

Reference Guide

New Zealand Wars Sources at the Hocken Collections

Part 1 – 1840s



Fox, William, Sir (1812-1893). The Wairau Plain, 1845. Watercolour on 2 sheets of paper, each: 361 x 722mm; joined to form: 220 x 722mm, 12,900, Art Collection.

Nau Mai Haere Mai ki Te Uare Taoka o Hākena:

Welcome to the Hocken Collections

He mihi nui tēnei ki a koutou

kā uri o kā hau e whā arā, kā mātāwaka o te motu, o te ao whānui hoki.

Nau mai, haere mai ki te taumata.

As you arrive

We seek to preserve all the taoka we hold for future generations. So that all taoka are properly protected, we ask that you:

- place your bags (including computer bags and sleeves) in the lockers provided
- leave all food and drink including water bottles in the lockers (we have a researcher lounge off the foyer which everyone is welcome to use)
- bring any materials you need for research and some ID in with you
- sign the Readers' Register each day
- enquire at the reference desk first if you wish to take digital photographs

Beginning your research

This guide gives examples of the types of material relating to the New Zealand Wars during the 1840s held at the Hocken. All items must be used within the library. As the collection is large and constantly growing not every item is listed here, but you can search for other material on our Online Public Access Catalogues:

- for books, theses, journals, magazines, newspapers, maps, and audiovisual material, use Library Search | Ketu. The advanced search - <https://tinyurl.com/mtske2x9> gives you several search options, and you can refine your results to the Hocken Library on the left side of the screen.

The Library Search Guide <https://otago.libguides.com/ketuhelp> contains helpful tips and assistance for using Library Search | Ketu;

- for art, photographs, ephemera and archives, use Hākena - <https://hakena.otago.ac.nz>. Listing of the ephemera collection has just begun on Hākena; please talk to desk staff if you have any questions about this collection.

The Hākena Search Help Guide <https://otago.libguides.com/hakena> contains helpful tips and assistance for using Hākena;

- digitised images of many collection items are available via Hocken Digital Collections at <https://hocken.recollect.co.nz/>. There are also digitised images of Hocken and University of Otago Special Collections material that can be viewed via <https://otago.ourheritage.ac.nz/>.

There is an online guide to the Hocken Collections for researchers at <https://otago.libguides.com/hocken>. It includes tips on referencing Hocken sources.

If you have any enquiries about ordering or other research questions, please ask the reference desk staff – they will be happy to assist you.

Contents

Introduction	5
General sources	6
The Wairau Affray, 1843	7
Official records	7
Māori perspectives	8
Settler accounts	8
Modern studies	10
Northern War, 1845-1846	10
Official records	10
Soldiers' accounts	11
Settler accounts	13
Missionaries	14
Art and Photography	16
Wellington and Whanganui, 1846-1847	17
Official records	17
Soldiers' accounts	17
Settler accounts	18
Missionaries	18
Modern studies	19
Art and Photography	19
Websites and further information	20

Introduction

This guide covers all the campaigns of the 1840s. There were three clearly defined phases of these wars, so it is separated into those phases. The Wairau Affray, near Nelson in 1843, was the first violent clash to take place between Māori and Pākehā after the Treaty of Waitangi. The Northern War – sometimes known as Heke’s War – was in the Bay of Islands during 1845 and 1846. The next round of fighting occurred in the Wellington and Whanganui districts in 1846 and 1847. Māori fought on both sides of the various campaigns – those fighting alongside the British were known as kūpapa. For a helpful overview of the wars, including a timeline, see the Ministry of Culture and Heritage’s history website at

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war-and-society>

Material relating to the wars appears on the catalogues under a variety of subject headings, for example:

- *New Zealand – History – New Zealand Wars, 1843-1847*
- *Māori (New Zealand people) – Wars*
- *Hone Heke’s Rebellion, N.Z., 1844-1846*
- *Great Britain. Army*

Individual battles are catalogued by name, for example:

- *Boulcott’s Farm, Battle of, Hutt (N.Z.), 1846*

Check also under the names of individual regions or people, for example:

- *Wanganui (N.Z.) – History*
- *Heke, Hone, ca. 1810-1850*

Some of the publications listed in this guide have been digitised and are available via the New Zealand Electronic Text Centre <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/> (indicated by (NZETC)), or Early New Zealand Books <http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/> (indicated by (ENZB)).

General sources

James Belich (1986). *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. Belich later wrote and presented a television series based on this book – *The New Zealand Wars: Nga Pakanga Nunui o Aotearoa*. We have this available for viewing on videotape – please give at least 24 hours’ notice, as the tapes require acclimatisation.

Peter Cooke and John Crawford (2011). *The Territorials: the history of the territorial and volunteer forces of New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Random House. It includes information on the origins of citizen soldiers in New Zealand and their involvement in the New Zealand Wars.

