the War*, p.215.

⁹⁸ Clarke, *After the War*, p.216.

⁹⁹ Graham Hucker, ‘A Determination to Remember: Helen Clark and New Zealand’s Military Heritage’, *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 40,2, (2010), pp.105-118.

For the return of the unknown warrior, an estimated 100,000 people lined the streets of Wellington and the service was broadcast on national television.¹⁰⁰



Fig. 59. *Unknown warrior lying in state at the legislative chamber, Parliament.*¹⁰¹

At the start of the new millennium, Helen Clark created the new Ministry of Culture and Heritage, an agency for which she was the Minister. The Ministry oversaw no fewer than 19 projects relating to preserving New Zealand’s military history during her tenure, across the country’s involvement in the First and Second World Wars, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War.¹⁰² Clark, influenced by her own family’s involvement in World War I, stated – at the dedication of the New Zealand Memorial in Canberra in 2001 – that “Our independent national identities were forged on the beaches and hills of Gallipoli.”¹⁰³ Clark repeated such sentiments in 2006 at the opening of ‘The Southern Stand’ at Hyde Park.

¹⁰⁰ Gareth Phipps. ‘Bringing Our Boy Home: The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior and Contemporary War Remembrance’. *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 10, (2011), p.159.

¹⁰¹ New Zealand Defence Force.

¹⁰² Hucker, ‘A Determination to Remember: Helen Clark and New Zealand’s Military Heritage’, p.109.

¹⁰³ Helen Clark, Dedication of the New Zealand Memorial, Anzac Parade, Canberra, 2001, <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/node/10506>, cited in Hucker, ‘A Determination to Remember: Helen Clark and New Zealand’s Military Heritage’, p. 110.

She stated that the sixteen forward-leaning bronze sculptures speak to “identity as twenty-first New Zealanders, a unique nation and people”, and that the memorial would be a place at which New Zealanders could “express their national identity.”¹⁰⁴

In asking the question, “What determinants underpinned her commemorative actions?”, Hucker wrote, “When asked by a news reporter about whether she [Clark] had installed a sense of nationalism in New Zealanders, Clark replied in the affirmative, saying that much of the work is about nation-building...”.¹⁰⁵ In response, Hucker quoted Clark’s unofficial biographer, Denis Welch, who stated, “the idea that Gallipoli was a nation-forming moment in our history has always seemed highly questionable to me; but it’s a safe and useful peg on which politicians can hang the hat of nationalism.”¹⁰⁶

Clark’s actions to instil a strong sense of nationalism within New Zealand through its past military contributions, which highlight a deep and strong connection to Britain, somewhat ironically worked against her own personal stance that New Zealand should become a republic. In 2002, Clark remarked that having New Zealand ruled from 20,000 kilometres away was “absurd.”¹⁰⁷ She was responsible for removing Knighthoods and Damehoods from the New Zealand Honours system.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Helen Clark, ‘Address at memorial service for Unknown Warrior’, 2004, <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/node/21453/>, cited in Hucker, ‘A Determination to Remember: Helen Clark and New Zealand’s Military Heritage’, p.113.

¹⁰⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, ‘Regrets, she’s had a few, too few to mention’, 2003, cited in Hucker, ‘A Determination to Remember: Helen Clark and New Zealand’s Military Heritage’, p.114.

¹⁰⁶ Dennis Welch, *Helen Clark: A Political Life*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2009, p.185, cited in Hucker, ‘A Determination to Remember: Helen Clark and New Zealand’s Military Heritage’, pp.114-115.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Clark Talks Up a Republic’, NZPA, 3 March 2002, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=1090688 (accessed 31 August 2020).

¹⁰⁸ Prime Minister Helen Clark, ‘Titles Discontinued’, 10 April 2000, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/titles-discontinued> (accessed 31 August 2020).

Clark had also stated that having a flag with only the Southern Cross on it, representing New Zealand, was “very nice” in 2010, yet her own efforts to commemorate the war fallen inadvertently resulted in strengthening the belief for some that New Zealand troops gave their lives for the New Zealand flag.¹⁰⁹ One such example was the New Zealand flag being used as the pall for the unknown warrior; a New Zealand soldier who died at the Battle of the Somme during World War I and who, in all likelihood, would have been buried in France with the Union Jack as the pall. This is a strong example of an invented tradition.

Calls to Change New Zealand’s Flag

Calls to change the New Zealand flag began with the odd comment during and after World War II, with appeals to amend the flag increasing in frequency during the 1960s and 1970s. Subsequently, these calls gained a renewed momentum during the 1990s and early 2000s. During the middle of World War II, twenty-five pupils from the Secondary Department of the Tikitiki Native District High School on the East Coast sent a letter to the Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, asking whether a Māori emblem might be inserted into the New Zealand flag due to the efforts of the Māori Battalion.¹¹⁰

They stated, “The inclusion of a Maori emblem in our national flag would be an outward sign of the brotherhood that exists between us and of our common desire to work for the good of all men in our beloved country.”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Audrey Young, ‘Clark Backs Southern Cross for our Flag’, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 February 2010, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10627360 (accessed 31 August 2020).

¹¹⁰ Tikitiki Native District High School to Peter Fraser, 29 March 1943, IA1 Box 2118 81/1/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹¹ Tikitiki Native District High School to Peter Fraser, 29 March 1943, IA1 Box 2118 81/1/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

In considering the request, the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, James Heenan, advised that the matter be revisited at the conclusion of World War II,¹¹² and that, “In any consideration of this question it would be as well to bear in the mind that fact that the Maori is represented on the New Zealand Coat of Arms.”¹¹³

At the conclusion of World War II, Invercargill-born Geoffrey Cox, who provided eyewitness accounts of events in Europe during the 1930s and 1940s, and who was later acknowledged as a ‘TV Trailblazer’ in the United Kingdom, suggested that it was time for New Zealand to change its national flag. Sparked by New Zealanders living in London who were following the Canadian debate over whether or not to change that flag, he wrote:

I have personally long been of the opinion that we should make a similar change in the New Zealand flag by replacing the four stars by the silver fern leaf. At present the New Zealand flag and the Australian flag are so similar as to be constantly confused so that the ordinary man has yet another reason for thinking that New Zealand is probably just a part of Australia (this is still a common fallacy in Britain).¹¹⁴

As previously indicated, since the 1960s, there has been a constant stream of correspondence to various Ministers of the Crown to investigate the possibility of changing the New Zealand flag. Initiating the debate were politicians from the two major political parties in New Zealand, Labour and National. In July 1962, future Labour Prime Minister Norman Kirk proposed, in Parliament, that the Southern Cross be erased and replaced with a kiwi, because the flag looked so similar to the Australian one.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Memorandum to the Minister of Internal Affairs, 21 April 1943, IA1 Box 2118 81/1/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹³ 27 April 1943, IA1 Box 2118 81/1/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹⁴ Geoffrey Cox, ‘The fern leaf, why not in NZ flag? Our accepted badge’, *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 25 July 1946, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹⁵ ‘Wants a Kiwi on the N.Z. Flag’, *Evening Post*, 28 July 1962, p.10, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

Prime Minister Keith Holyoake responded, “We could adopt a slogan – call me kiwi” (a reference to Holyoake being known as ‘Kiwi Keith’).¹¹⁶ Another future Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, then stated:

Most of us have a good deal of respect for tradition. The present flag means something to thousands and the question of mere efficiency has to be set against what we would lose by looking on our flag just as if it were a few pieces of rag with colours on them and not part of the history of New Zealand.¹¹⁷

Following Holyoake’s statement, the *Dominion* took to the streets of Wellington to ascertain the public’s response.¹¹⁸ It wrote:

The “she’ll be right” attitude was predominant. Most said “I couldn’t care less” or “What difference does it make?” But one man, whose son fell in World War II, was firm: “The Southern Cross flag was good enough for my son to die under. Keep it how it is.”¹¹⁹

In November 1962, ‘Kiwi Kate’ wrote to the Editor of the *Dominion* that she had asked more than fifty people what the colour of the stars were on the New Zealand flag, with all but three people stating incorrectly that they were white.¹²⁰ The following year, N.L. Potts, from Masterton, compared the lack of national pride and knowledge regarding the national flag to America’s ‘Stars and Stripes’ and the French tricolours.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ ‘Wants a Kiwi on the N.Z. Flag’, *Evening Post*, 28 July 1962, p.10, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹⁷ ‘Wants a Kiwi on the N.Z. Flag’, *Dominion*, 28 July 1962, p.10, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹⁸ ‘A Kiwi to Blot out the Stars?’, *Dominion*, 2 August 1962, p.6, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹¹⁹ ‘A Kiwi to Blot out the Stars?’, *Dominion*, 2 August 1962, p.6, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²⁰ ‘New Zealand Flag’ in ‘Letters to the Editor’, *Dominion*, 16 November 1962, p.8, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²¹ ‘National Flags’, *Dominion*, 4 December 1963, p.4, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

Going further, Potts reflected that, on numerous occasions, the wrong flag had been flown, and cited a block of shops on Lambton Quay that had flown the Australian flag during the visit of the King of Thailand, and the Petone Railway Station flying the Australian marine ensign at half-mast upon the passing of the American President, John F. Kennedy.¹²²

The National Party Member of Parliament for Tauranga, George Walsh, advocated to change the national flag in 1966, and was reported by the *Bay of Plenty Times* as stating, “During both world wars, Britain stood for the right of countries to go their own way and now the Empire was at an end and a Commonwealth had been formed... The days of the Union Jack are gone.”¹²³ It is not clear, but Walsh’s comments may have been prompted by Britain’s first attempt to join the EEC in 1961. His statement caused a swift rebuke from R. Davis, who attributed the comment to that of a communist, and wrote, “We are British to the core.”¹²⁴

Nineteen Sixty-Seven was a particularly significant year regarding the debate about whether or not to change the national flag. This was the year that Britain had, for the second time, attempted to join the EEC and failed again, due to opposition from France. The *Manawatu Evening Standard* printed:

All the colonies and other territories of the Empire that have become republics since the Second World War have chosen new banners, without the Union Jack. That must leave only the Australians and ourselves living under ensigns which incorporate the Great Union flag... even with Britain a full member of the European Economic Community and New Zealand’s trade and defence centred upon the Pacific, it’s hard to imagine any strong public pressure for the removal of the Union Jack from our ensign.

¹²² ‘National Flags’, *Dominion*, 4 December 1963, p.4, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²³ ‘Union Jack’s meaning lost to former hosts’, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 2 August 1966, in IA1 Box 1839, 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²⁴ ‘The Union Jack’, *Press*, 25 July 1966, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

Its place is earned on the basis of history alone, quite apart from any special considerations. Indeed, New Zealanders often fly the Union Jack when they could be displaying their national pride better by hoisting the New Zealand ensign; just as we will sing ‘God Save the Queen’ on appropriate occasions, having no national anthem other than that.¹²⁵

Cecil Andrews wrote, in 1967, to the Marine Department that “in view of our changing status over the years, the question arises as to whether, as a nation, our national flag has kept pace with our graduation as a nation.”¹²⁶ The following year, Prime Minister Keith Holyoake received several letters about changing the national flag. L.B. Doggett wanted a new flag to contain the Union Jack, a kiwi, and a silver fern;¹²⁷ F.X. Quin believed the flag should change because it was always confused with Australia’s national flag, and he believed that the current flag portrayed New Zealand as a dependency of Great Britain.¹²⁸ S.J. Davis wanted a new flag to have an outline of New Zealand in the canton, with the stars of the Southern Cross retained in the fly.¹²⁹ Twelve-year old Aucklander S.J. Shirley asked why the kiwi or silver fern did not appear in the middle of the New Zealand ensign.¹³⁰

Holyoake’s response was that if it was decided to identify New Zealand more directly on the flag, this could be done by incorporating suitable emblems such as the kiwi or the fern, but that in order for that to occur, there needed to be “widespread demand to do so.”¹³¹

¹²⁵ ‘A republican challenge on national flag’, *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 27 July 1967, in IA1W1893 Box 10 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²⁶ C.H. Andrews to Secretary of Marine Department, 1 June 1967, in IA1W1893, Box 10 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²⁷ L.B. Doggett to Prime Minister, 19 April 1968, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²⁸ F.X. Quin, Palmerston North, ‘New flag’, 26 May 1968, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹²⁹ S.L. Davis, 26 November 1968, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³⁰ S.J. Shirley to Prime Minister Keith Holyoake, 8 July 1969, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³¹ Minister of Internal Affairs Keith Holyoake to S. J. Shirley, 20 August 1969, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

Alan Lothian, in his column *Capital Comment*, presented his case to change the New Zealand flag.¹³² He reflected on the waning role of the British Empire on New Zealand identity, commenting on the changes made to the currency, from the pound to the dollar, and the shift from the imperial system of measurement to the metric system. He penned:

The old Empire went some time ago. The Commonwealth is changing so fast you'll never know what new republic joins it next. In any case, a Union Jack emblem in your national colours is no longer a starting price for membership. The sun has set on "the Empire on which the sun never sets." Mum is getting back to Coronation Street, as fast as she can extricate herself from commitments somebody made in South-east Asia. Though Britain received a thorough hammering at the recent SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] meeting, there were signs on the part of the British representative of irritation that neither Australia nor New Zealand seemed to have received the message. It was repeated often enough. "You're big boys now. Mum can't afford to look after you any more. For Heaven's sake, learn to live with these people on your own terms" ... And we're already moving nicely in some directions, specifically towards getting to know people like the Indonesians.¹³³

It was also during this time that the first alternative design for a New Zealand flag received considerable publicity. In 1967, United States-born Clark Titman produced an alternative New Zealand flag design, based on the Canadian flag.¹³⁴ His flag had the hoist (the part of the flag nearest the pole) and fly (the part farthest from pole) coloured in red. One part of the section coloured in red represented Māori; the other represented the British. The Southern Cross remained as depicted on the current New Zealand ensign.

¹³² A. Lothian, 'Hang on Chief, Run Up Our Own Flag', *Sunday Times*, 28 April 1968 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³³ A. Lothian, 'Hang on Chief, Run Up Our Own Flag', *Sunday Times*, 28 April 1968 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³⁴ John Moody, 'Past Attempts to Change New Zealand's Flag', Proceedings of the XIX International Congress of Vexiology', pp.48-50, <https://www.flaginstitute.org/pdfs/John%20Moody.pdf> (accessed 26 August 2020).

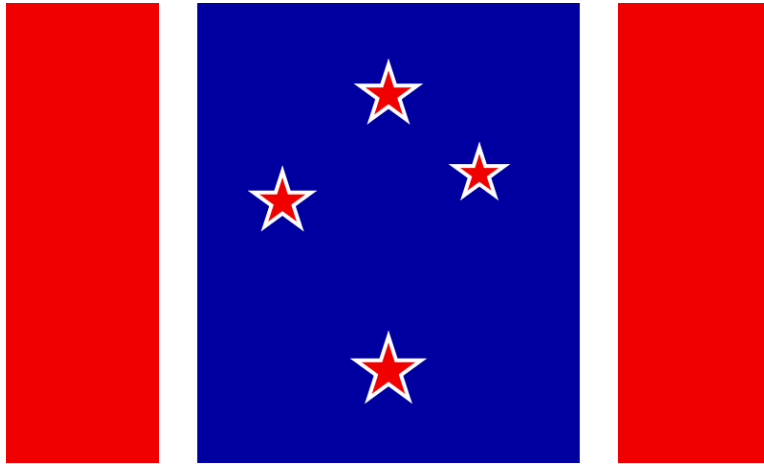


Fig. 60. *Clark Titman's alternative New Zealand flag.*¹³⁵

That same year, the New Zealand Republican Association offered a prize of \$100 for a new New Zealand ensign, with the proviso that it should not include the Union Jack.¹³⁶

The *Manawatu Evening Standard* wrote:

Even with Britain a full member of the European Economic Community and New Zealand's trade and defence centred upon the Pacific, it is hard to imagine any strong public pressure for the removal of the Union Jack from our ensign...¹³⁷

Taking the pulse of the public mood was the *New Zealand Listener*.¹³⁸ Those who did not want to change the country's flag, despite not being able to recall the design from memory, argued the importance of retaining New Zealand's British roots. The Dominion President of the Returned Services' Association, Hamilton Mitchell, stated: "The Union Jack reminds us of our beginnings – a British Colony – and also of our present membership to the Commonwealth of Nations..."¹³⁹

¹³⁵ 'Flag of New Zealand Titman', https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_New_Zealand_Titman.svg (accessed 26 August 2020).

¹³⁶ 'A Republican Challenge on National Flag', *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 27 July 1967, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³⁷ 'A Republican Challenge on National Flag', *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 27 July 1967, in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³⁸ 'The Symbol of Our Country?', *New Zealand Listener*, 28 March 1969, in IA 1W1893 Box 10 81/1 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹³⁹ 'The Symbol of Our Country?', *New Zealand Listener*, 28 March 1969, in IA 1W1893 Box 10 81/1 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

The President of the Royal Commonwealth Society in Christchurch, K.H. Bartlett, echoed similar sentiments, commenting "...by far the greater proportion of the New Zealand population comes from British stock..." On the other side of the ledger, Marie Bullock observed that the flag "...doesn't symbolise us. I'd like a symbol that suggests Maori and Pakeha bound by their common soil – and the answer's a football."¹⁴⁰ Journalist Owen Gager articulated:

The current design suggests two things: that we're British, and we're in the Southern Hemisphere. As a third-generation New Zealander, I don't feel British, and I think most of my generation don't; it seems clear that in the next few years our trade with Britain will slowly diminish. Our formerly dependent status in relation to Britain is supposed to have ended with the ratification of the Statute of Westminster.¹⁴¹

In 1972, Labour became the government and members of the party introduced a remit to have the flag altered, only to have the motion defeated at the 1973 Labour conference. Following the conference, Prime Minister Norman Kirk floated the idea of a new national anthem and national flag.¹⁴² He stated that there had been 'a surprising amount of interest' in the remits passed about the national anthem and the possibility of a redesigned New Zealand flag. Despite being happy with the current flag, Kirk remarked "But I think most people who have been into Asia would agree that there is something to be said for making some greater distinction between the Australian and New Zealand flag."¹⁴³

The Minister of Internal Affairs, Henry May, wrote to R.E. Adams on the subject of changing the flag and national anthem in 1973.¹⁴⁴ May noted that the government was not prepared to replace the flag, nor the anthem, as it was not clear that a majority of New Zealanders supported change, despite having received a high volume of letters on the matter that year.

¹⁴⁰ 'The Symbol of Our Country?', *New Zealand Listener*, 28 March 1969, in IA 1W1893 Box 10 81/1 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴¹ 'The Symbol of Our Country?', *New Zealand Listener*, 28 March 1969, in IA 1W1893 Box 10 81/1 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴² *Dominion*, 22 May 1973 in IA 1 W2663 10 CUL 6/3/2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴³ *Dominion*, 22 May 1973 in IA 1 W2663 10 CUL 6/3/2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴⁴ Henry May to R.E. Adams, 28 May 1973 in IA 1 W2663 10 CUL 6/3/2, National Archives of New Zealand.

He wrote, “Although numerically their views are not conclusive and their actual proposals vary considerably, it is becoming apparent that there is a steadily growing belief that New Zealand should acquire a distinctive national flag and national anthem.”¹⁴⁵ May concluded that he believed the time was fast approaching in which the government would have to consider such views.

May’s successor as the Minister of Internal Affairs, National’s Allan Highet, suggested that the flag contain a silver fern, in 1979.¹⁴⁶ Highet had previously overseen legislation seeking to strengthen national identity: in 1976 he introduced the *Waitangi Day Act*, which changed the name given to the February 6 public holiday back to Waitangi Day, from New Zealand Day; the following year, after the submission of a petition to government, he legalised *God Defend New Zealand* as one of New Zealand’s two national anthems (the other being *God Save the Queen*); and in 1977, he introduced the *Citizenship Act*, which established New Zealand citizenship as a citizenship separate from any accorded by Commonwealth membership.¹⁴⁷

As a result of his suggestion, Highet received written support and designs for a new New Zealand flag. Frances Millar, the Mayor of Invercargill, supported the idea, but stressed that he hoped any design would incorporate the Union Jack.¹⁴⁸ The New Zealand Ambassador to Germany, B.F. Bolt, also submitted a design that he believed represented ‘Ao-tea-roa.’¹⁴⁹ Highet responded to the people who had submitted their new designs, writing “no change is contemplated at the present time, but the designs you have submitted will be held for future reference.”¹⁵⁰ The following month, Highet responded to another flag designer that, “...I receive many representations about the New Zealand ensign.

¹⁴⁵ Henry May to R.E. Adams, 28 May 1973 in IA 1 W2663 10 CUL 6/3/2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Calls for a new flag’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/calls-new-flag> (accessed 31 August 2020).

¹⁴⁷ Mulholland, *New Zealand Flag Facts*, Flag Consideration Panel, 2016, p.137.

¹⁴⁸ F.R. Miller, Mayor of Invercargill to D.A. Highet, Minister of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 26 November 1979, AAAC7536 W5084 Box 48, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁴⁹ B.F. Bolt to D.A. Highet, in 30 January 1980, AAAC 7536 W5084 Box 48, CUL/6/1/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand

¹⁵⁰ Minister of Internal Affairs, D.A. Highet to J. and R.G. Wilson, 24 February 1981, AAAC 7536 W5084 Box 48, CUL/6/1/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

There is however no indication of a widely based desire for a change in the design of the flag and some sections of the public are quite strongly opposed to any change.”¹⁵¹

In 1980, Allan Hightet wrote to the President of the English Speaking Union to allay any concerns he had regarding efforts to change the national anthem, *God Defend New Zealand* and the national flag.¹⁵² Hightet was more concerned about efforts to change the flag, reflecting that he felt the national anthem, *God Defend New Zealand*, had been well received. Hightet noted the ‘mounting support’ to replace the New Zealand flag with something that “better portrays our sovereign independence and national identity”, but said the government had no plans to make any change.¹⁵³

The debate about changing the flag resulted in the Secretary of the National Commonwealth Games Association, George Craig, deciding unilaterally to dispense with the national flag, and to use a design based on the 1974 Commonwealth Games in Christchurch to represent the New Zealand contingent attending the Brisbane Commonwealth Games of 1982.¹⁵⁴ This move by Craig clearly surprised his fellow association executive members, with the board meeting to overturn the decision before the team departed.

In 1983, D.A. Bale wrote a column regarding the flag, lamenting the lack of its use in schools and the need, as he saw, it, to change the flag.¹⁵⁵ For Bale, the New Zealand flag was a ‘colonial relic’, with Britain “...becoming more and more wedded to its continental neighbours... The links between us are gradually breaking under economic strain.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ Minister of Internal Affairs, D.A. Hightet to Bryan Jackson, 3 March 1981, AAAC 7536 W5084 Box 48, CUL/6/1/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵² Hightet to President of English Speaking Union, 13 June 1980, AAAC W5084 7536 Box 49 CUL/6/3/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵³ Hightet to President of English Speaking Union, 13 June 1980, AAAC W5084 7536 Box 49 CUL/6/3/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵⁴ Peter Bidwell, ‘NZ Flag Dumped for Brisbane’, *Dominion*, n.d., AAAC 7536 W5084 Box 48, CUL/6/1/1 Part 2, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁵⁵ D.A. Dale, ‘Flying our own Flag’, *New Zealand Listener*, 24 December 1983 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁵⁶ D.A. Dale, ‘Flying our own Flag’, *New Zealand Listener*, 24 December 1983 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

In discussing various options for an alternative symbol, Bale dismissed the idea of a kiwi, due to it being a flightless, nocturnal bird that is not recognised overseas; and instead opted for the koru, which adorns Air New Zealand planes, as it unfurls to become another widely accepted and used New Zealand symbol, the silver fern.¹⁵⁷

In 1983, famed Austrian artist and Kawakawa resident, Friedensreich Hundertwasser, who had adopted New Zealand as his new home, designed his alternative 'koru' flag for New Zealand. The artist explained:

The green is carefully composed of the special, brownish, dark, lush green of the New Zealand bush and farmlands. The Maori spiral and the sprouting fern symbol combined – the koru – already represent New Zealand in many fields, like the Air New Zealand sign.¹⁵⁸

The design created considerable press, as Hundertwasser conducted his own campaign to change the national flag, printing two thousand miniature flags and five hundred large flags. Hundertwasser's attempt to change the flag reached the Prime Minister, David Lange's, attention, who commented that the government was not considering changing the national flag.¹⁵⁹ Despite Lange's dismissal of the idea, the Labour member of Parliament for Northern Māori, Bruce Gregory, stated:

The flag is based on a symbol that resembles the Maori spiral and represents the sprouting fern. It is related to nature and life. It reflects the progression of unfolding development and our own unfolding as a nation.¹⁶⁰

Hundertwasser's koru flag promoted a new round of debate regarding the need, or not, to change the New Zealand flag, and alternative flag designs.

¹⁵⁷ D.A. Dale, 'Flying our own Flag', *New Zealand Listener*, 24 December 1983 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁵⁸ 'Bushland Inspires Flag', *Evening Post*, 4 September 1985, p.14 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁵⁹ Deborah Hannan, 'Symbol of Harmony Unfurls in Native Flag', *Evening Post*, 28 June 1986, p.23 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁶⁰ Barbara Brown, 'Fredrick Hundertwasser Flying the Flag', *New Zealand Women's Weekly*, 4 August 1986, in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.



Fig. 61. *Hundertwasser's Koru Flag*.¹⁶¹

Wellington businessman, James Mutch, concerned over the similarities between the New Zealand and Australian flags, following an argument with a man in the United States, created a flag with a Union Jack and a silver fern, to replace the Southern Cross.¹⁶² The following year, Darren Ormsby submitted a design that depicted the Southern Cross and the silver fern. The incorporation of the fern was due to its uniqueness to New Zealand and it already being recognised as a symbol of the country across the globe.¹⁶³

However, a New Zealand Herald-National Research Bureau poll in 1986 found that 86% of New Zealanders wanted to keep the flag, with 11% wanting change. The *Evening Post* probed deeper into people's understandings of the national flag, and found that some were unable to provide the correct number of stars depicting the Southern Cross and the colours of the constellation.¹⁶⁴ In response, Frank Bailey, conducted his own survey at the University of Waikato and found that people with a strong British connection were happy to keep the status quo, but – when challenged as to what the flag actually was, in comparison to Australia – they struggled to provide the correct answers.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ 'Hundertwasser Koru Flag', https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hundertwasser_koru_flag#/media/File:Koru_flag.svg (accessed 31 August 2020).

¹⁶² 'Starless Flag Mooted', *Dominion*, 7 August 1985, p.21. in 2003-171-08 2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁶³ 'Steward's NZ Flag', *Evening Post*, 9 July 1986, p.36 in 2003-171-08 2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁶⁴ 'Kiwis Want to Keep the Flag', *Evening Post*, 22 October 1986, p.64 in 2003-171-08 2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁶⁵ Frank Bailey, 'New Zealand Flag', *New Zealand Listener*, 28 February 1987, pp.6-8 in 2003-171-08 2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

That same year, Labour members agreed to wanting a koru design as the basis of a new national flag, while remits from the Māori Affairs Committee proposed variations on the koru, the tiki and the Southern Cross. A separate remit to have ‘Aotearoa’ as the official name for New Zealand was lost.¹⁶⁶ The new Labour Member of Parliament for Tasman, Ken Shirley, produced a flag with the koru and Southern Cross in white on a black background, on the steps of Parliament, as he was ‘bored’ with the ‘bland’ design of the Union Jack with the Southern Cross.¹⁶⁷ In 1989, the issue was again voted on within the Labour Party, narrowly being out-voted by eight votes, following a suggestion by Russell Marshall the previous year, for the ensign to be changed.

In 1998, National’s Prime Minister, Jenny Shipley, supported comments made by the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Marie Hasler, to change the flag to being only the silver fern.¹⁶⁸ A more significant effort to change the New Zealand flag came in 2010, from Labour’s spokesperson for Arts, Culture & Heritage, Charles Chauvel, who submitted a private member’s bill titled the *New Zealand Flag Bill*.

The legislation was drafted to appoint a commission by the Prime Minister, after all political leaders had been consulted. The function of the commission would be to consult with the public and to hold a nationwide competition for alternative designs; to rank the best three that reflected national identity, aspirations, culture and heritage; and finally, to hold a referendum that pitted the most popular alternative against the New Zealand flag, with the winner of the final referendum being deemed the official New Zealand flag.¹⁶⁹ Chauvel stated “We should be able to openly debate who we are as New Zealanders, as a Pacific nation, but also one filled with many other cultures.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ ‘Put Koru on Flag’, NZPA, *Evening Post*, 1 September 1986, p.2 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Shirley Unfurls His Flag’, *Evening Post*, 26 September 1986, p.6. in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁶⁸ Derek Cheng, Simon Collins and Wayne Thompson, ‘Patriots Agree: Time to Change the NZ Flag’, *New Zealand Herald*, 4 February 2010, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10623888 (accessed 26 August 2020).

¹⁶⁹ Amelia Wade, ‘Silver Fern Touted as Better Flag’, *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 2013, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10863680 (accessed 31 August 2020).

¹⁷⁰ Amelia Wade, ‘Silver Fern Touted as Better Flag’.

In August 2013, *TV 3* ran a poll to ask whether people wanted to see the national flag change, with 61% in favour.¹⁷¹ This was the first poll where a majority indicated they were in favour of changing the flag.

Calls to change the New Zealand flag began shortly after World War II and increased in frequency during the 1960s, in a time when Britain openly pursued opportunities to join the EEC. With Britain being successful in entering the EEC in 1973, the remainder of the 1970s saw a national debate regarding national identity: did New Zealand citizens continue to see themselves as British or as New Zealanders? While the country seemed more prepared to accept sole citizenship status, to name February 6 as ‘Waitangi Day’, and to have a dual national anthem arrangement, a majority remained affixed to New Zealand’s British past when it came to the national flag.

During this time, mostly Labour politicians appeared open to changing the flag. Both Labour and National agreed, however, that any change could only take place with strong support of the public. As the debate developed about the merits of changing the New Zealand flag or not, arguments emerged and solidified, which would continue to remain at the forefront of any discussion about changing the flag. What was also noticeable were the icons that were suggested for an alternative flag: the Southern Cross, the kiwi, the silver fern, and the koru.

God Defend New Zealand Debate

Much like the Union Jack, the national anthem of New Zealand, after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, was assumed to be *God Save the Queen*, despite no national anthem being formally adopted.¹⁷² During the late 1960s and 1970s, there were contemporaneous calls to change both the New Zealand national anthem and the national flag.

¹⁷¹ ‘Support for Prime Minister’s Flag Change Proposal’, *3 News*, 11 August 2013, <https://www.silverfernflag.org/press/archives/08-2013>.

¹⁷² Memorandum for Cabinet on Legislation and Parliamentary Questions, 23 September 1977, AAAC W5084 7536 Box 49 CUL/6/3/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

Upon the Petitions Committee of the House referring the petition of GH Latta and 7750 others for *God Defend New Zealand* to be adopted as New Zealand's national anthem in 1977, official cabinet minutes noted:¹⁷³

Both the National Anthem and the song "God Defend New Zealand" are currently recognised as expressions of loyalty and identity and are, to a degree, complementary. To attempt to single out one song to be a national anthem above the other may be to bring into troubled focus for some people whether loyalty or patriotism takes precedence.

In this year of the Queen's Silver Jubilee, and remembering the various expressions of loyalty which have been made, both formally and spontaneously, it is suggested that the present time is not appropriate to move too far or too fast on this issue. On the other hand, it is desirable that some lead should be provided to remove a degree of confusion which does exist and to end, at least for a time, any conjecture on this issue.¹⁷⁴

Advice was sought from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence. The former supported the recommendation of the paper and stressed that *God Defend New Zealand* was now played overseas as New Zealand's national anthem. However, the Minister of Defence, disagreed, stating, "I have made it quite clear that 'God Save the Queen' has stood the test of time and until (God help us) the time comes for us to be a republic, then the present national anthem will do me."¹⁷⁵ A supplement to the *New Zealand Gazette* dated November 17, 1977, read that, with the consent of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, New Zealand would have two national anthems of 'equal status': "God Save the Queen" and "God Defend New Zealand."¹⁷⁶

It would appear that here, much like the New Zealand ensign and the Union Jack, there was confusion amongst the public as to what anthem 'officially' represented the country.

¹⁷³ Memorandum for Cabinet on Legislation and Parliamentary Questions, 23 September 1977, AAAC W5084 7536 Box 49 CUL/6/3/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁷⁴ Memorandum for Cabinet on Legislation and Parliamentary Questions, 23 September 1977, AAAC W5084 7536 Box 49 CUL/6/3/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁷⁵ Memorandum for Cabinet on Legislation and Parliamentary Questions, 23 September 1977, AAAC W5084 7536 Box 49 CUL/6/3/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁷⁶ Allan Hight, Minister of Internal Affairs, Announcement of the Adoption of National Anthems for New Zealand, Supplement to the *New Zealand Gazette*, 17 November 1977.

The national Lions organisation launched a ‘Have Pride in New Zealand’ campaign and wrote to the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, Ken Comber, in 1981 for clarification.¹⁷⁷ The letter cited several examples of confusion within the media, including the *Auckland Star*, the *Close-Up* television programme, and the *New Zealand Herald*.¹⁷⁸

The debate surrounding *God Defend New Zealand* being New Zealand’s national anthem provides some insight into the thinking of the politicians involved in the decision. The opinion that a change of flag and anthem should not occur without a groundswell of support appears to have been adhered to, with polling indicating a majority of New Zealanders supporting *God Defend New Zealand* to be adopted as the country’s national anthem. However, rather than replace *God Save the Queen* and risk offending those with a strong connection to their British heritage, it was decided to have two official anthems rather than one. In many respects, the search for a stronger national identity, following Britain joining the EEC, was satisfied to some extent when *God Defend New Zealand* was accepted as a national anthem for New Zealand. However, as articulated by the Minister of Defence, some believed that a change should not occur until New Zealand became fully independent in the form of a republic.

Decline of Hoisting the Flag Ceremonies

While there was increased discussion about whether or not to change the New Zealand flag during the 1960s, another phenomenon was taking place with ‘Flying the Flag’ ceremonies in decline.

¹⁷⁷ Jack Percy, Chairman of the Lions ‘Have Pride in New Zealand’ Campaign to Ken Comber, 17 March 1981, AAAC W5084 7536 Box 49 CUL/6/3/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁷⁸ Jack Percy, Chairman of the Lions ‘Have Pride in New Zealand’ Campaign to Ken Comber, 17 March 1981, AAAC W5084 7536 Box 49 CUL/6/3/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

Concern from a member of the public in Taranaki led the Taranaki Education Board to seek the views of the Wellington Education Board, to ask whether or not honouring the flag ceremonies (discussed in detail in Chapter Four) were both meaningful and appropriate for today.¹⁷⁹ A *Bay of Plenty Times* editorial lamented the decline in flag ceremonies at schools in 1966. The editorial wrote:

Such demonstrations of patriotism can and should be meaningful without having to resort to mass flag waving as indulged in by some other countries or to boring parades with the usual invitation to some dignitary or another who, with tedious long-windedness, trots out outworn clichés of patriotic fervour... Such observance in this country carries no undertones of sabre-rattling or drum beating, but is simply an occasion for a New Zealander to pay rightful homage to his country's flag while at the same time reminded of what it means to live under it. Any request by a New Zealander to be excused from honouring the flag must have a sinister ring to it.¹⁸⁰

The same year, the executive of the Education Boards Association established a sub-committee regarding the flag ceremony in schools. It recommended that the number of days on which flag-raising was to be observed be reduced, and that a more informal approach be taken regarding the ceremony itself, when releasing its report in 1968.¹⁸¹ The Director-General of Education, however, asked that the committee's attention be brought to the present 'tense world situation', and said that it would be an inopportune time to raise matters of this nature.¹⁸² The committee agreed and the matter was 'dropped'.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Taranaki Education Board to Wellington Education Board in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁸⁰ 'Honouring the Flag', Editorial, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 22 August 1966 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁸¹ Director of Primary Education to the Director-General of Education, 20 March 1968 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand. New Zealand was the last country in the Commonwealth to fly the flag on Trafalgar Day see: A. Sutherland, 'Flags of New Zealand', *New Zealand Numismatic Journal*, (1959), p.19.

¹⁸² Extract from the Minutes of the Standing Committee on Administration (Primary), 30 June 1968 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁸³ Extract from the Minutes of the Standing Committee on Administration (Primary), 30 June 1968 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

An edict regarding the days the flag was to be flown was sent from Internal Affairs to the Director General of the Post Office, in 1965.¹⁸⁴ The former wrote that it had been decided to restrict the number of days the New Zealand ensign was to be flown, to avoid the public losing interest in the practice. Of the official list of days for the flag to be flown, New Zealand authorities deleted several, based on an updated list sent from Her Majesty. However, despite the flags not being flown in Britain on saint days, the practice of flying the flag in New Zealand on three of the saint days (St Andrew's Day, St George's Day and St Patrick's Day) was to continue, as it had been a long tradition within New Zealand.

The Member of Parliament for Wellington Central and the Under-Secretary for Internal Affairs, Ken Comber, was concerned, in 1979, that New Zealanders no longer showed the flag and that schools should consider bringing back the Hoisting the Flag ceremony.¹⁸⁵ Hutcheson Wilson Ltd, the largest manufacturer of flags in the country, noticed a resurgence in the number of flags purchased after Comber had made his remarks.¹⁸⁶ The idea was investigated that the New Zealand flag should be flown at all New Zealand schools on days they were open, but many schools did not have usable flag poles or flags.¹⁸⁷ The trend of selling New Zealand flags continued with the visit of Prince Charles in 1981.¹⁸⁸ Two years later, D.A. Bale lamented the lack of the use of the flag in schools and noted that, "Our schools don't have a flag-raising ceremony every morning as they do in Australia and we have nothing like the flag worship shown by Americans."¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Shadwell to Director General of General Post Office, 22 April 1965 in IA1 Box 1839 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁸⁵ ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁸⁶ *Evening Post*, 9 October 1979, p.4. in 2003-171-08 2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁸⁷ Minister of Education to General Secretary of the National Party, 16 November 1982 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁸⁸ *NZ Times*, p.8., 14 June 1981 in 2003-171-08 2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁸⁹ D.A. Dale, 'Flying our own Flag', *New Zealand Listener*, 24 December 1983 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Forced Nationalism Rejected

In 1984, the Minister of Education, Mervyn Wellington, announced that he was going to introduce regulations to make it compulsory for every state primary and secondary school to fly the New Zealand ensign on a daily basis.¹⁹⁰ The Minister had indicated his intentions in a letter to a concerned constituent, who was worried about patriotism amongst the young people of New Zealand. Wellington wrote:

It is my intention to see that all schools fly our New Zealand flag, as a symbol of our national pride, whenever they are open. The honouring of the flag ceremony on appropriate commemorative days, is a further means of developing a sense of belonging and a love in one's country.¹⁹¹

Labour's spokesperson for education, Russell Marshall, ridiculed the plan, labelling it 'pathetic.'¹⁹² Wellington, in response, noted the daily practice of American schools and regretted that the regulations for the flag-raising ceremony, from 1941, had fallen into abeyance. Wellington stated:

There can be no better aspiration than to honour it and serve it...I hope, indeed I am sure, that the daily elevation of the New Zealand ensign bearing its distinctive Southern Cross, will inspire the present and successive generations of New Zealand's young people...to aim for this goal.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ 'Ordered to fly the Flag', *Evening Post*, 30 March 1984, p.1 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁹¹ Minister of Education to SM Smith, 8 August 1981 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

¹⁹² Pauline Hudson, 'Compulsory Flag Raising Ridiculed', *Dominion*, 31 March 1984, p.3 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁹³ Pauline Hudson, 'Compulsory Flag Raising Ridiculed', *Dominion*, 31 March 1984, p.3 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

The reaction from principals was mostly oppositional. Rex Sage, Principal of Newlands College, Wellington, stated that he was ‘staggered’ and “I wouldn’t be in favour of this at all...”¹⁹⁴ Sage was concerned that raising the flag every day would reduce its significance and remarked that the school had its own flag, at the suggestion of students, who considered it significant. The Headmaster of Onslow College was concerned about the flag being over-exposed and that it could lead to “familiarity breeding contempt.”¹⁹⁵ Harvey Rees-Thomas, Headmaster of Wellington College, did not approve of the wording of the announcement, but believed that the idea behind it was sound. Hugo Manson, Board Member of Hutt Valley High School, stated that he would argue for his board to reject the regulation and urged other boards to follow suit. “His brand of compulsory patriotism is a characteristic of totalitarian states.”¹⁹⁶

An editorial of the *Evening Post* criticised the Minister’s intentions to make the ceremony compulsory, instead arguing that he should only encourage schools to participate, as “The flag is a part of their inheritance.”¹⁹⁷ In a feature dedicated to youth in the *Evening Post*, Grant Borrie wrote that “Flying a flag wouldn’t bring any more pride to the youth of this country than would a New Zealand-grown bean to Eskimo shoe makers.”¹⁹⁸ Toi Saiaana opined “It is correct to say that we should respect and take pride in our homeland but to force the younger generation to carry out such a serious task will in the long run result in nothing.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ ‘Principals Differ on Flag Raising’, *Evening Post*, 2 April 1984, p.2 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Principals Differ on Flag Raising’, *Evening Post*, 2 April 1984, p.2 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Ministers Compulsory Patriotism Rejected’, *Evening Post*, 2 April 1984, p.2 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Giving Our Flag Real Meaning’, *Evening Post*, 3 April 1984, p.4 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁹⁸ ‘Youth Focus – Minister’s Idea Flagged Away’, *Evening Post*, 9 April 1984, p.16 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Youth Focus – Minister’s Idea Flagged Away’, *Evening Post*, 9 April 1984, p.16 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

The chief political reporter for the *Evening Post*, Tony Garnier, wrote that a nationwide poll should be held to select a new New Zealand flag, rather than continuing with one that is a remnant of colonialism or thrown together by turn-of-the-century politicians.²⁰⁰ Confident of New Zealanders wanting a new flag, Garnier proposed that a process select eight flags, and that the public be asked on voting day: ‘Which flag would you prefer?’ Suggesting a flag with the Southern Cross and a kiwi, Garnier argued that if such a flag represented New Zealand, then there would be little, if any, opposition to the plans promoted by Wellington. For Garnier, “...the present New Zealand flag shows New Zealand as a child still at the mother’s breast. Contrary to recent political propaganda, the flag shows that New Zealand hasn’t yet cut the apron strings to mother Britain.”²⁰¹

Correspondence to the ‘Letters to the Editor’ section of the *Evening Post* expressed several views regarding Mervyn Wellington’s proposal to revive flag ceremonies and the discussion regarding whether or not to change the flag, in 1984. Wrote T.O. Maddison, “...a great many of us have quite deep British roots, we are proud of, and wish to retain a flag that displays this.”²⁰² Debate continued to rage for well over twelve months, with E.L. Cornell writing:

A new flag could even stimulate a new sense of national identity, regardless of our ancestry as individuals... The British link has been reduced to a very slender thread, and to a considerable degree this has been due to the actions of several British governments... Other former British colonies which have attained independence have given up their British blue ensigns in favour of a national flag.²⁰³

David Coyle penned, “Nationalism starts with such seemingly innocent practices as flag raising ceremonies on school grounds.

²⁰⁰ Tony Garnier, ‘Flying the Flag’, *Evening Post*, 3 April 1984, p.4 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁰¹ Tony Garnier, ‘Flying the Flag’, *Evening Post*, 3 April 1984, p.4 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁰² T.O. Maddison, ‘Union Jack’, *Evening Post*, 10 April 1984, p.4 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁰³ E.L. Cornell, ‘Union Jack Should Go’, 18 September 1985, *Evening Post*, p.30 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Military goose stepping is a development of the same phenomena.”²⁰⁴ Gillian Feist expressed similar concerns with, “We seem to be going back to the mentality of 'My country right or wrong' which seems out of place when national self-interest and national pride are threatening to destroy all civilisations and life on this planet.”²⁰⁵

In April 1984, the Canterbury Education Board opposed the Minister’s proposal due to the compulsory nature of the edict, and concerns were raised over the cost.²⁰⁶ However, General Manager of the Wellington Education Board, John Lelliot, a supporter of revitalising the practice, suggested that flags should also be supplied to kindergartens. Present at the board meetings was a miniature New Zealand ensign that was placed by Lelliot, with the board voting that the flag not be present at the following month’s meeting.²⁰⁷

Such was the level of discontent over the proposal that some protests resorted to flagpoles being chopped down.²⁰⁸ Wellington’s proposals were eventually reversed, after the National Party lost the 1984 election, with the new Minister of Education, Russell Marshall, revoking the 1941 regulations and leaving any flag-raising ceremony to the discretion of individual schools.²⁰⁹ The New Zealand Returned Services Association wrote of their dismay to Marshall, stating:

That the 1941 regulations should be revoked is in our view a retrograde step. You believe that by making flying the flag optional rather than mandatory New Zealand children will develop an appreciation of the free and democratic society in which we live.

²⁰⁴ ‘Flag Ceremony Views Divided’, David Coyle, *Dominion*, 27 April 1984, p.6. in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁰⁵ ‘Flag Ceremony Views Divided’, David Coyle, *Dominion*, 27 April 1984, p.6. in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁰⁶ ‘Flag-Raising Cost Assessed’, *Dominion*, 14 April 1984, p.3 in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁰⁷ ‘Flagged Away’, *Evening Post*, 10 May 1983, p.3, in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁰⁸ ‘Flags in schools’, URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/flags-schools>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 11-May-2015 (accessed 26 August 2020).

²⁰⁹ ‘Flags in schools’, URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/flags-schools>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 11-May-2015 (accessed 26 August 2020).

N.Z.R.S.A. believes that the retention of our free and democratic society depends largely on the teaching of responsibility, discipline and loyalty to others; to honour the flag must surely be a part of that teaching. The New Zealand flag is symbolic of many things; to honour it on certain occasions serves as a reminder of our nation's allegiance to the Crown as a member of the Commonwealth and our history. Also, most children enjoy traditional pomp and ceremony.²¹⁰

In light of the claims that would be made during the 2015 flag referendum, it is of particular interest that the response by the RSA did not mention soldiers 'fighting and dying', either under or for the New Zealand flag during wartime. Instead, the RSA highlighted New Zealand's connection to the British Crown, as a reason to retain the practice of hoisting the flag in New Zealand schools.

Hoisting the Flag ceremonies in New Zealand schools had been in steady decline since World War II. No longer did the public seem willing to allow children to be inculcated with patriotism, with suggestions that compulsory flag ceremonies could be found in fascist or communist regimes, not in a democracy such as New Zealand. Any hope of the ceremony resurfacing in New Zealand schools was extinguished when the Labour government was elected to power in 1984. What was once a common practice, and the main tool for indoctrinating patriotism in New Zealand pupils during the first half of the nineteenth century, was now a thing of the past.

Māori Protest Flags

Flags flown by Māori during the latter part of the twentieth century, and during the start of the twenty-first century, expressed Māori notions of self-determination and sovereignty, which many Māori supported during this time. They incorporated fundamental Māori values, designs and colours, and highlighted Māori political aspirations. In 1963, the hoisting of the 'Kotahitanga' flag at Waitangi, to represent a political movement based in the settlement of Mangatoatoa, near Te Awamutu, angered Ngāpuhi kaumātua.²¹¹

²¹⁰ Sir William Leuchars, Dominion President of the N.Z.R.S.A. to Minister of Education, 1 November 1984 in ABEP W4262 7749 Box 1611 Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand.

²¹¹ *The Star*, 5 February 1963 in MS Papers – 5848-1, Alexander Turnbull Library.

They approached the leader of the camp, M.P.K. Puriri, who took the flag down, so as not to offend the flag flying at Waitangi, the Union Jack owned by Pūmuka. The Kotahitanga Movement was revived by Tom Te Maaro, of the East Coast, in the late 1950s, and had another rejuvenation during the 1980s under Eva Rickard.²¹² The 1984 peace march to Waitangi was under the flag of Kotahitanga, with the emblems being a mere and the Treaty of Waitangi crossed.



Fig. 62. *Kotahitanga Flag*.²¹³

During the occupation of Takaparawhā (Bastion Point), a red, black and white flag was used to represent the ‘republic’, on the first anniversary of the historic protest in 1978. The white was used for the Māori motif, with the black top signifying the ‘struggle’, and the red bottom symbolising ‘the life of the Maori people.’²¹⁴

²¹² Judith Binney and Gillian Chapman, *Nga Morehu: The Survivors*, Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, 1986, p.200.

²¹³ https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nz_mao.html (accessed 31 August 2020).

²¹⁴ Binney and Chapman, *Nga Morehu*, p.200.



Fig. 63. *Takaparawhā Flag*.²¹⁵



Fig. 64. *Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe flag*.²¹⁶

Tame Iti created the image of the ‘Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe’ (The Separate Authority of Tūhoe) flag during the mid-1990s.²¹⁷ The words are adapted from an earlier flag, given by the government to the Urewera Commission in 1899, as described in Chapter Three.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/358172/bastion-point-dawn-ceremony-marks-40-years-since-evictions> (accessed 31 August 2020).

²¹⁶ https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nz_mao.html (accessed 31 August 2020).

²¹⁷ J to Smith, 27 February 1899, Justice Department 1/1898/1066, National Archives Wellington, cited in Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2009, p.427.

²¹⁸ Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.2. Mana Motuhake was also a political party formed in 1980 by the former Labour Member of Parliament for Northern Māori, Matiu Rata, with Sandra Lee becoming the first Mana Motuhake Member of Parliament in 1993.

At the Waitangi Tribunal Hearings for the Urewera claimants in February 2005, Iti fired a shotgun into an Australian flag (that many mistook as a New Zealand flag) that was placed on the ground, as tribunal members crossed the 1866 confiscation line in Rūātoki. A letter of complaint was laid with the New Zealand Police by the ACT (Association of Consumers and Taxpayers) Party, where Iti was found guilty of unlawfully possessing a firearm and fined. His sentence was overturned by the Court of Appeal two years later.²¹⁹

In 1995, many Māori protested against the government's newly released policy of capping all historical Treaty of Waitangi settlements at \$1 billion. During the pōwhiri for the Governor-General Dame Cath Tizard, Prime Minister Jim Bolger, and other politicians and officials at Waitangi, an individual from the tangata whenua walked to the front of the gathering, laid out the New Zealand flag and trampled on it.²²⁰ Bolger berated the person in his speech, much to the disappointment of the listening crowd.

Later that day, the Kotahitanga flag flew from the top of the Waitangi flagstaff, with the Tino Rangatiratanga and United Tribes flags flying below, after Māori protestors replaced the New Zealand flag.²²¹ Prime Minister Jim Bolger and members of his cabinet were taunted and insulted, leading to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Warren Cooper, to cancel the day's proceedings. Bolger was so enraged, he later threatened to abolish Waitangi Day.²²²

Flags would also be a feature of a number of protests during the consultation with Māori regarding the policy. At Ōwae Marae, in Taranaki, Ngahina Hohaiia burned the New Zealand flag.²²³ The CEO of Te Puni Kōkiri, Wira Gardiner, observed that, unlike other marae he had visited, Hoani Waititi was flying the Kotahitanga flag, a victory, he considered, for the protestors.²²⁴ Ruth Harris, of Rangitaane, spoke at Omaka Marae, Blenheim.

²¹⁹ Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands*, p.2.

²²⁰ Wira Gardiner, *Return to Sender: What Really Happened at the Fiscal Envelope Hui*, Auckland: Reed, 1996, p.23.

²²¹ Mutu, *The State of Māori Rights*, p.36.

²²² Mutu, *The State of Māori Rights*, p.23.

²²³ Gardiner, *Return to Sender*, p.155.

²²⁴ Gardiner, *Return to Sender*, p.165.

She explained that, in 1991, Rangitaane had purchased the Defence Headquarters in Palmerston North and, on the same day, she heard that the Minister of Treaty Negotiations, Doug Graham, was to return the Hopuhopu Military Camp to Tainui. Gardner recalled Harris stating, “It was ironic that Rangitaane who had fought on the side of the Crown and received a flag for their efforts should be treated behind those who fought against the Crown!”²²⁵

A Flag for Māori

In 1989, the Tino Rangatiratanga design was judged the winner of a flag competition held by Northland-based group Te Kawariki. The flag was unveiled at Waitangi during the sesquicentenary celebrations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The black on the flag represents Te Korekore, the realm of potential and the male element; the white represents Te Ao Mārama, the realm of being; and the red represents Te Whai Ao, the realm of coming into being and the female element Papatūānuku. The koru (the unfurling fern shape) represents the unfolding of new life and hope for the future.²²⁶



Fig. 65. *Tino Rangatiratanga Flag*.²²⁷

²²⁵ Gardiner, *Return to Sender*, p.200.

²²⁶ ‘The National Māori Flag’, Te Puni Kōkiri (website): <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/a-matou-kaupapa/crown-iwi-hapu-whanau-maori-relations/the-national-maori-flag> (accessed 31 August 2020).

²²⁷ <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/herald-daily-quiz-december-14/77ZCXBBVRZXGSSYHTC65NYKBKA/> (accessed 31 August 2020).

The concept behind a flag to represent Māori came as a result of the leaders of Te Kawariki, Hone and Hilda Harawira, seeing the Aboriginal flag in Redfern, Australia. The flag was designed by Luritja/Wombai custodian Harold Thomas in 1971, and was flown the following year at the Tent Embassy in Canberra, which was erected in response to the McMahon Government's refusal to recognise Aboriginal land rights.²²⁸ In America, Healy and Orenski observed that, with the advent of tribal government and sovereignty movements during the 1970s and 1980s, there was a proliferation of tribal flags for Native Americans.²²⁹ So transnational parallels can be seen regarding the development of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag to represent Māori, and flags being created to represent the indigenous people of Australia and America.

The Aboriginal flag is divided in two, with the black in the top half representing the Aboriginal people, the red in the bottom half representing the earth (denoting red ochre), and in the middle is a yellow circle representing the sun, the giver of life and the protector. In 1995, the Governor-General of Australia, Bill Hayden, under instructions from the Labor Government, proclaimed the Aboriginal flag as an official flag of Australia. The action prompted Thomas to launch a successful legal campaign to assert his copyright ownership over the flag.²³⁰



Fig. 66. *Original Aboriginal Tent Embassy.*²³¹

²²⁸ Matthieu Gallois, 'The Aboriginal Flag', PhD Thesis, Sydney College of the Arts, University of Sydney, 2017, p.18.

²²⁹ Donald T. Healy and Peter J. Orenski, *Native American Flags*, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003, xx.

²³⁰ Healy and Orenski, *Native American Flags*, p.213.

²³¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aboriginal_Tent_Embassy (accessed 31 August 2020).

Gallois, in his doctoral thesis on the Aboriginal flag, provided a definition of the symbolism of the flag that could also be applied to the Tino Rangatiratanga Flag. He wrote:

The symbolism of the flag describes the relationship of people to land, land to culture and culture to identity: concepts of great profundity for Indigenous Australians. By association, the Aboriginal Flag is an affirmation of pride. It claims and asserts Aboriginal land rights, advocates Indigenous self-determination, repudiates the insidious policies and culture of assimilation and has come to symbolise the complex notion and claim of Indigenous sovereignty.²³²

In January 2009, following suggestions from the Māori organisation Te Ata Tino Toa in 2007, the Minister of Māori Affairs, Dr Pita Sharples, called for a Māori flag to be flown from the Auckland Harbour Bridge.²³³ Prime Minister John Key endorsed Dr Sharples' proposal, stating that if Māori agreed, he would support a Māori flag being flown along with the current New Zealand flag.

In 2009, Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development) organised a nationwide roadshow of 21 public hui, during which Māori would decide what flag would represent them. The four options provided were the United Tribes of New Zealand Flag, the New Zealand Red Ensign, the current New Zealand Flag, and the Tino Rangatiratanga Flag. The ministry received more than 1,200 submissions; the preferred option was the Tino Rangatiratanga flag, with 80.1% of submissions being in support. The United Tribes Flag received 16% support, and the least preferred was the New Zealand Flag. In line with the wishes of Māori, the Tino Rangatiratanga flag was not legislated for but was recorded as the preferred national Māori flag in the government's cabinet minutes dated December 14, 2009. Those who did favour the Tino Rangatiratanga flag commented that it was designed by Māori for Māori. It represented Māori unity, self-determination and mana, and it was future-focussed.²³⁴

²³² Matthieu Gallois, 'The Aboriginal Flag', p.18.

²³³ 'The National Māori Flag', Te Puni Kōkiri (website): <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/a-matou-kaupapa/crown-iwi-hapu-whanau-maori-relations/the-national-maori-flag/> (accessed 31 August 2020).

²³⁴ Ewan Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 9, (2010), pp.119-124.

Whereas previously, Māori flags had been largely discussed in relation to mana, the Tino Rangatiratanga flag was explicitly linked to Māori sovereignty.

Regarding when the flag should be flown, 72% responded that it should be on Waitangi Day and other significant occasions. On Waitangi Day 2010, the flag was flown on the Auckland Harbour Bridge, the Beehive, the forecourt of Parliament, Government House, Premier House, Te Papa Tongarewa, and several government department buildings in Wellington.²³⁵

However, the Waitangi National Trust did not fly the flag at the Waitangi Treaty Grounds, partly on account of opposition from Te Tii Marae and the preference of many Northern Māori to fly the United Tribes Flag,²³⁶ with Rotorua and Manukau councils also deciding against flying the flag.²³⁷

A poll of Māori in January 2010 found that 53% agreed that Māori should have a separate flag, with 58% of respondents recognising the Tino Rangatiratanga flag as the 'Māori flag.'²³⁸

²³⁵ Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', pp.120-121.

²³⁶ Radio New Zealand, 'Maori Flag Will Not Fly at Waitangi Treaty Grounds', 30 January 2010 (viewed online at www.radionz.co.nz, accessed 1 February 2010); 'PM Cautions Harawira Against Flogging the Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 5 February 2010; 'United Tribes Flag Rules in Waitangi', New Zealand Press Association, 5 February 2010 (viewed online at www.voxy.co.nz, accessed 8 February 2010). At its meeting on 26 February 2010, the Waitangi National Trust Board reached the provisional conclusion that the tino rangatiratanga flag should not fly on the flagstaff on the Treaty grounds until it becomes an official New Zealand flag, although the matter should be the subject of ongoing discussion and a clear decision should be made before next Waitangi Day: extract from minutes of Waitangi National Trust Board General Meeting, 26 February 2010 (released under the Official Information Act) in Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', p.130.

²³⁷ A proposal to fly the tino rangatiratanga flag from the Civic Centre in Rotorua was rejected by the Rotorua District Council's Te Arawa Steering Committee: 'Kaumatua Says No to Flying Maori Flag', *Daily Post* (Rotorua), 4 February 2010 (viewed online at www.rotorudaily.com, accessed 18 November 2010). The Manukau City Council reconsidered its Flag Policy, developed in 2008 in response to calls for it to fly the tino rangatiratanga flag on Waitangi Day. It voted to retain the existing policy of flying only the New Zealand and City Council flags, and the flags of its sister cities and visiting overseas delegations: 'Flag Debate "Dismay"', *Howick and Pakuranga Times*, 4 February 2010 (viewed online at www.times.co.nz, accessed 4 February 2010); 'Maori Flag Bid Does not Fly with Council', *Manukau Courier*, 5 February 2010 (viewed online at www.stuff.co.nz, accessed 5 February 2010), cited in Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', pp.130-131.

²³⁸ 'Support Strong for Separate Maori Flag', NZH, 4 February 2010 (viewed online at www.nzherald.co.nz, accessed 18 November 2010). The poll surveyed 1002 Māori from the Māori and general rolls in Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', p.131.

The wider public also had issues with supporting the government's decision to endorse a flag to represent Māori, flying alongside the New Zealand Flag on days of significance. A poll in September 2009 found that 40% agreed, but 51% disagreed.²³⁹ Writes Morris, of those who opposed the Tino Rangatiratanga flag being formally recognised by the government:

Many of those who have commented on the issue see official recognition of a Māori flag as divisive. Those who take this view say that New Zealand is one nation, and should fly one flag to represent all its people. Flying a Māori flag, they claim, gives special recognition to Māori, privileging them above other groups in society. Moreover, it is argued, New Zealand is a multicultural society, so if Māori are to be represented separately, why not do the same for all New Zealand's other ethnic groups?...²⁴⁰

Morris wrote of those who supported the Tino Rangatiratanga flag:

They argue that flying two flags recognizes New Zealand's bicultural foundations and the Treaty relationship between Māori and the Crown... They see official recognition of a Māori flag as an acknowledgement of the unique position of Māori as *tāngata whenua*, a celebration of Māori history and culture, and a symbol of respect and *mana*... Furthermore, it is said, non-Māori are happy to celebrate and even adopt as national symbols other aspects of Māori culture, such as *haka* and the national anthem sung in Māori, so there should be nothing threatening about recognizing a Māori flag.²⁴¹

Morris also observed that whenever a discussion arose regarding the Tino Rangatiratanga flag, some either wanted that flag or the United Tribes Ensign to be the flag representing New Zealand. He also remarked that a high number of people who opposed the Tino Rangatiratanga flag being flown alongside the New Zealand ensign are more willing to see the latter better reflect Māori iconography, as well as celebrating diversity, rather than flying two flags.²⁴²

²³⁹ Research New Zealand, 'Flying the Maori Flag up for Debate', media release, 29 September 2009. The poll surveyed 500 people aged 18 and over, of whom 62 were Māori or Pacific and 130 were aged 18-34. 51% of those aged 18-34 agreed with flying the flag, as did 53% of Māori and Pacific people in Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', p.131.

²⁴⁰ Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', p.121.

²⁴¹ Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', p.122.

²⁴² Morris, 'Banner Headlines: The Maori Flag Debate in Comparative Perspective', pp.123-124.

Much like the creation and use of Māori flags during the New Zealand Wars, the genesis of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag owed its beginning to the Māori protest movement that took place during the 1970s and 1980s. The iconography, concepts and colours employed in the flag are important to Māori; and again, much like Māori flags during the 1860s, it depicts a more hopeful future for the indigenous people of New Zealand. The difference between the Māori flags of the New Zealand War period and the Tino Rangatiratanga flag has been the response from authorities.

While British Crown representatives were eager to see Māori flags being replaced with Union Jacks, the National-led government was more accommodating of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag and consented to recognising the flag as representing Māori. For Prime Minister John Key and his parliamentary colleagues, perhaps they were more willing to entertain culturally diverse world views, rather than the monocultural policies of the past.

Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill 1981

The *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill* was introduced to the House of Representatives by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Allan Highet, in August 1981.²⁴³ Highet explained that the section of the bill dealing with the New Zealand flag was to transfer the provision of the *Shipping and Seamen Act 1951* that permitted the flag to be flown on land, and that in doing so, this would enhance the status of the flag. Under the proposed legislation, the New Zealand ensign would be declared to be the New Zealand flag, as well as outlining which days the flag should be flown on government buildings, and the correct etiquette when flying it.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ 'Introduction', *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill, NZPD*, Third Session, Thirty-ninth Parliament, House of Representatives, Volume 440: Comprising of the period from 11 August to 9 September 1981, Wellington: Government Printer, 1981, 18 August, p.2741.

²⁴⁴ 'Introduction', *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill, NZPD*, Third Session, Thirty-ninth Parliament, House of Representatives, Volume 440: Comprising of the period from 11 August to 9 September 1981, p.2741.

On the point regarding the declaration of the flag, Member of Parliament for Te Atatū, Dr Michael Bassett, questioned why the flag needed additional legislative authority other than the *Shipping and Seamen Act*, to which Highet responded, “It is important, because for the first time the New Zealand flag is given its rightful place in our statute law, rather than being referred to just in the *Shipping and Seamen Act*.”²⁴⁵

Member of Parliament for St Albans, David Caygill, was at a loss as to why Highet felt compelled to give the flag its supposed rightful place within the law books.²⁴⁶ Member of Parliament for Wellington Central, Ken Comber, rose to support his National colleague, saying that the legislation was to announce that the blue New Zealand ensign was the national New Zealand flag.²⁴⁷ He went further, stating “The flag that most members imagined was the New Zealand flag will become the New Zealand flag, the national emblem.”²⁴⁸ Francis O’Flynn, the Labour Member of Parliament for Island Bay, stated:

I thought that it was well enough recognised that the piece of rag that we stick up on a flagpole is fairly dull, and that a considerable body of opinion thought that we should have an emblem identifiable with New Zealand.²⁴⁹

O’Flynn was also confused as to the purpose of the legislation, stating that he believed the purpose of the exercise was to make it either legal or mandatory to recognise the universal practice of treating the New Zealand Blue Ensign as the national flag. Caygill again spoke, asking why the provisions were copied from the Australian legislation, which was passed in 1953.

²⁴⁵ ‘Introduction’, *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill, NZPD*, Third Session, Thirty-ninth Parliament, House of Representatives, Volume 440: Comprising of the period from 11 August to 9 September 1981, p.2742.

²⁴⁶ ‘Introduction’, *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill, NZPD*, Third Session, Thirty-ninth Parliament, House of Representatives, Volume 440: Comprising of the period from 11 August to 9 September 1981, p.2743.

²⁴⁷ ‘Introduction’, *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill, NZPD*, Third Session, Thirty-ninth Parliament, House of Representatives, Volume 440: Comprising of the period from 11 August to 9 September 1981, p.2744.

²⁴⁸ ‘Introduction’, *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill, NZPD*, Third Session, Thirty-ninth Parliament, House of Representatives, Volume 440: Comprising of the period from 11 August to 9 September 1981, p.2744.

²⁴⁹ ‘Introduction’, *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill, NZPD*, Third Session, Thirty-ninth Parliament, House of Representatives, Volume 440: Comprising of the period from 11 August to 9 September 1981, p.2746.

Highet, in concluding the first reading of the bill, stated:

I flew a kite a few years ago – some members might remember – a suggestion that we might have a new, distinctive New Zealand flag. The reaction of the Returned Services Association and other people was very strongly in opposition. I took the matter to the Cabinet, which was very strongly opposed to any change in the flag at present.²⁵⁰

It is clear that the opposing Labour Members of Parliament saw the legislation introduced by Highet as being unnecessary. Having the New Zealand flag recognised under the *Flags, Emblems and Names Protection Bill*, simply declared what had been the case since 1902; that the 1869 blue ensign was the flag that represented New Zealand on land and sea. By shifting the provision of the *Shipping and Seamen Act* as to what the national flag is, the Act seemed to be a case of reaffirming what people already knew. Highet may have viewed the legislation within his wider agenda of instilling national patriotism.

Sesquicentenary of the Treaty of Waitangi: 1990

Wellington writer David McGill was one of the first to publicly suggest that the country look for a new national flag, as the sesquicentenary celebrations of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, in 1990, loomed nearer.²⁵¹ Following a decisive *New Zealand Herald* – National Research Bureau Poll of 1986, whereby the vast majority of voters wanted to retain the New Zealand flag, McGill pointedly asked, ‘Did we know what we were voting for?’²⁵² In 1988, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Dr Michael Bassett, responded to a suggestion to change the national flag. Bassett said:

I am not aware of a strong feeling in the community for this change nor is there any popular symbol which springs to mind as a replacement.

²⁵⁰ ‘Introduction’, *Flags, Emblems, and Names Protection Bill*, NZPD, Third Session, Thirty-ninth Parliament, House of Representatives, Volume 440: Comprising of the period from 11 August to 9 September 1981, p.2752.

²⁵¹ David McGill, ‘Designing New Zealand into its Flag’, *New Zealand Listener*, 20 December 1986, pp.30-31, in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁵² David McGill, ‘Designing New Zealand into its Flag’, *New Zealand Listener*, 20 December 1986, pp.30-31, in 2003-171-08/2b, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Of course 1990 will offer an occasion for the discussion of all the symbols of our national identity and if there is a strong desire for a change my colleagues and I will definitely give it our consideration.²⁵³

The *New Zealand Listener* heeded McGill's calls three years later, when it convened a panel of artists and designers, and asked them to suggest concepts for a new New Zealand flag. The magazine also invited entries from the public. The *Listener* advised that the winning entry would be submitted to the government and it proposed that a national referendum should follow, so that New Zealanders could decide what the flag should be. *Listener* writer Gordon Campbell reflected on comments that Australian columnist Ron Saw made after Ausflag ran a similar competition in the mid-1980s:

But a national flag... has a lot more to do with identity than it has inheritance. The same argument, by extension, applies to New Zealand. There is a British heritage, expressed in many ways in this country, yet that heritage need not be expressed in the New Zealand flag... It is not easy to focus on what is essential about New Zealand, and then think up a design that will harmoniously express it.²⁵⁴

In response to the attempts to change the flag by the *New Zealand Listener*, the Coromandel Member of Parliament, Graeme Lee, wanted to introduce a Private Members Bill that would require the consent of three-quarters of politicians to agree to changing the flag before the ensign could be altered. The competition attracted 600 entries, after which the *New Zealand Listener* invited its readers to vote for their top three designs. The line-up of designs voted on included the current New Zealand flag. The winner was announced in July 1990. Receiving just under 4000 votes was the current New Zealand flag, with this number equating to 43.6 percent of the total vote – and therefore, not representing the views of the majority of voters.

The sesquicentenary of the Treaty of Waitangi, in 1990, was an opportune time to revisit the appropriateness of the most visible symbol of New Zealand, the national flag. Yet Bassett, as the responsible Minister, reinforced the opinion that there needed to be a high demand to change the flag in order for the government to act.

²⁵³ Minister of Internal Affairs Michael Bassett, 15 November 1988, AAAC W5084 7536 Box 217 CON/5/1/1, National Archives of New Zealand.

²⁵⁴ Gordon Campbell, 'Do we need a new flag?' *New Zealand Listener*, 6–12 November 1989, p. 19.

However, even if Bassett had acted, the competition run by the *New Zealand Listener*, acting as a proxy for a wider national exercise to select a new flag, did not manage to find a clear alternative, despite the majority of voters not supporting the national flag.

Attempts to Change the Australian Flag

Attempts to change the Australian flag have followed a similar journey to that of the New Zealand flag. Kwan observes that, in 1967, a Morgan poll confirmed that Australians seemed comfortable enough with the Union Jack being on the ensign, but some did contemplate how long that would be the case, with suggestions it may change due to closer ties with America than with Britain.²⁵⁵ In 1971, John Lavett, an Australian public servant and diplomat, established a committee to identify “a truly Australian anthem and a true Australian flag.”²⁵⁶

Echoing similar sentiments being expressed in New Zealand at the time, a poll determined that more than 70% of Australians believed the Union Jack should be kept on the flag, with only 21% supporting *God Save the Queen* as the national anthem.²⁵⁷ Australia’s Labor Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, launched a quest to find a new Australian national anthem on Australia Day 1973, with *Advance Australia Fair* becoming the winner, after the Bureau of Census and Statistics polled 60,000 Australians.²⁵⁸

The Liberal Party Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, reinstated *God Save the Queen* as Australia’s national anthem in 1976, with Fraser’s decision being reversed when *Advance Australia Fair* was proclaimed the Australian national anthem in 1984, under the then Labor government.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ Elizabeth Kwan, *Flag and Nation: Australians and their National Flags since 1901*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006, p.117.

²⁵⁶ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.119.

²⁵⁷ Roy Morgan to Lavett, 21 September 1972, National Archives of Australia: AA1975/370, 4, Ten Best Entries folder; Gallup Polls on the National Anthem, Parliamentary Library to Department of Administrative Services, 13 Oct. 1976, EB80/5765, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet in Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.119.

²⁵⁸ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.120.

²⁵⁹ Australian Government: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, ‘Australian National Anthem’, <https://www.pmc.gov.au/government/australian-national-anthem> (accessed 31 August 2020).

The changing of the national anthem by Whitlam gave rise to two competing organisations regarding the Australian flag: Ausflag, established in 1981, was committed to “[promoting] a flag which clearly and unequivocally proclaims our identity to other nations... and a flag which unites the Australian nation in all its diversity”;²⁶⁰ and the Australian National Flag Association, which was established from the New South Wales branch of the Returned and Services League in 1983.²⁶¹ Much like New Zealand, Kwan explains, “For many Australians, so used to regarding the two strands of their nationality – British and Australian – as inextricable, changing the national anthem and flag was difficult.”²⁶²

The replacement of Bob Hawke as Labor’s leader and Australia’s Prime Minister in 1991, by republican Paul Keating, ensured that replacing the Australian flag would be at the top of the government’s agenda.²⁶³ The opposition challenged Keating, as they insisted that Australians had fought and died under the current flag. Says Kwan, “This was a false history. The Union Jack and both Australian ensigns were used in both wars.”²⁶⁴ This is supported by Rollo Kingsford-Smith, a Wing Commander during World War II, who also served as a director of Ausflag.

He wrote, “This argument also conveniently ignores the fact that few Australians who fought in the two world wars did so under today’s flag – the majority of those who served under a flag would have done so under Australia’s Red Ensign, the navy’s White Ensign or the Union Jack.”²⁶⁵

Writes Kwan:

²⁶⁰ Ausflag, ‘Who we are’ https://www.ausflag.com.au/who_we_are.asp accessed 20 October, 2020; Ralph Kelly, Filibuster: The Century-Long Australian Flag Debate, *Crux Australis*, 14, 1, no.57, (2000), cited in Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.121.

²⁶¹ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.121.

²⁶² Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.123.

²⁶³ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.127.

²⁶⁴ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.130.

²⁶⁵ Rollo Kingsford-Smith, ‘A Flag for the New Millennium’, *Australian Geographic*, April-June 2001, p.35, cited in ‘Ausflag: Our Own Flag’, https://www.ausflag.com.au/fighting_for_the_flag.asp (accessed 31 August 2020).

The real debate – a *well-informed* debate – has only just begun. To understand why Australians are so divided over their national flag, especially its Union Jack, is to understand the transition Australians made in national flags from the Union Jack in 1901 to the Australian national flag in 1954. Further, that transition has continued to present as Australians question the appropriateness of Britain’s national flag in the place of honour of their country’s national flag. *Is the British Union Jack more important to Australians than their Commonwealth Star, the symbol of their nation?*²⁶⁶

Australia’s debate about its national flag mirrors the experience of New Zealand. On one side of the debate are those who wished to retain the Union Jack on Australia’s ensign, arguing that their forefathers fought under the flag during the world wars; an opinion that has subsequently been dispelled by Australian historians and former military personnel alike. Those arguing to replace the flag question the relevance of the Union Jack, since Australia has matured as a nation and become more independent from Britain.

Morrison’s Campaign to Change the Flag: 2004

In 2004, a trust titled NZFlag.com, headed by the Wellington businessman Lloyd Morrison, launched a campaign to gain enough signatures to force a citizens-initiated referendum on whether or not to change the New Zealand flag.²⁶⁷ The trust supported the adoption of a silver fern design, but the petition failed to gain enough signatures, with 100,000 providing their name towards the cause. Morrison attributed the lack of signatures to an inability to assemble a sufficient number of volunteers to collect them. This situation had occurred, he said, because, “We simply failed to get petition forms in front of New Zealanders – apathy was the winner again.”²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, p.158.

²⁶⁷ ‘Why change?’, NZFlag.com (website): <http://www.nzflag.com/> (accessed 27 August 2020).

²⁶⁸ ‘Flag petition to be withdrawn’, Scoop: Politics (website), 5 August 2010: <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO0507/S00310/flag-petition-to-be-withdrawn.htm> (accessed 27 August 2020).

Although the RSA remained opposed to any change to the flag, its national body did state that it would amend its position if a national referendum showed that change was what the public wanted. Some district RSA associations, such as Canterbury, disagreed with the stance and voted to oppose it.²⁶⁹

As previously stated in this chapter, in 2010 the *New Zealand Herald* reported that the then Prime Minister Helen Clark favoured a simple Southern Cross as a new flag for New Zealand.²⁷⁰ Clark said that official advice had been sought, following Morrison's attempt to gather enough signatures to enact a citizens-initiated referendum, which would have coincided with the 2005 General Election, if the referendum had gathered 240,000 signatures.

Advice also recommended that because of the importance of the flag as symbol of New Zealand's identity, the government should not lead the initial stage of the process. If a process for change were to be initiated, it would be important that it succeeded and resulted in the adoption of a new flag. If the process failed, it could damage the flag's status as a unifying symbol and there would be a risk that the issue would not be revisited for a long time. Finally, it would be desirable for change to be widely supported by other political parties. This would ensure the process remained apolitical and would allow it to run across different administrations, if necessary.²⁷¹

Also in 2010, the *New Zealand Herald* surveyed 18 of the 22 members of the Order of New Zealand (New Zealand's highest honour), with 11 supporting a change to the national flag, five opposed, one being unsure, and another person being unwilling to comment.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ 'Calls for a new flag', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/calls-new-flag> (accessed 31 August 2020).

²⁷⁰ Audrey Young, 'Clark Backs Southern Cross for Our Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 19 February 2010, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10627360 (accessed 27 August 2020).

²⁷¹ Audrey Young, 'Clark Backs Southern Cross for Our Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 19 February 2010, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10627360 (accessed 27 August 2020).

²⁷² Derek Cheng, Simon Collins and Wayne Thompson, 'Patriots Agree: Time to Change the NZ Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 4 February 2010,

The article cited the last poll on the issue of whether or not to change the flag, conducted by Nielsen for *North & South* magazine in 2008, which found that 62% opposed changing the flag. Of the Order of New Zealand members who supported change, most did so on the basis of not being able to distinguish the New Zealand flag from Australia's. Former Prime Minister Jim Bolger cited an example of the Australian High Commissioner accidentally mistaking the New Zealand flag for Australia's at a commemoration of the landing in Europe during the Second World War.

Another reason for changing the flag was the independence New Zealand enjoys from Britain, after the Statute of Westminster was adopted in 1947. Former Governor-General Sir Paul Reeves also believed the diversification in both trade and population since Britain joined the EEC in 1973 was another reason to change the flag. Not all agreed, however, with the calls for change. Lady June Blundell, wife of former Governor-General Sir Denis, wanted the flag retained "because of the many lives lost under the flag", while former Prime Minister Mike Moore and former Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Don McKinnon warned against changing the flag without it being part of a wider constitutional change.²⁷³

Morrison's attempt to change the flag was the first that tried to force the issue by way of a citizens-initiated referendum, and although it fell short of the required just under a quarter of a million signatures, it still gained a considerable number, with 100,000. Clearly, the Prime Minister, Helen Clark, seriously considered the issue, seeking official advice on the matter. Yet that advice strongly suggested that the initiative should not be led by politicians; that the process be as apolitical as possible, and that a process should result in the flag being changed, so as not to denigrate the existing flag. Taking the opinions of New Zealand's highest titular honours, by the country's most subscribed newspaper, indicated a preference for changing the flag. Yet similar arguments remained for both changing the flag and retaining it.

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10623888 (accessed 26 August 2020).

²⁷³ Derek Cheng, Simon Collins and Wayne Thompson, 'Patriots Agree: Time to Change the NZ Flag', *New Zealand Herald*, 4 February 2010,

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10623888 (accessed 26 August 2020).

The Search for an Alternative New Zealand Icon

Throughout the best part of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, suggestions to alter the New Zealand flag have tended to centre upon having the Southern Cross appear alone, the insertion of a silver fern, and – to a lesser extent – the use of a kiwi. The search for a unique ‘New Zealand icon’ began in earnest in the mid-to late-nineteenth century. When British settlers arrived to New Zealand, they had been exposed to Britain’s icon triumvirate of Britannia, the lion, and John Bull. From these icons, the concept of Zealandia was born, an extension of Britannia. Wolfe writes, “She became a favourite image for patriotic music scores, graced a postage stamp from 1901-10 and performed a host of trademark duties, even for a line of boots... Zealandia never really caught on.”²⁷⁴

The popularity of the kiwi as the fauna of choice to be the national emblem was not always obvious. In the second half of the nineteenth century, other popular birds included the moa, huia, tūī and weka.²⁷⁵ However, two prominent organisations adopted the kiwi as their emblem from their early beginnings – the Bank of New Zealand (1861) and the New Zealand Insurance Company (1859), with the former using the symbol on their banknotes since 1870.²⁷⁶

The kiwi had become associated with the New Zealand military as early as 1886, when it first appeared on military badges, and several World War I regiments used the name.²⁷⁷ In 1906, Australian William Ramsay named his newly invented shoe polish ‘Kiwi’ in honour of his wife’s country of birth.²⁷⁸ The brand earned high demand when war broke out in Europe in 1914, because men in the military needed it to shine their boots, belts, and horses’ tack.

²⁷⁴ Richard Wolfe, *Kiwi: More Than A Bird*, Auckland: Random Century New Zealand, 1991, pp.17-18.

²⁷⁵ Neville Peat, *Kiwi: The People’s Bird*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006, p.142.

²⁷⁶ Peat, *Kiwi*, p.142.

²⁷⁷ ‘Kiwi and people: Early history’, Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/kiwi/page-4> (accessed 27 August 2020).

²⁷⁸ Stephen Barnett, and Richard Wolfe, *New Zealand! New Zealand! In Praise of Kiwiana*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989, p. 14.

A large chalk kiwi, measuring 180 metres wide by 100 metres high, was created on the hill above Sling Camp, on England's Salisbury Plains, in 1919,²⁷⁹ and a group of servicemen who entertained the military, became known as the 'Kiwi Concert Party'.²⁸⁰ By World War II, the name 'kiwis' had become synonymous with New Zealand soldiers.



Fig. 67. Bulford Kiwi.²⁸¹

Within popular New Zealand culture, the kiwi has appeared on stamps, New Zealand currency, lottery tickets, has been used by the state television broadcaster as a means of bidding viewers good night, has been given as a nickname for one of New Zealand's Prime Ministers (Keith Holyoake), and provided the name of one of New Zealand's home-grown banks.²⁸² Many New Zealanders will also recall the large Kiwi Bacon signs decorating the skylines of Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington, and Palmerston North during the 1960s.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ 'Sling Camp', *The War Effort of New Zealand* (online): <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WH1-Effo-t1-body-d15-d2.html> (accessed 27 August 2020).

²⁸⁰ Peat, *Kiwi*, p.142.

²⁸¹ Colleen Brown, 'Victor Low – The Chinese ANZAC Who Laid Out The Bulford Kiwi', 12 March 2019, <https://ww100.govt.nz/bulford-kiwi> (accessed 31 August 2020).

²⁸² See: Wolfe, *Kiwi*.

²⁸³ Jock Phillips. 'Kiwi: A kiwi country: 1930s–2000s', *Te Ara, the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kiwi/page-5> (accessed 27 August 2020).



Fig. 68. *Kiwi Bacon Sign, Christchurch.*²⁸⁴

The more popular symbol to represent New Zealand over a number of years, and within a number of contexts, is the silver fern. The silver fern (*cyathea dealbata*) is endemic to New Zealand and is called ponga by Māori.²⁸⁵ The association between the silver fern and Māori spans back centuries; Māori used the plant as a ‘homing beacon’, snapping the branches from the stem and placing them silver-side-up to reflect the moonlight, in order to find their way home at night. Since that time, both deer-cullers and possum-hunters have used the plant for the same purpose.²⁸⁶ A whakataukī (proverb), associated with the silver fern, reads ‘Mate atu he tētēkura, Ara mai he tētēkura’ (‘As one frond withers and dies, another unfurls to take its place’).²⁸⁷

In Pākehā New Zealand culture, the first use of the silver fern appears to have taken place in 1853, when sailors of the Royal Navy from the *HMS Sparrow* were berthed in New Plymouth and challenged the local army garrison to a rifle match.

²⁸⁴ David Cook, ‘Kiwi Bacon, Christchurch’, <https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/collection/2016063/david-cook/kiwi-bacon-christchurch> (accessed 31 August 2020).

²⁸⁵ John Wardle, *Wardle’s Native Trees of New Zealand and their Story*, Wellington: New Zealand Farm Forestry Association and Bateson Publishing, 2011, p. 18.

²⁸⁶ Wardle, *Wardle’s Native Trees of New Zealand and their Story*, p.19.

²⁸⁷ Hirini Moko Mead and Neil Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tipuna*, Wellington: University of Victoria Press, 2001, p. 286.

Taking place at the Rewa Rewa Rifle Range, the New Zealand shooters spotted some silver fern, picked them, and pinned them to their pockets as good luck charms.²⁸⁸ The winners allegedly stated, “The silver fern has brought us luck and we will carry on using it.”²⁸⁹ The popularity of the silver fern was also promoted in verse and painting by famed watercolourist, Alfred Sharpe.²⁹⁰

In New Zealand, the link between rugby and national identity cannot be denied. As Palenski once remarked, “It was rugby union... which New Zealand took to more enthusiastically and thoroughly than any other colony, that did most to establish a sense of identity through sport.”²⁹¹ New Zealand’s early rugby teams demonstrated this connection through their popularisation of the silver fern. In 1884, New Zealand’s first national rugby team wore dark-blue jerseys with a fern (albeit a gold one) on the breast, marking the first time the fern was used as a national symbol overseas.²⁹² The person who came up with the idea of having the team wear the fern was Samuel Sleigh, an English-born insurance broker.²⁹³

During its 1888/89 overseas tour, the rugby team – called the Natives – used a silver fern on a black jersey. The tour encompassed New Zealand, Australia, Britain and Ireland, and the team played 107 matches, winning 78. The tour is still reputed to be the longest-ever tour undertaken in the history of sport.²⁹⁴ Captain of the team, Joe Warbrick, from Ngāti Rangitihī, played for both the 1884 and 1888 New Zealand sides.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁸ ‘History of the New Zealand silver fern’, National Rifle Association of New Zealand (website): <http://www.nranz.com/organisation/history-of-the-new-zealand-silver-fern/> (accessed 27 August 2020).

²⁸⁹ Alan Turley, *Rugby: The Pioneering Years*, Auckland: HarperCollins, 2008, p. 127.

²⁹⁰ Roger Blackley. 'Sharpe, Alfred', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2s18/sharpe-alfred> (accessed 27 August 2020).

²⁹¹ Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012, p. 270.

²⁹² *Otago Witness*, 3 May 1884, p. 21, cited in Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, p. 280.

²⁹³ Ron Palenski, *Rugby: A New Zealand History*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015, p. 53.

²⁹⁴ Greg Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks: The 1888–89 New Zealand Native Football Team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand*, Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, 1993.

²⁹⁵ ‘Joseph Astbury Warbrick: All Black legend’, Te Mana o Ngāti Rangitihī Trust (website): <http://www.ngatirangitihī.iwi.nz/about/nga-korero/joe-warbrick-all-black-legend> (accessed 27 August 2020).

At the first annual general meeting of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union, former 1888 Native player, Tom Ellison, from Ngāi Tahu and Te Āti Awa, proposed that members of the national rugby team should follow the example set by the Natives and wear a black jersey featuring a silver fern.²⁹⁶ Ellison captained the first New Zealand national team selected under the authority of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) when it toured New South Wales and Queensland in 1893.²⁹⁷



Fig. 69. 1888 Natives wearing the silver fern. Note the use of the United Tribes Flag and the Union Jack.²⁹⁸

In the New Zealand military, the silver fern was also used extensively in a variety of ways. It appears to have first been used during the Boer War, featuring on the glengarry and slouch hat badges of soldiers from New Zealand. The New Zealand Natives Association wanted to differentiate New Zealand troops from the soldiers of other British colonies and so produced 200 silver fern badges for the hats of the men shipped to South Africa in 1899.²⁹⁹ As previously noted, the association was essentially interested in forging a unique New Zealand identity, rather than having men from New Zealand seen as Britons living afar.

²⁹⁶ Atholl Anderson, 'Ellison, Thomas Rangiwahia', Te Ara, the Encyclopedia of New Zealand: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2e7/ellison-thomas-rangiwahia> (accessed 27 August 2020).

²⁹⁷ Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, p.298.

²⁹⁸ Auckland City Libraries - Tāmaki Pātaka Kōrero, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Reference: 4-919, Photograph by James D. Richardson.

²⁹⁹ 'The Transvaal War', *Otago Witness*, 19 October 1899, p. 23.

Some New Zealand soldiers, during World War I, referred to themselves as ‘Fernleafs’ (New Zealand having been labelled as ‘Fernland’ and New Zealanders as ‘Fernlanders’ at the start of the 1900s). Lowndes Square, in Knightsbridge, London, hosted a ‘Fernleaf Club’ during World War II; a residential centre for the rehabilitation of troops, staffed by the New Zealand Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps.³⁰⁰ The silver fern also appeared on the badge ‘Onward’ that was worn by all World War II New Zealand soldiers.³⁰¹

The official address for the New Zealand Division Headquarters in Egypt during World War II was ‘Fernleaf Cairo,’³⁰² and the New Zealand War Service Medal, awarded to all New Zealand military since 1946, has the silver fern on the back. The silver fern also adorns the headstones of New Zealanders in the cemeteries of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission throughout the world, thereby perpetuating the association between the military and the silver fern.

The silver fern has also long been closely associated with New Zealand produce, because of its use as a trademark for the country’s meat and dairy exports.³⁰³ After the success of the 1924/25 All Blacks Invincibles Tour, manager Stan Dean suggested, “that the fern leaf be adopted as a national trade mark for New Zealand goods in the same way Canada has adopted the maple leaf.”³⁰⁴

As Dean pointed out, the fern had been recognised in Britain since its use as an emblem during the rugby tours of that country by the Natives in 1888, the Originals in 1905, and the Invincibles in 1924.³⁰⁵ The National Dairy Association immediately took up Dean’s idea. More recently, in the 1990s, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise and Tourism New Zealand have developed the silver fern into the distinctive New Zealand FernMark.

³⁰⁰ W. Wynne Mason, *Prisoners of War*, Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1954, p. 499.

³⁰¹ Wayne Stack, and Barry O’Sullivan, *The New Zealand Expeditionary Force in World War II*, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2013, p. 41.

³⁰² Alex Hedley, *Fernleaf Cairo: The Fascinating Story of New Zealanders in Wartime Egypt*, Auckland: Harper-Collins Publishing, 2009, p. 107.

³⁰³ ‘The fern’, Te Ara, the Encyclopedia of New Zealand: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/emblems-national/page-2> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁰⁴ Director of the Dominion Museum to the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, 15 February 1932, in IAW1917, Box 4, National Archives of New Zealand.

³⁰⁵ ‘The silver fern’, *New Zealand Herald*, 26 March 1925, p. 11.

These organisations created the mark in order “to establish a singular visual identity for New Zealand.”³⁰⁶ Those businesses that carry the FernMark are the ambassadors of New Zealand’s efforts to promote New Zealand's products and trade overseas.³⁰⁷

The silver fern also became incorporated into the uniform of successive New Zealand Commonwealth and Olympic teams. On behalf of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, E.T. O’Connor, a response was offered to queries raised by the New Zealand Olympic and British Empire Games Association in 1963, in preparation for the Tokyo Olympics the following year, as to what symbol was to be adopted.³⁰⁸ They stated that although New Zealand has no definitive ‘national emblem’, sporting bodies overseas use the silver fern, normally embroidered on their breast pockets.

Three years later, an *Evening Post* columnist reported a complaint voiced by the manager of the New Zealand Commonwealth Games team, which had recently returned from Jamaica. The manager wanted the fern emblem discarded, or some very strict rules regarding its use to be put in place.³⁰⁹ “[So] many other people and groups are adorned with the motif,” he explained, “that it ceases to be distinctive and the honouring of wearing it is somewhat lessened.”³¹⁰

The columnist then commented there was no shortage of New Zealanders keen to drop the fern, for various reasons: the fern itself was very rare, it lacked the distinctiveness of other national symbols, and some people saw it as a ‘white feather’ (a reference to when this was the ‘cowardice’ symbol for those refusing to fight in the wars). Replacements for the fern could be the kiwi and the New Zealand Coat of Arms. But, warned the columnist, New Zealanders would still want the silver fern on All Black jerseys.

³⁰⁶ ‘What is the FernMark?’ The New Zealand Fernmark Licence Programme (website): <http://www.fernmark.nzstory.govt.nz/info> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁰⁷ ‘New Zealand story: Business toolkit’, The New Zealand Fernmark Licence Programme (website): <http://www.nzstory.govt.nz/> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁰⁸ E.T. O’Connor to the Secretary of the New Zealand Olympic and British Empire Games Association, 1 October 1963 in IA1W1893, Box 10, 81/1 Part 3, New Zealand National Archives.

³⁰⁹ ‘Emblem problem once again’, *Evening Post*, 22 October 1966, in IA1W1893, Box 10 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

³¹⁰ ‘Emblem problem once again’, *Evening Post*, 22 October 1966, in IA1W1893, Box 10 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

Another consideration worth bearing in mind is that one national symbol for all fields makes a greater impact. It is not a matter of sport, but trade and tourism as well, if New Zealand is as concerned as she should be with getting her image across as widely as possible. One dignified, striking and representative symbol cropping up all over the place on things and people New Zealand might work wonders...Mr. Shakespeare has rightly called for action on the few square inches that shout 'New Zealand' and the time is right for either affirming positively that we like what we have or coming up with something we really do like.³¹¹

Interestingly, the silver fern was incorporated into the official flag to represent the New Zealand Governor during the early twentieth century. The New Zealand Governor, Lord William Plunket, wrote to the Assistant Private Secretary for the Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Elgin Edward Bruce, in 1908, to affirm his government's request that the laurel wreath that was used in the Governor's flag, when onboard a ship, be replaced by the silver fern to signify the country's change in status from a colony to a dominion the previous year.³¹² Citing the example of Canada, which had changed the laurel wreath to the maple leaf on the Governor's flag in 1870, Plunket stated that, "The fern leaf is universally accepted in this Dominion as the emblem of New Zealand..."³¹³ The Secretary did not oppose the proposed amendments to the flag.³¹⁴

The search for an alternative New Zealand icon has been happening for the best part of 150 years, with the apparent preference being the silver fern. Early attempts to find an icon connected to the new home of British immigrants resulted in looking at New Zealand's native flora and fauna, with a strong contender being the kiwi.

³¹¹ 'Emblem problem once again', *Evening Post*, 22 October 1966, in IA1W1893, Box 10 81/1, Part 3, National Archives of New Zealand.

³¹² Despatch: Lord Plunket to Lord Elgin: 5 February 1908 in 'Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834' in *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³¹³ Despatch: Lord Plunket to Lord Elgin: 5 February 1908 in 'Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834' in *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³¹⁴ 1909: A-2: p.7. Despatch: Lord Crewe to Lord Plunket, 18 May 1908 in 'Notes on the Registration of New Zealand Shipping Before 1834' in *Flags of New Zealand* – Compiled in order to prepare illustrations for the N.Z. Encyclopaedia Article on N.Z. Flags 1962-1963, p.1., Bernard Foster, Historical Publications Officer, 2003-171-08/3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

However, it would seem that, given the popular use of the silver fern, predominately on the uniform of the All Blacks – New Zealand’s national team, playing New Zealand’s national sport of rugby and to a lesser extent, the use of the symbol within the military, this has enabled the emblem to endure and become the frontrunner in the search for a national icon.

New Zealand Flag Referenda 2015-2016

As a result of the confidence and supply agreement reached between the Māori Party and National, following the 2008 New Zealand election, it was announced that a review of New Zealand’s constitutional arrangements would be undertaken in 2010.³¹⁵ Three years later, the Constitutional Review Panel released its report, which included a section on symbols of national identity, with a brief reference to the national flag.³¹⁶ When discussing the symbols, the review noted that one group believed that the current arrangements were seen as properly reflecting New Zealand’s traditional ties with Britain, whereas another group argued that they did not reflect New Zealand’s bicultural or multicultural society, nor New Zealand’s independence from Britain.³¹⁷ These arguments would arise again five years later, during the New Zealand flag referenda.

In March 2014, Prime Minister John Key delivered a speech at Victoria University, indicating that, should a National Government be returned to power after the 2014 election, he would advocate for a referendum on the New Zealand flag. He stated:

But it’s my belief, and I think one increasingly shared by many New Zealanders, that the design of the New Zealand flag symbolises a colonial and post-colonial era whose time has passed.

³¹⁵ Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Māori Affairs, ‘Govt Begins Cross-Party Constitutional Review’, 8 December 2010, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/govt-begins-cross-party-constitutional-review> (accessed 31 August 2020).

³¹⁶ Constitutional Advisory Panel, *New Zealand’s Constitution: A Report on a Conversation*, November 2013.

³¹⁷ Constitutional Advisory Panel, *New Zealand’s Constitution: A Report on a Conversation*, November 2013, p.71.

The flag remains dominated by the Union Jack in a way that we ourselves are no longer dominated by the United Kingdom. We retain a strong and important constitutional link to the monarchy and I get no sense of any groundswell of support to let that go. Nor could we or would we dispose of the cultural legacy which gave us a proud democracy, a strong legal system and a rich artistic heritage. Each of these we have evolved and interpreted in our own way as an independent nation. I am proposing that we take one more step in the evolution of modern New Zealand by acknowledging our independence through a new flag.³¹⁸

He continued to argue that:

However, this country, the way we see ourselves in the world and the way others see us, has changed dramatically in the past century. Our flag does not reflect those changes... It's my contention that when we engage internationally, in forums ranging from secondary school debating to the United Nations, or from age-grade representative sports teams to the Olympics, we should be represented by a flag that is distinctly New Zealand's. A flag that is only New Zealand's. A flag that is readily identified by New Zealanders, and with New Zealanders. I believe the current flag is not that flag.³¹⁹

Following National being re-elected to power in September 2014, Key and the National-led government set about to establish the referendum process by which the voting public could determine a flag to represent New Zealand. The cost of the referendum was budgeted at \$25.7 million dollars, with two-thirds of the cost (\$17.3 million) being designated for the two binding postal referenda.³²⁰ A cross-party group of Members of Parliament convened in late 2014.³²¹

³¹⁸ Prime Minister John Key, 'Speech at Victoria University', 12 March 2014, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/speech-victoria-university-0> cited 27/08/2017 (accessed 27 August 2020).

³¹⁹ Prime Minister John Key, 'Speech at Victoria University', 12 March 2014, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/speech-victoria-university-0> cited 27/08/2017 (accessed 27 August 2020).

³²⁰ Frequently Asked Questions, Flag Consideration Panel, 7 August 2015 (accessed 27 August 2020).

³²¹ Frequently Asked Questions, Flag Consideration Panel, 7 August 2015 (accessed 27 August 2020). The cross-party group consisted of Johnathan Young (Chair and National Party representative), Hon. Trevor Mallard (Labour Party representative), Dr. Kennedy Graham (Green Party representative),

The responsibility of the cross-party group was to appoint the Flag Consideration Panel and to have input into the referendum process. In February 2015, twelve members of the Flag Consideration Panel were appointed by the Deputy Prime Minister Bill English to oversee the referenda.³²²

New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill 2015

Alongside the work of the Flag Consideration Panel, the referendum process by which the public would determine which flag would represent New Zealand was established by legislation under the *New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill*, which was introduced to the House of Representatives in March 2015 and became law in August that year.³²³

The introduction of the legislation read:

The bill provides for a two-stage referendum process to allow the public to vote on the New Zealand flag: a first referendum to determine which of four alternative flag designs are preferred by voters, and a second to determine whether the preferred alternative flag or the current flag would be the New Zealand flag.³²⁴

Marama Fox (Māori Party representative), David Seymour (ACT Party representative), and the Hon. Peter Dunne (United Future Party representative). NZ First declined to participate in the process.
³²² Manatū Taonga: Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 'Flag Consideration Panel Members Announced', 26 February 2015, <https://mch.govt.nz/news-events/news/flag-consideration-panel-members-announced> (accessed 27 August 2020). Those appointed were: Professor John Burrows (Chair, former law professor and Co-Chair of the Constitutional Panel); Kate de Goldi (Deputy Chair and writer); Nicki Bell (CEO of Saatchi and Saatchi); Peter Chin (former mayor of Dunedin); Julie Christie (director and member of several boards); Rod Drury (CEO of Xero); Beatrice Faumuina (former New Zealand discus world champion); Stephen Jones (youth councillor); Lieutenant General Rhys Jones (former chief of the New Zealand Defence Force); Sir Brian Lochore (former All Black player, captain and coach); Hana O'Regan (academic and Ngai Tahu); and Malcolm Mulholland (academic and flag historian). The panel was supported by a secretariat that was located in the Ministry of Justice.

³²³ 'New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill', https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/bills-and-laws/bills-proposed-laws/document/00DBHOH_BILL62371_1/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill (accessed 27 August 2020).

³²⁴ 'New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill', <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/bill/government/2015/0008/latest/d56e2.html> (accessed 27 August 2020).

Under ‘Timing of the Flag Consideration Process’, the legislation noted that the bill was close to the Gallipoli campaign centenary and ANZAC day commemorations. It stated that “New Zealand has not reached the appropriate point in its social and constitutional development, and a new flag ought to be chosen if and when New Zealand chooses to become a republic.”³²⁵

Repeating the popular, albeit mistaken view, that historically most New Zealand armed forces personnel had served under the current flag, the government maintained that the referendum did not “...diminish the service and sacrifice of our veterans under the current flag, and that as a country we are at a point where we can have a genuine discussion about the flag and what makes New Zealand distinctive.”³²⁶

Many of the views expressed by parliamentarians during the legislative debates reflected the wider views of the public at the time, despite Labour’s reversal of supporting a flag change, as previously stated. Even as recently as the 2014 General Election, Labour’s Member of Parliament for Hutt South, Trevor Mallard, released the party’s Internal Affairs policy, which clearly stated that – should Labour be elected – it would review the design of the national flag.³²⁷

³²⁵ ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill’, <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/bill/government/2015/0008/latest/d56e2.html> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³²⁶ ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill’, <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/bill/government/2015/0008/latest/d56e2.html> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³²⁷ Michael Fox, ‘Labour Backs National Flag Review’, *Stuff*, 3 September 2014, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/10451013/Labour-backs-national-flag-review>; Your NZ, ‘Labour Still Campaigning Against It’s Own Flag Policy’, <https://yournz.org/2015/06/30/labour-still-campaigning-against-its-own-flag-policy/>; *New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – Third Reading, Hansard (Debates)*, 13 August 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150813_00000032/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-third-reading (accessed 31 August 2020).

However, Mallard presented a petition where more than 30,000 people had signed to ask that the government include, in the first referendum, the question whether or not people wanted to change the flag.³²⁸ Mallard argued that his proposed referendum structure would allow voters to consider the alternative flag designs, to assist them to decide whether they wanted to change the flag, and if the majority voted against changing the flag, this – in turn – would negate the need for a second referendum, and save expenditure as a result. The National government rebutted the proposal, saying that if the process suggested by Mallard was followed, then many of those who voted against changing the flag would not rank the alternative flags and, therefore, would not contribute to selecting the preferred alternative.

The minority view of the Labour Party, from the Justice and Electoral Select Committee, was also inserted into the legislation. Labour ‘strongly opposed’ the bill, and although they questioned whether there was a real desire to debate whether or not New Zealand should change the flag, it was the structure of the referendum that the Party objected to.³²⁹ Labour endorsed the petition of Mallard, and claimed that all 15,970 submitters who participated in the select committee process supported its stance. During the first reading of the bill, Mallard claimed that the referenda were simply a “vanity project” for the Prime Minister.³³⁰ Labour Member of Parliament for Mount Roskill, Phil Goff, endorsed the position of Mallard, stating:

³²⁸ ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill’, <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/bill/government/2015/0008/latest/d56e2.html> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³²⁹ ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill’, <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/bill/government/2015/0008/latest/d56e2.html> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³³⁰ ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – First Reading’, *Hansard* (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150312_00000012/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-first-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

I have got the three latest polls on the flag, and I have got to say that the Television New Zealand (TVNZ) one on September 2014 was 35 percent for change, 65 percent against. The March 2014 New Zealand Herald poll was 40 percent for change and 52 percent against. The February 2014 TVNZ poll was 28 percent for change, 72 percent against. So here we have got a Government that wants to have change... but it is going to say what we are going to change to before it gives New Zealanders the right to say whether or not they want it.”³³¹

Going further, Goff cited the TVNZ poll, in which 2% of respondents believed that changing the flag was a priority, and supported Mallard’s view that changing the flag was a legacy project for the Prime Minister. Stated Goff:

Don’t worry about education. Don’t worry about the failure of the charter schools and the loss of public money. Don’t worry about the district health boards not having enough to provide decent health services. Don’t worry about the fact that we have cut policing in real terms every year in the last 5 years. Look at the flag.³³²

Goff concluded by stating that he would like to see a new flag, preferably one designed by Kyle Lockwood with the silver fern on it, yet he also cautioned about the timing of the legislation being introduced one month before the centenary of Anzac, claiming: “They [the RSA] feel strongly about it and I understand why they feel strongly about it. They fought under that flag... They saw their mates die under that flag.”³³³

³³¹ ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – First Reading’, *Hansard* (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150312_00000012/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-first-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

³³² ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – First Reading’, *Hansard* (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150312_00000012/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-first-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

³³³ ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – First Reading’, *Hansard* (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150312_00000012/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-first-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

Both Goff and Denis O'Rourke, a Member of Parliament for NZ First, stated the invented tradition as fact. O'Rourke opined:

There is also another very important reason for us to oppose this bill, and this is that it will betray the men and women who fought and died under this flag, our flag, in many wars. We had 100,000 men go to the First World War from New Zealand and 18,000 of them died... they were buried under the flag.³³⁴

In response, Jono Naylor, a National List Member of Parliament and member of the Justice and Electoral Select Committee, stated:

We hear at the moment just how many people we have from other nations, not simply from the United Kingdom. This New Zealand place is not the United Kingdom. There is, in fact, a plethora of people from all sorts of cultures. There is nothing on our flag currently that, for example, really signifies anything of significance to do with Māori.³³⁵

Both the Greens and the Māori Party adopted the position of wanting to see the proposed bill go to the select committee. Marama Fox, speaking for the Māori Party, endorsed the position of the Greens for the legislation to go to select committee, and stated:

³³⁴ 'New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – First Reading', *Hansard* (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150312_00000012/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-first-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

³³⁵ 'New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – First Reading', *Hansard* (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150312_00000012/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-first-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

Again, it is the tip of the iceberg. It is the beginning of recognising duality of nationhood. Yes, it is a great expense, but it is an expense that will, hopefully, be the beginning of addressing a number of inequalities and disparities in our country.³³⁶

National, the Māori Party, ACT, and United Future (the National-led coalition Government) voted in favour of the second reading of the bill, with New Zealand Labour, the Green Party and NZ First, voting against. The change of support from the Green Party was driven by their belief that the referendum was a vanity project for the Prime Minister, with the Green's co-leader, Dr Russel Norman, stating: "If you want to have a constitutional republic in New Zealand, if you want to be a Prime Minister who actually wants to make New Zealand constitutionally independent, that would take leadership of substance, not leadership of optics."³³⁷ In July 2015, with the referendum process already having seen alternative flag designs submitted, Deputy Prime Minister Bill English asked that the bill now be read a second time.³³⁸

Andrew Little, as the Labour Leader of the Opposition, claimed that New Zealand was still not prepared to change the flag and cited that the 25 public meetings averaged an attendance of 29 people. He mocked the flag designs submitted, highlighting some of the more comical attempts, which included sheep, rainbows, pies, and jandals.

³³⁶ 'New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – First Reading', *Hansard* (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150312_00000012/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-first-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

³³⁷ 'New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – First Reading', *Hansard* (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150728_00000020/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-second-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

³³⁸ 'New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – First Reading', *Hansard* (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150728_00000020/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-second-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

Mallard attacked the select committee process, was critical of the five minutes allocated to the 747 people who asked to be heard by the committee, and was especially disparaging of the ten minutes allocated for the RSA. The legislation was passed 63 to 56 in August 2015.³³⁹

Flag Consideration Panel

The Flag Consideration Panel was charged with considering and overseeing a public engagement process, inviting the public to submit flag designs regarding a possible alternative flag, and shortlisting designs for the first postal referendum, using a preferential voting system that ranked the designs in order of preference.³⁴⁰ Key features of the panel were that it was independent and non-partisan, and it was underscored by nine guiding principles, including: ‘being inclusive by inviting and considering New Zealand’s diverse communities, including Māori’; ‘that the outcome of the process is upheld and not revisited for a significant period of time’; and ‘that the process is dignified and upholds the importance of the flag as a symbol of New Zealand’s nationhood.’³⁴¹

The Flag Consideration Panel consulted with the public during the referendum process. Consultation involved face-to-face meetings and hui with New Zealanders around the country, between May and June 2015. The panel also conducted a significant social media campaign about the process.

³³⁹ ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Bill – Third Reading’, Hansard (Debates), 12 March 2015, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20150813_00000032/new-zealand-flag-referendums-bill-third-reading (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁴⁰ Manatū Taonga: Ministry of Culture and Heritage, ‘Flag Consideration Panel Members Announced’, 26 February 2015, <https://mch.govt.nz/news-events/news/flag-consideration-panel-members-announced> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁴¹ CAB (14) 34/1, New Zealand Flag Process (Cabinet Paper) Appendix 3, October 2014.

Consultation included 850,000 online visits to official websites, a social media campaign that reached more than one million people, engaging with 2.6 million people per week via traditional media, producing video content that was viewed more than half a million times, holding 19 public workshops and six engagement hui, and information stands that engaged more than 6000 people in face to face conversations.³⁴²

In summarising the hundreds of opinions the panel received in support of changing the flag, they articulated in the *Our Nation. Your Choice* flyer, that a uniquely ‘New Zealand’ flag should not be confused with Australia’s; that New Zealand is a proud and independent country and should not have the flag of another country on its flag; that New Zealand has changed significantly and has become more aware of its bicultural origins, in becoming a multicultural nation; that New Zealand should still be part of the Commonwealth, where only four of the fifty-three countries have retained the Union Jack on their flag; and that, by allowing all New Zealanders to have a say in which flag should represent the country, this honours the rights and freedoms that have been fought for.³⁴³

Conversely, the same flyer produced a summary of opinions as to reasons why the current New Zealand flag should be retained. They included that the country has grown up and subsequently feels connected to the flag; that because the flag has not changed since 1902, this demonstrates New Zealand’s stability; that it represents the country that New Zealand soldiers fought and died for; that it reminds the country of New Zealand’s events and achievements of the past; and that it demonstrates New Zealand’s connection to Britain, which provided the country’s democracy, and respect for the law and a fair judicial system.³⁴⁴

³⁴² Report to Hon. Bill English, Deputy Prime Minister, from Professor John Burrows, Chair of the Flag Consideration Panel, Subject: Report back to Responsible Minister on findings of the public engagement process, 27 August 2015.

³⁴³ ‘Our Nation. Your Choice’ flyer, *Flag Consideration Panel*, 2016.

³⁴⁴ ‘Our Nation. Your Choice’ flyer, *Flag Consideration Panel*, 2016.

During the first stage of consultation, the panel asked New Zealanders to answer “What do you stand for?” The point of exercise was an attempt to articulate what principles and values the public stood for, with a view to have those ideas reflecting or inspiring alternative flag designs. The Flag Consideration Panel received more than 43,000 responses.³⁴⁵ The top five responses were: equality, freedom, history, respect, and family. One person’s answer was characteristic of what many other respondents said:

I stand for equality, freedom and responsibility. NZ is a friendly, welcoming, inclusive, and therefore multi-cultural society. Part of what makes this possible is that modern NZ is based on two distinct but overlapping cultures and histories – a background which should be treasured and celebrated.³⁴⁶

Another person wrote, “I stand for keeping ties with our history & the Commonwealth but also embracing our unique nation & what we stand for.”³⁴⁷

The panel provided information to assist people wanting to suggest alternative flag designs. This included a video produced by the Designers Institute of New Zealand on the principles of good flag design, which was viewed more than 36,000 times.³⁴⁸ The panel also agreed to a range of activities to assist it in narrowing down the designs suggested to it – including presentations from flag history, vexillology, and design experts – before assessing the flag designs.

³⁴⁵ ‘Thank you New Zealand’ (Flag Consideration panel website): <http://www.standfor.co.nz/> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁴⁶ ‘Thank you New Zealand’ (Flag Consideration panel website): <http://www.standfor.co.nz/> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁴⁷ ‘Thank you New Zealand’ (Flag Consideration panel website): <http://www.standfor.co.nz/> (accessed 27 August 2020). See also: Caleb Tutty, *New Zealand Herald*, Politics: The Flag Debate, 12 November 2015, <https://insights.nzherald.co.nz/article/the-flag-debate/> (accessed 31 August 2020). *New Zealand Herald* engaged Entopix to analyse the online responses to the word cloud produced by the Flag Consideration Panel that provided the most common responses. Entopix claimed that 32% of respondents stated in general terms that they wanted to keep the flag. The second most popular response, with just under 20%, was “New Zealand”, with the third most common response with again just under 20%, stating that they believed the exercise was a waste of money. The fourth most popular response was to change the flag, constituting just under 15% of responses.

³⁴⁸ Report back to the Responsible Minister on findings of the public engagement process from Professor John Burrows, Chair of the Flag Consideration Panel, to Deputy Prime Minister, Hon. Bill English, n.d.

This would involve a process including discussions over several meetings to agree an overall approach to, and criteria for, assessing the designs; seeking initial information and advice on potential copyright issues; and all panel members initially assessing each design individually.³⁴⁹

To avoid any potential legal or other impediments to the use of the recommended designs, the advisory group established by the panel included experts who were asked to identify any issues from design, arts, Māori, Pasifika and Asian perspectives, and to seek advice regarding any intellectual property issues.³⁵⁰

The criteria the panel arrived at required potential flag designs to include the following features:

1. Be unmistakably from New Zealand, celebrating New Zealand as a progressive, inclusive nation, connected to its environment, with a strong sense of its past and a strong vision of its future;
2. Be a 'great' flag, meaning that the design adheres to the principles of good flag design, and has an enduring quality (i.e., not become outdated) and will work well in all situations, from celebration to commemoration;
3. Be inclusive (i.e., all New Zealanders should be able to see themselves within it);
4. Not have any impediments to using it as the potential New Zealand flag.³⁵¹

A total of 10,292 suggested designs met these standards and were made available for the public to view through the panel's website at: www.flag.govt.nz. The top three 'regions' that submitted flag designs were Auckland (2,908), International (2,456),³⁵² and Wellington (1,699).³⁵³

³⁴⁹ Report back to the Responsible Minister on findings of the public engagement process from Professor John Burrows, Chair of the Flag Consideration Panel, to Deputy Prime Minister, Hon. Bill English, n.d.

³⁵⁰ Report back to the Responsible Minister on findings of the public engagement process from Professor John Burrows, Chair of the Flag Consideration Panel, to Deputy Prime Minister, Hon. Bill English, n.d.

³⁵¹ Summary: Release of Flag Consideration Panel meeting documents 4 November 2015.

³⁵² Flag designs were not restricted to New Zealand citizens. Any person, anywhere in the world, could submit a flag design.

³⁵³ Flag Statistics, Flag Consideration Panel, 17 August 2015, Malcolm Mulholland Private Collection.

The five most prominent colours were white (8,950), blue (6,948), red (6,241), black (5,309), and green (2,820). The three most prominent symbols were the southern cross (5,258), the fern (3,032), and the koru (2,848), with the kiwi being the sixth most prominent symbol (949). After 7,636 flag designs were proposed, 4894 submitters (64%) identified themselves as New Zealand European. This was followed with 1877 (24%) identifying themselves as ‘others’, 317 (4.1%) identifying themselves as Asian (Chinese and Indian), 210 (2.7%) identifying themselves as Māori, and 48 (0.6%) identifying themselves as being Pacific people (Fijian, Niuean, Tongan, Cook Island Māori and Samoan).³⁵⁴

The results reflected the comments made by Gordon Campbell, following the competition that the *New Zealand Listener* magazine held in 1989 to find a new flag for New Zealand. Campbell summed up the symbols most evident in the submitted designs:

What sort of design will do the trick? Here, the voting once again confirms what was evident from the actual flag designs submitted by readers: the Southern Cross and the fern leaf are the motifs most likely to unite New Zealanders.³⁵⁵

There were more than two million-page views of the flag designs up until the release of the panel’s long-list of 40 designs in August 2015.³⁵⁶ Accompanying the release of the long list, the panel released an open letter to the public, thanking it for its contribution to the process and providing some insight into why certain designs had been selected. The letter demonstrated that, over time, the purpose of a flag has changed very little. The letter, in part, read:

A great flag should be distinctive and so simple it can be drawn by a child from memory. A great flag is timeless and communicates swiftly and potently the essence of the country it represents. A flag should carry sufficient dignity to be appropriate for all situations in which New Zealanders might be represented. It should speak to all Kiwis.

³⁵⁴ Flag Consideration Panel, *Media and Public Sentiment Insights Dashboard*, Week 10: 8-15 July 2015.

³⁵⁵ Gordon Campbell, ‘Up the polls’, *New Zealand Listener*, 16 July, 1990, p. 24.

³⁵⁶ Appendix 1 – Summary of the reach of the Panel’s engagement activities, Briefing to Deputy Prime Minister Hon, Bill English from Professor John Burrows, Chair of the Flag Consideration Panel, Subject: Update on the process to select four alternative designs, 7 August 2015.

Our hope is that New Zealanders will see themselves reflected in these flags' symbols, colour and stories. In reviewing flag designs, first and foremost, we were guided by what thousands of Kiwis across a range of communities told us when they shared what is special to them about New Zealand. This provided the Panel, and flag designers, with valuable direction as to how New Zealanders see our country and how those values might best be expressed in a new flag. The message was clear, and the Panel agreed. A potential new flag should unmistakably be from New Zealand and celebrate us as a progressive, inclusive nation that is connected to its environment, and has a sense of its past and a vision for its future.³⁵⁷

The panel also received feedback, during its consultation activities with Māori, that the Tino Rangatiratanga flag design, and other flags incorporating that design, should not be considered in the panel's process. The reason was due to the selection of the flag as representing only Māori in 2009. Panel members subsequently decided to exclude these designs from further consideration as part of the process.³⁵⁸ Another issue the panel experienced was that New Zealand Rugby was unlikely to grant permission for its trademarked fern to be used.³⁵⁹

In July 2015, an urgent claim was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal, with the three applicants alleging that the Crown had breached its Treaty of Waitangi principles in its decision to review and possibly change the New Zealand flag.³⁶⁰ In particular, the claimants were aggrieved that the Crown failed to protect the applicant's taonga, namely their tino rangatiratanga and the New Zealand flag. The deputy chairperson of the tribunal refused to grant urgency for the claim, on the basis that the applicants could not establish irreversible prejudice as a result of the Crown's actions. Judge Patrick Savage, pointedly remarked of the role of flags in the Māori community:

³⁵⁷ Open Letter to the Public, *Flag Consideration Panel*, 11 August 2015.

³⁵⁸ Briefing to Deputy Prime Minister Hon, Bill English from Professor John Burrows, Chair of the Flag Consideration Panel, Subject: Update on the process to select four alternative designs, 7 August 2015.

³⁵⁹ Claire Trevett, 'Hands Off Our Silver Fern: New Zealand Rugby Union Warned Off Flag Committee Over Its Trademarked Symbol', *New Zealand Herald*, 3 September 2015, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11507004 (accessed 31 August 2020).

³⁶⁰ Decision of the Deputy Chairperson regarding application for an urgent hearing, Wai 2534: New Zealand Flag Claim, 9 September 2015.

I have vivid memories of the flag being shot at Ruatoki during the course of hearing a claim. The flag of course is but a symbol. But the nature and strength of the symbolism and what it evokes can vary from person to person and from group to group. For some, it has been to live, struggle, and if necessary, die for. For others it is simply a logo. I suppose they are two ends of a spectrum. In a similar vein for some, it is a symbol of nationhood. For others, it is a symbol of oppression past or present.³⁶¹

The panel met twice in July, and once in August 2015, to deliberate about the four designs to be selected as part of the first referendum.³⁶² Important considerations, as part of the panel's deliberations to select four alternative flag designs, included how the flags appeared from a long distance, from both sides, when flying or still, and how they hung vertically.³⁶³ The panel chose not to take a category-based approach, such as having a silver fern option, a southern cross option or a koru option, but rather selected the strongest flag designs, with the best symbol and colour combination that worked well in any context.



Fig. 70. *Four Flags Selected by the Flag Consideration Panel.*³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Decision of the Deputy Chairperson regarding application for an urgent hearing, Wai 2534: New Zealand Flag Claim, 9 September 2015.

³⁶² Briefing to Hon Bill English from Professor John Burrows, Chair of the Flag Consideration Panel, 7 August 2015 and Flag Consideration Panel Agenda, 11 August 2015.

³⁶³ Report to Hon. Bill English from Chair of the Flag Consideration Panel John Burrows, 28 August 2015.

³⁶⁴ Megan Harvey, *New Zealand Herald*, 21 June 2019, <https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/news/national/flag-debate-revisited-which-flag-would-you-choose/> (accessed 31 August 2020).

Accompanying the four flags selected by the Flag Consideration Panel was a description provided by each designer. They were as follows:³⁶⁵

Black and White Silver Fern (designer Alofi Kanter): The fern has been a distinctive symbol of New Zealand for the past 100 years. Strong and simple, it represents our uniqueness as Aotearoa New Zealand and the black and white show our ‘yin and yang’ with the softly curved spine of the frond binding us together as a young, independent and proud nation.

Red, White and Blue and Black, White and Blue Silver Ferns (designer Kyle Lockwood): The silver fern: A New Zealand icon for over 160 years, worn proudly by many generations. The fern is an element of indigenous flora representing the growth of our nation. The multiple points of the fern leaf represent Aotearoa’s peaceful multicultural society, a single fern spreading upwards represents that we are all one people growing onwards into the future. The red represents our heritage and sacrifices made. Blue represents our dear atmosphere and the Pacific Ocean, over which all New Zealanders, or their ancestors, crossed to get here. The Southern Cross represents our geographic location in the antipodes. It has been used as a navigational aid for centuries and it helped guide early settlers to our islands.

Black and White Koru (designer Andrew Fyfe): As our flag unfurls, so too does its koru. The koru represents the fern frond, but is also reminiscent of a wave, a cloud, and a ram’s horn. In Maori kowhaiwhai patterns the koru represent new life, growth, strength and peace, and for this reason has taken a special place in Aotearoa’s visual language.

Following the release of the panel’s selection of the four alternative flag designs, criticism ensued. In an open letter to the Prime Minister by, Rowan Simpson, the co-founder of the online trading website Trade Me, it stated:

³⁶⁵ Dan Howarth, 1 September 2015, <https://www.dezeen.com/2015/09/01/new-zealand-shortlist-four-designs-crowdsourced-national-flag/> (accessed 31 August 2020).

I know you want this to be a democratic process, but frankly, given those choices it feels like no choice at all, since three of the designs are so similar and two are identical except for substituted colours. At the moment it's like being asked to choose between a Carl Jr, a Big Mac, a Whopper and ...actually I don't know the burger equivalent of the hypnoflag, so I'll leave that to your imagination.³⁶⁶

Simpson advocated for the “Red Peak” design by Aaron Dustin. The design has a white chevron placed in the middle of the flag (representing the Southern Alps, mountains and volcanoes), the left triangle is black (representing Rangī and the night), the right triangle is blue (representing the dawn), and the bottom centre triangle is red (representing earth and Papa). Dustin, who also dubbed the design “First to the Light”, explained the design thus:

This attempts to communicate the uniqueness of our land, light and position. The backbone of our country is formed out of the collision of two tectonic plates (which the white chevron shape refers to), while New Zealand is one of the first countries to see the dawn. I feel this is our ‘unique’. The concept references the story of the primal couple Rangī & Papa from Maori mythology.³⁶⁷

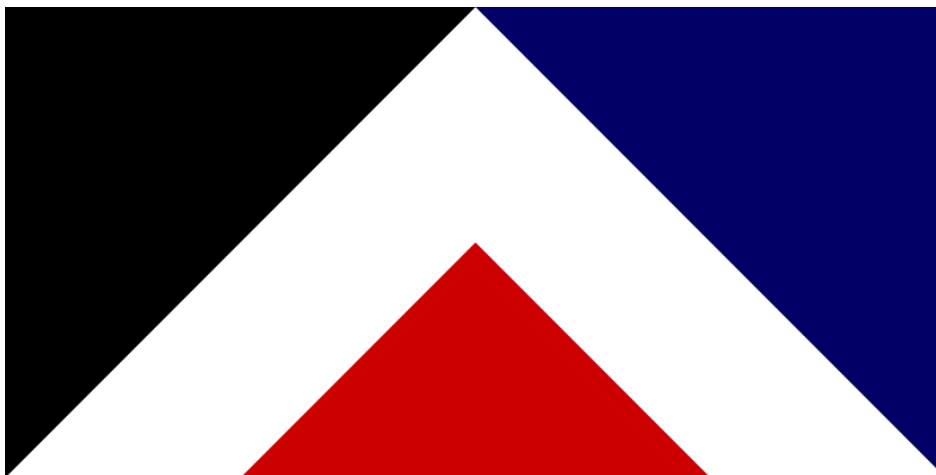


Fig. 71. *Red Peak flag*.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ Rowan Simpson, ‘Dear John’ <https://rowansimpson.com/2015/09/02/dear-john/> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁶⁷ ‘A New Zealand Flag’, <https://aotearooflag.tumblr.com/> (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁶⁸ ‘Red Peak Flag’ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Red_Peak_flag#/media/File:NZ_flag_design_Red_Peak_by_Aaron_Dustin.svg (accessed 27 August 2020).

Armed with a 50,000-strong online petition, Simpson spearheaded a campaign to have the red peak design added to the options presented by the Flag Consideration Panel. Green Party Member of Parliament, Gareth Hughes, proposed a bill to have the red peak option added, and it was subsequently adopted by the government under the *New Zealand Flag Referendums Amendment Act 2015* and passed into law, under urgency, in September 2015.³⁶⁹ In stark contrast to voting by political party for the original legislation, all parties – bar NZ First – supported the bill, and the ‘Red Peak’ flag was added to the existing four alternative flag design options selected by the Flag Consideration Panel.

On December 15, 2015, the New Zealand Electoral Commission released the official results of the first referendum to select a flag to compete with the current New Zealand flag in the second referendum in March 2016.³⁷⁰ The winning design, drawing 662,160 votes, was the silver fern (black, red and blue). The second most popular alternative was the silver fern (red, white and blue), followed by red peak, and then the silver fern (black and white), and the koru. Just under 1,400,000 people voted, with the number of informal votes being 149,747.³⁷¹

The top two designs were created by Kyle Lockwood, a New Zealand architect based in Melbourne, whose designs were already noted. In 2003, he won a competition in *The Hutt News* and two years after that, he and his designs had appeared on *Campbell Live*.³⁷²

³⁶⁹ ‘New Zealand Flag Referendums Amendment Bill’, Bills (Proposed Laws), https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/bills-and-laws/bills-proposed-laws/document/OODBHOH_BILL65995_1/new-zealand-flag-referendums-amendment-bill (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁷⁰ ‘First referendum on the New Zealand flag: Final results by count report’, Elections (website): http://www.electionresults.govt.nz/2015_flag_referendum1/results-by-count-report.html (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁷¹ ‘First referendum on the New Zealand flag: Final results by count report’, Elections (website): http://www.electionresults.govt.nz/2015_flag_referendum1/results-by-count-report.html (accessed 27 August 2020).

³⁷² ‘Our Nation. Your Choice’ flyer, *Flag Consideration Panel*, 2016.

Opposing Changing the Flag

The organisation that was most unsupportive of changing the flag was the RSA, which embarked upon a campaign titled “Fight for our Flag”, at a cost of \$20,000.³⁷³ Actions carried out by the RSA included making a submission to the appropriate select committee and encouraging members to boycott the referendum by writing “We support the current flag” on the ballot.³⁷⁴ The RSA issued the following statement regarding its role in the debate: “...[the RSA] takes seriously its self-appointed role as the spiritual champion of New Zealand’s symbols of national identity.”³⁷⁵ Yet some dissension among RSA members was registered by the Devonport RSA President, Chris Mullane, with almost all 180 members of the branch voting against the campaign. Members from the Waihi and Wellington RSA also spoke out against the RSA’s campaign, citing that the money would be better spent elsewhere and that they did not agree to boycotting a democratic process.³⁷⁶

In support of the stance made by the RSA, publishing house Tross Publishing released *Keep the Flag Flying*, by John McLean.³⁷⁷ Tross Publishing has released a number of books that have, at times, been labelled as “anti-treatyist” (a reference to its being opposed to developments concerning the Treaty of Waitangi, and subsequent connected settlements between Iwi and the Crown). Tross Publishing has published a collection of essays written by various authors, including Don Brash, espousing views about Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi that were stated by Brash at his speech at Orewa in 2004.³⁷⁸ Such sentiments can be found in the text of *Keep the Flag Flying*. McLean wrote:

And anyway, what is wrong with our colonial heritage, which in 1840 brought peace, order and some much needed security to these violent islands?

³⁷³ Jessy Edwards, ‘RSA Divided Over Organisation’s Bid to Upset Flag Referendum’, *Stuff*, 26 October 2015.

³⁷⁴ Jessy Edwards, ‘RSA Divided Over Organisation’s Bid to Upset Flag Referendum’, *Stuff*, 26 October 2015.

³⁷⁵ ‘Fight for our Flag’ campaign page, URL: <http://rsa.org.nz/Community/FightforOurFlag> in Stephen Clarke, ‘After the War: The RSA in New Zealand’, 2016, Auckland: Penguin, p.240.

³⁷⁶ Jessy Edwards, ‘RSA Divided Over Organisation’s Bid to Upset Flag Referendum’, *Stuff*, 26 October 2015.

³⁷⁷ J. McLean, *Keep the Flag Flying*, Wellington: Tross Publishing, 2015.

³⁷⁸ Hugh Barr, Don Brash, Mike Butler, Reuben Chapple, Peter Creswell, Bruce Moon, John Robinson and David Round, *One Treaty, One Nation*, Wellington: Tross Publishing, 2015.

Tribal murder associated with the purposes of food supply was replaced by the common law of England with trial by jury and justifiable retribution for unlawful acts....

The reason why New Zealand is a modern Western democracy to-day instead of a Third World group of islands like so many of the failed states in the South Pacific is because of our colonial heritage rather than in spite of it. That is something to celebrate.³⁷⁹

New Zealand Flag Remains Unchanged

The second referendum, which asked the question, “What is your choice for the New Zealand flag?” resulted in the 1869 design remaining the national flag, with 56.6% of voters supporting the option.³⁸⁰ Interest in the second flag referendum, to choose between an alternative design and the current New Zealand flag, was high and provided the second highest voter turnout for a referendum since 2009.³⁸¹

A breakdown of the electoral vote for the second flag referendum reveals an obvious difference between the general seats and the Māori seats. Voters in the Māori seats voted overwhelmingly in support of retaining the New Zealand flag, at 74.9%, in comparison to 56.6% who voted to keep the flag, among all electorates.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ McLean, *Keep the Flag Flying*, pp.13-14.

³⁸⁰ Elections, ‘Second Referendum on the New Zealand Flag Referendum Result’, 30 March 2016, https://www.electionresults.govt.nz/2016_flag_referendum2/ (accessed 31 August 2020).

³⁸¹ Elections, ‘Second Referendum on the New Zealand Flag Referendum Result’, 30 March 2016, https://www.electionresults.govt.nz/2016_flag_referendum2/ (accessed 31 August 2020). The referendum on the voting system of 2011 resulted in a 73.5% voter turnout (it should be noted that this referendum was taken in conjunction with the general election), followed by the second flag referendum in 2016 with 67.8% voter turnout, asking if smacking a child should be a criminal offence in 2009 with a 56% voter turnout, the first flag referendum to select an alternative design to the current New Zealand flag in 2015 being a 49% voter turnout, followed with if the public support selling 49% of Meridian Energy, Mighty River Power, Genesis Power, Solid Energy and Air New Zealand resulting in a 45% turnout.

³⁸² Audrey Young, ‘Maori Flag Attitudes a Puzzler’, *New Zealand Herald*, 28 March 2016, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11612563 (accessed 31 August 2020).

In comparing the Māori electorate flag referendum results to those of the general election the following year, the National party vote across all seven Māori electorates ranged from 4.9% to 13%, with the Labour party vote ranging from 55.9% to 64.7%.³⁸³

While not exact, it is clear that a high percentage of voters on the Māori roll voted for keeping the New Zealand flag, and a high percentage of voters on the Māori roll voted against giving National their party vote. Joe Trinder, writing for the Mana Party, noted that an argument against changing the flag for Māori was based on a ‘dislike’ of the National government Prime Minister, John Key.³⁸⁴ It is also possible that some Māori, as previously noted in this thesis, voted to retain the flag because they wanted to maintain their historical relationship with the British Crown.

One popular opinion, expressed by many critics, including Māori, was that the \$27 million dollars being expended on the referendum process would be better directed towards child poverty (an issue that adversely affects a high proportion of Māori).³⁸⁵ Another common remark made by Māori throughout the process was that, because Māori already had a flag (a reference to the Tino Rangatiratanga Flag), they did not care about the outcome of the referendum process. Such sentiments were expressed at many of the hui attended by the panel, including at Te Tii Marae, Waitangi. Māori Party co-leader, Marama Fox, argued that New Zealand should have two flags: the Tino Rangatiratanga Flag and a flag for New Zealand; and wanted the former to have equal status to whichever flag represented New Zealand into the future.³⁸⁶

³⁸³ Anna Bracewell-Worrall, ‘What The Data Tells Us: Māori and Pacific Voters Throw Support Behind Labour’, *Newshub*, 2 October 2017, <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/election/2017/10/what-the-data-tells-us-m-ori-and-pacific-voters-throw-support-behind-labour.html> (accessed 31 August 2020).

³⁸⁴ Joe Trinder, ‘Why Māori Voters Overwhelmingly Rejected The Flag Referendum’, *Mana News*, March 25 2016, <https://mananews.co.nz/wp/?p=9038> (accessed 31 August 2020).

³⁸⁵ Editorial, ‘Do Not Squander A Once-In-A-Lifetime Chance To Vote On The Flag’, *Press*, 4 March 2016, <https://i.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/77557018/editorial-do-not-squander-a-onceinalifetime-chance-to-vote-on-the-flag> (accessed 31 August 2020).

³⁸⁶ Rosanna Price, ‘Let’s Have Two Flags: One For Maori And One For New Zealand’, *Stuff*, 17 March 2016, <https://i.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/77926669/lets-have-two-flags-one-for-maori-and-one-for-new-zealand> (accessed 31 August 2020).

Some insights into the perspectives of New Zealand citizens who categorise their ethnicity as being Asian or Pacific peoples can be found in a study conducted by Milne, on factors associated with views on changing the flag.³⁸⁷ The survey methodology saw 2500 randomly selected people from the New Zealand electoral roll being sent the questions, with 901 participants responding.³⁸⁸ The following table is a breakdown of those who supported, and those who did not support, changing the flag by ethnicity.³⁸⁹

National Representative Survey by International Social Survey

Ethnicity	Do not support changing the flag	Possibly support changing the flag based on the design	Do support changing the flag
New Zealand European	58%	30%	12%
Māori	67%	22%	12%
Pasifika	90%	10%	0%
Asian	68%	22%	10%

The study concluded that groups that were strongly in favour of keeping the flag included those who think being born in New Zealand is important for New Zealand identity and those who believe respecting the Treaty of Waitangi is not important to being a New Zealander.³⁹⁰ Yet the study argued that there were few associations between identity beliefs and flag change preference, and also that those of Pacific or Asian ethnicity were no more likely to want to change the flag. Limitations of the survey included a low number of Pasifika respondents and that some ethnicities might be under-represented due to the survey only being offered in English. In summary, the author concluded that, due to several limitations, the survey “must be considered light.”³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ Barry J. Milne, *Who Wants to Change the Flag? Results of a National Representative Survey*, *New Zealand Sociology*, 30, 4, (2015), pp. 126-153.

³⁸⁸ Milne, *Who Wants to Change the Flag?*, p.131.

³⁸⁹ Milne, *Who Wants to Change the Flag?*, p.134.

³⁹⁰ Milne, *Who Wants to Change the Flag?*, p.149.

³⁹¹ Milne, *Who Wants to Change the Flag?*, p.150.

Conclusion

Despite the high voter turnout for the second referendum, the end result was that 38.3% of eligible voters voted to retain the New Zealand flag.³⁹² What was still left unanswered was whether or not a majority of voters wished to see the New Zealand flag changed. What is also unclear is whether or not two of New Zealand's largest ethnicities, Asian and Pacific people, considered themselves able to participate in a process to decide New Zealand's most prominent symbol of identity.

The low rate of participation in the submission of alternative flag designs by Asian and Pacific people would suggest that this could be the case, as opposed to potentially a majority voting in favour to keep the flag, which may be more indicative of a preference of flag design, rather than anything meaningful regarding New Zealand's national identity. However, it is also important to note that a number of Pacific nations, Tuvalu, Fiji, the Cook Islands, and Niue, still retain the Union Jack on their flags, and along with Australia and New Zealand, remain the last countries connected to the former British Empire to do so. For Māori, the scenario could be different. Māori may have voted along political party lines, which could provide one explanation for the high preference for the 1869 design; another could be that Māori felt the Tino Rangatiratanga design was appropriate to represent Māori.

The search for a New Zealand identity began in earnest at the conclusion of New Zealand's decolonisation from Britain in 1985. Up until that time, there had been some discussion and debate about the appropriateness of New Zealand's flag, none more so than when Britain attempted to, and then joined, the EEC. However, public opinion seemed to suggest people were more willing to change the national anthem than the flag, with the government consenting to a dual anthem arrangement, so as not to alienate those who still retained a strong connection to their British heritage.

³⁹² This is a calculation regarding those who did not vote and those who did not vote for the current New Zealand flag.

In 1987, the *New Zealand Immigration Act* was enacted, and signalled a departure from the country's historic 'white only' immigration policy. The only other 'non-white' ethnicity within New Zealand of a reasonable size, until that time, had been Māori, and Pacific People, who arrived as New Zealand needed cheap labour. The change in immigration policy in 1987 opened the doors to the people of Asia. Historically, Chinese people had faced significant barriers in immigrating to New Zealand. Now, several generations later, many New Zealand citizens of Asian ethnicity experience incidents of racism, that – in turn – potentially create another barrier towards New Zealand citizens of Asian descent participating in conversations and activities connected to New Zealand national identity.

The New Zealand flag referenda of 2015/2016 saw the emergence of a national icon being proposed to replace the Union Jack. The silver fern had, for more than a century, replaced the kiwi as the country's most favoured icon, in part due to the prominence it played in the country's national sport and military. However, somewhat ironically, Prime Minister Helen Clark, in remembering New Zealand's war dead at the turn of the twenty first century, and who favoured New Zealand becoming a republic, reinforced the false notion that New Zealand soldiers, during both world wars, fought and died under the New Zealand flag. This argument, perhaps along with an alignment of voting along political lines, ultimately played a large role in New Zealand staying with a flag that had served the country for 114 years. Those who favoured a change, to reflect New Zealand's growing multiculturalism and a unique sense of identity, promoted such arguments to convince voters to change the flag. However, the end result was that 56% of voters preferred the 1869 design to that of Lockwood's silver fern motif.

CONCLUSION

The central research question this thesis asked is “What factors have shaped attitudes towards prominent flags in New Zealand and to what extent have these changed over time?” In attempting to answer the question, some analysis of national identity (many times seen as the view of the majority ethnic group of New Zealand, the British, and more latterly, Pākehā) and other ethnicities, has been provided. At times, within the multiple ethnicities explored, a spectrum of identities has been expressed and have voiced a view of seeing themselves within and outside New Zealand’s national identity, according to what prominent flag they supported.

Prominent flags have played an important role as symbols of unity and dissent in New Zealand. This is particularly true of the relationship between the two signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori and the British. Prominent flags have an evolving nature and usage, both within the emergence of a distinct New Zealand identity, and within Māori society across a range of Māori collectives. The symbols on the flags, and use of the flags, tell the viewer much of how Māori conceive their own identity and their relationship with the British Crown.

The works of Morris, and Bryan and Gillespie, support the Māori and British experience of prominent flags in New Zealand. Morris details the deep connection of the Union Jack to those upholding British rule in Ireland, whereas republicans or nationalists challenge British sovereignty in Ireland by flying the Irish tricolours. Bryan and Gillespie emphasise that flags in Northern Ireland have ‘layers of meanings’ that can change according to where a flag is used, how a flag is used, and who is using the flag.

Further to flags being symbols of unity and dissent, it is clear that Māori developed a distinct set of practices (known within Māori society as kawa or protocol) associated with flags and the flagstaffs from which they flew. By and large, they denoted a particular territory being under the mana of either the British Crown, or a Māori familial or nationalist body.

Flags and flagstuffs also performed both a practical and symbolic role for Māori (as differentiated by Firth); from signalling the Sabbath day and providing boundary markers, to Māori declaring if they fell under their own jurisdiction, or that of the British Crown.

Finally, distinct Māori symbolism was employed on flags and often denoted a nationalist sense of identity, the idea that Māori were related to the Jews who were in search of a new homeland, or in the Māori context, a new beginning without being subjugated by the British. Here, the work of Firth is again useful, as he argues that symbols are supported by strong sentiments that represent the unity of a large body of people.

The overlapping usage of both the current New Zealand flag and the Union Jack (circa 1880 to the 1960's), along with 'Hoisting the Flag' ceremonies, strongly reflects, perhaps more than any other symbol, the timeframe of recolonisation that Belich promotes (again, circa 1880 to the 1960's). Here it can be seen that flags strongly expressed a dual or overlapping New Zealand/British identity that was closely interconnected (furthermore, suggesting that New Zealand was very much the minor party in the relationship). Moreover, both the Union Jack and the current New Zealand flag became closely connected with conflicts both within and beyond New Zealand, which, along with the revival of interest in New Zealand's military heritage sponsored by the government, may well account for why many citizens voted to retain the current flag.

The theories of Marvin and Ingle, Kertzer, and Billig, provide valuable insights into the use of prominent New Zealand flags, namely the Union Jack and the national flag, during the Boer War and World Wars I and II, as well as emphasising why New Zealand citizens for so long emotionally attached to both flags. Marvin and Ingle argue that a flag is religion and answers the question "What might citizens be willing to give their lives for?" For successive generations of New Zealanders, that flag was the Union Jack that symbolised the British Empire.

While Kertzer uses the example of the Nazi swastika that generated mass hysteria in Germany, the inculcation of New Zealand pupils to either the Union Jack or the New Zealand flag via 'Hoisting the Flag' ceremonies that espoused jingoistic views about their 'English' brethren, produced a similar result. A child of the Boer War who would have been exposed to the daily ritual of 'Hoisting the Flag', would have been of age to fight against the common enemy during World War I, and the same can be said of those who were pupils during World War I, who were then old enough to sacrifice their lives during World War II. Billig's work is useful in that 'banal nationalism', again particularly evident during times of conflict within New Zealand as citizens took to the streets to demonstrate their loyalty and allegiance to the British Empire, would have further reinforced the New Zealand connection to 'Mother Britain.'

The design of, use of, and development of, many prominent flags in New Zealand reflects transnational influences upon New Zealand, particularly from the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and America. The Australian influence, in particular, is evident in both of the design of the current New Zealand flag and the adoption of the Tino Rangatiratanga Flag; the use of both national flags alongside that of the Union Jack during World War I and II, as well as the debate surrounding whether or not to change the national flags. Such a connection between New Zealand and Australia, reinforces what scholars, such as Gibbons, Pickles, Byrnes, Ballantyne and Mein Smith, have argued is an unrecognised shared past between New Zealand and Australia.

There are very strong elements of 'invented tradition' as defined by Hobsbawm, in particular the oft-made comment that New Zealand soldiers fought under the current New Zealand flag. Such remarks were common during the 2015/2016 New Zealand flag referenda and would likely have contributed towards some voters preferring to retain the current flag. It can be argued that this was an unintended consequence of the nationalism successive governments have invested in New Zealand's military heritage since the 1990s with ANZAC Day ceremonies, the ceremony for the unknown warrior, the unveiling of the Hyde Park memorial, and the World War I commemorations.

The flag referenda demonstrated that the silver fern has become a key signifier of New Zealand identity for many New Zealanders, as evidenced by the two most popular alternative flag designs containing the emblem, as well as a number of alternative flag submissions that incorporated the symbol. The popularity of the silver fern can be attributed to its prominence in representing New Zealand, especially among national sporting teams, and the long period of time over which this has occurred, which in turn, has resulted in the symbol becoming ingrained in the national consciousness, in much the same way the maple leaf has for Canada.

Māori clearly voted in favour of retaining the New Zealand Ensign. Such favour could be as a result of many Māori not being supportive of a National-led government; of Māori believing their representation in the form of a flag is best captured by the Tino Rangatiranga Flag, and by some Māori wanting to retain a symbolic connection with the British Crown.

While more research is needed in this area to correlate the results of the flag referendum to retain or change the current New Zealand flag according to how different ethnicities viewed themselves within their respective spectrum of identities; the ethnic breakdown of alternative flag submissions could be interpreted as indicating that Pacific and Asian peoples did not see themselves belonging within the wider New Zealand national identity narrative.

The relatively close result of the final referendum could also be interpreted as revealing another aspect of New Zealand national identity. Previous polls have indicated a strong preference for retaining the national flag, during a time when New Zealand was less ethnically diverse, and when the country was viewed as being a ‘child’ of ‘Mother Britain’. However, New Zealand is now more ethnically diverse, following a period of history Belich defines as ‘decolonisation.’ It could be argued, based on the trend of more New Zealanders being prepared to change the national flag, and to borrow a familial term, that New Zealand is now no longer a ‘child’ of Britain, but rather a ‘teenager’ who is maturing into an adult.

It is not beyond the realms of possibility that should a referendum to change the flag be held at the bicentenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 2040, and after a period of time by which Pacific and Asian peoples are more comfortable participating in debates about New Zealand's national identity, that the majority of voters are prepared to change the New Zealand Ensign. Alongside that change, could be a declaration that New Zealand has matured regarding national identity.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig.1 New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern during the press conference on March 23, 2020.
- Fig.2 Front page of the New Zealand Herald March 24, 2020.
- Fig.3 American marines raising the flag on Mt. Suribachi, Iwo Jima.
- Fig.4 Meliton Kantaria and Mikhail Yegorov, Battle of Berlin.
- Fig.5 Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie Flag.
- Fig.6 Princevlag.
- Fig.7 British Union Flag until 1801.
- Fig.8 Union Jack Flag after 1801.
- Fig.9 St George's Cross.
- Fig.10 St Andrew's Cross.
- Fig.11 St Patrick's Saltire.
- Fig.12 French Republic Flag.
- Fig.13 Hākari Stage by Richard Aldworth Oliver, Bay of Islands, 1849.
- Fig.14 Rejected flag design by Māori in 1834.
- Fig.15 United Tribes Flag.
- Fig.16 The British Flag hoisted on the shore of the Waitemata, September 18, 1840.
- Fig.17 'NZ' Flag 1867.
- Fig.18 New Zealand Flag 1869.
- Fig.19 National Colonial Flag of Australia 1823-24.
- Fig.20 New South Wales Ensign/Federation Flag 1831.
- Fig.21 Australasian Anti-Transportation League Flag 1849-1853.

- Fig.22 Murray River Flag (circa 1850).
- Fig.23 Eureka Flag 1854.
- Fig.24 Lambing Riots Flag 1860.
- Fig.25 New Zealand Signal Flag 1898.
- Fig.26 Flag of Victoria.
- Fig.27 Flag of Pūmuka.
- Fig.28 Flag of King Pōtatau.
- Fig.29 The flags hoisted at Mataiawa, Taranaki, in 1862, on the anniversary of the accession of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero.
- Fig.30 Flag of King Mahuta.
- Fig.31 'Riki' Flag.
- Fig.32 Hauhau ceremony around the niu at Tataroa.
- Fig.33 Flag of Te Ua Haumēne.
- Fig.34 Flag of Te Peehi Tūroa.
- Fig.35 Flag of Tītokowaru.
- Fig.36 Flag at Gate Pā.
- Fig.37 Aotearoa Flag.
- Fig.38 Te Wepu.
- Fig.39 Te Kooti Flag captured at Te Pōrere.
- Fig.40 Flag of Te Kooti captured at Te Tāpapa.
- Fig.41 Kotahi Te Ture/Mo Nga Iwi E Rua/Maungapohatu Flag.
- Fig.42 Intended flag of Te Whitu Tekau.
- Fig.43 Flags flying in front of Hiruhama Hou with Rua Kenana, Christmas 1908.
- Fig.44 Emblem of Rātana.
- Fig.45 Rātana Flag.

- Fig.46 Moutoa Flag.
- Fig.47 Red Ensigns flown at Arawa Park, Rotorua, 1920, at a reception for the Prince of Wales.
- Fig.48 Huia flag at the Service of Commemoration of the death of Edward VII, 1910.
- Fig.49 'Hoisting the Flag' at Auckland Diocesan Girls High School, 1911.
- Fig.50 Empire Day, Victoria Square, Christchurch, May 24, 1907.
- Fig.51 The New Zealand Flag at Le Quesnoy.
- Fig.52 Armistice Day at Dunedin Municipal Chambers, 1918.
- Fig.53 Royal New Zealand Navy Ensign.
- Fig.54 HMS Achilles at the Battle of the River Plate.
- Fig.55 Victory over Europe Celebrations, Lambton Quay, Wellington, May, 1945.
- Fig.56 Victory over Europe Celebrations, Lambton Quay, Wellington, May, 1945.
- Fig.57 Flag of Australia.
- Fig.58 Canadian Red Ensign.
- Fig.59 Unknown warrior lying in state at the legislative chamber, Parliament.
- Fig.60. Clark Titman's alternative New Zealand flag.
- Fig.61. Hundertwasser's Koru Flag.
- Fig.62. Kotahitanga Flag.
- Fig.63 Takaparawhā Flag.
- Fig.64. Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoē Flag.
- Fig.65. Tino Rangatiratanga Flag.
- Fig.66. Original Aboriginal Tent Embassy.

- Fig.67. Bulford Kiwi.
- Fig.68. Kiwi Bacon Sign, Christchurch.
- Fig.69. 1888 Natives wearing the silver fern.
- Fig.70. Four flags selected by the Flag Consideration Panel.
- Fig.71. Red Peak Flag.

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS

Māori	Indigenous people of New Zealand.
Whānau	Extended family.
Pākehā	Non-indigenous people of New Zealand.
Tangata Whenua	People of the land.
Ngāi/Ngāti	Prefix for a tribal group.
Mana	Prestige/authority/control/power.
Hauhau	A movement founded in Taranaki in 1862 by Te Ua Haumēne. Literally, a derivative of the ‘breath of God.’
Kīngitanga	King movement.
Kūpapa	Collaborator with the British Crown.
Tino Rangatiratanga	Self-determination.
Tā Moko	Facial tattoos.
Whakairo	Carvings.
Waka	Canoe.
Iwi	Tribe.
Hapū	Sub-tribe.
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world.
Whakapapa	Genealogy.
Kara	Colour.
Haki	Jack.
Ra Tapu	Sabbath Day/Sunday.
Pā	Fortification.
Pou	Post.
Rāhui	Prohibition.
Hākari	Feast.
Tapu	Sacred.
Rūnanga	Tribal Assembly/Council.
Rangatira	Chief.
Whareniui	Meeting house.
Kotahitanga	Māori Parliament/Unity.

Pai Mārire	Another name for the movement titled Hauhau. Literally, ‘goodness and peace.’
Ringatū	A Māori Christian faith founded by Te Kooti Rikirangi in the 1860s. Literally, ‘the upraised hand.’
Rātana	A Māori Christian faith founded by Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana.
Karakia	Prayer.
Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand. Literally, ‘Land of the Long White Cloud.’
Niu Tīreni	Māori transliteration for ‘New Zealand.’
Aukati	Boundary.
Tohunga	Expert.
Niu	Pole.
Paremata Māori	Māori Parliament.
Tohu	Symbol/Portent.
Mōrehu	Survivor.
Hui	Meeting.
Kaik	Village (Ngāi Tahu dialect).
Tangihanga	Funeral.
Taha	Side.
Kaitiaki	Guardian.
Tangata Tiriti	People of the Treaty (of Waitangi).
Kaumātua	Elders.
Pōwhiri	Formal Māori welcome.
Haka	Māori ceremonial war dance.
Kōwhaiwhai	Painted scroll ornamentation.

APPENDIX ONE

British Settlements/Colonies 1607-1769

YEAR	NAME OF SETTLEMENT	CONTINENT
1607-1783	Virginia	North America
1609	Bermuda	North America
1620-1783	Massachusetts	North America
1622-1783	Maine	North America
1623-1783	New Hampshire	North America
1627-1966	Barbados	North America
1628-1981	Barbuda	North America
1632-1783	Maryland	North America
1632-1981	Antigua	North America
1632	Montserrat	North America
1636-1981	Belize	North America
1632-1783	Connecticut	North America
1646-1970	Oman	Asia
1648-1657	Bahamas	North America
1651-1667	Surinam	South America
1651	St Helena	Africa
1655-1962	Jamaica	North America
1655-1860	Nicaragua	North America
1661-1965	Gambia	Africa
1663-1783	North Carolina	North America
1663	Anguilla	North America
1664-1783	New York	North America
1664-1783	New Jersey	North America
1664-1783	Delaware	North America
1664-1666	St Lucia	North America
1666	British Virgin Islands	North America
1670-1973	Bahamas	North America
1670	Cayman Islands	North America

1672-1779	St Vincent	North America
1678-1973	Turks and Caicos Islands	North America
1681-1783	Pennsylvania	North America
1693-1693	Senegal	Africa
1698-1700	Panama	North America
1704	Gibraltar	Europe
1712-1783	South Carolina	North America
1732-1783	Georgia	North America
1757-1947	India	Asia
1758-1931	Canada	North America
1759-1763	Guadeloupe	North America
1762-1764	Philippines	Asia
1762-1763	Cuba	North America
1762-1763	St Lucia	North America
1761-1781	Tobago	North America
1762-1763	Martinique	North America
1763-1978	Dominica	North America
1763-1974	Grenada	North America