James Cowan (1922-1923). *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*. 2 vols. Wellington: W.A.G. Skinner. (NZETC). This work, now a classic, is a lively account of all the major engagements of the wars. Cowan, whose father fought in the wars, interviewed participants from both sides. The 1983 edition includes a helpful introduction by Michael King.

John Crawford and I. C. McGibbon (2018). *Tutu te puehu: new perspectives on the New Zealand Wars*. Wellington, Aotearoa, New Zealand: Steele Roberts Aotearoa.

Dictionary of New Zealand Biography is available on the ready reference shelves or online at - <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies>. It includes biographies of many people involved in the wars. Search by name or, on the website, try an advanced biographies search under “occupation / activity” using “armed forces.”

Danny Keenan (2009). *Wars Without End: The Land Wars in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin. Approaches the wars from a Māori perspective.

Ian McGibbon, ed. (2000). *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. Auckland, Oxford University Press. Includes many entries relating to the New Zealand Wars. A copy is available on the ready reference shelves.

Barry O’Sullivan (2019). *New Zealand dress regulations 1852-1909: Militia, Volunteer, Constabulary, and Permanent Forces*. Wellington, New Zealand: Defence of NZ Study Group.

Christopher Pugsley (2024). *Kiwis in conflict: a history of New Zealanders at war*. New Zealand: Bateman books in association with Tamaki Paenga Hira Auckland Museum.

Keith Sinclair (1957; 2nd edition, 1961). *The Origins of the Maori Wars*. Wellington: New Zealand University Press.

Richard Stowers (1998). *The New Zealand Medal to colonials: detailed medal rolls of officers and men in colonial units who received the New Zealand Medal for service in the New Zealand Wars, 1845-1872*. Hamilton, N.Z.: R. Stowers.

Ian Wards (1968). *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand 1832-1852*. Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. Includes detailed coverage of the wars of the 1840s.

Matthew Wright (2006). *Two Peoples, One Land: The New Zealand Wars*. Auckland: Reed.

For a list of 19th century views and accounts of the New Zealand wars (including some newspaper articles) see Friends of the Hocken Bulletin:

The New Zealand Wars: 19th Century Views and Accounts Bulletin Number: 12 June 1995 by Ray Hargreaves. Available at: <https://www.otago.ac.nz/library/hocken/guides-to-the-hocken-collections>.

The Wairau Affray, 1843

The Wairau Affray receives only brief mention in the general studies of the New Zealand Wars listed above, although there is a chapter on it in Wards. The library catalogues refer to this incident as *Wairau massacre, 1843*.

Official records

Publications

British Parliamentary Papers. Located on the ready reference shelves, these include government correspondence and reports of the incident. Check the Australia & New Zealand Index under Wairau for references. There are numerous official and court reports with sworn statements of witnesses included, for example, in the Appendix to the Report of the 1844 Select Committee on New Zealand (Volume 2 of the British Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand, Appendix, pp. 128-84). Digitised despatches and reports relating to New Zealand from selected volumes of the British Parliamentary Papers are now available at <https://onehera.waikato.ac.nz/>

Arthur Edward Macdonogh, Notice "To the Inhabitants of Wellington and its Vicinity and to the British Settlers in Cook's Straits," 26 June 1843. Hocken Variae 4, Item 14 (order via Hākena - VAR-Vol.04). Macdonogh was police magistrate, and his notice gives an account of the events at Wairau.

Archives

Willoughby Shortland: Government letters &c (MS-0052). This collection of the acting governor's correspondence includes a May 1843 letter (item 23) from Wakefield concerning the Wairau survey and trouble anticipated.

Records of the New Zealand Company 1837-1861 are available on microfilm (Micro 10215). These include correspondence from Nelson and Wellington during the period of the Wairau incident (order via Library Search|Ketu). For further details, ask reference staff for the 'Microfilm Finding Aids: Official Papers' folder.

Māori perspectives

Publications

James Cowan (1910). *The Maoris of New Zealand*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs. Includes "A Maori Version of the Wairau Affray" as told by Te Oro to his son Hikaia te Oro.

Archives

Collected papers of and relating to George Clarke senior and family (ARC-0032). George Clarke, originally a CMS missionary, served as Protector of Aborigines. His son, also George Clarke, was a translator and Sub-Protector of Aborigines. One of the bound collections of correspondence within these papers (MS-0062; order the preservation copy PC-0058) includes some material relating to Wairau. Clarke junior visited Wairau immediately following the affray, and later collected evidence from Māori. Of particular note are: a long letter (item 66) written by George Clarke junior in August 1843 about the Wairau Affray with evidence he had collected from Te Rauparaha and other Māori (item 66); and rough notes of depositions relating to the event (item 69).

Edward Shortland: Notebook comprising Maketu journal and common-place book B (PC-0020). Shortland visited Te Rauparaha at Ōtaki in July 1843 and recorded his account of the Wairau Affray in this book.

Settler accounts

Publications

George Clarke (1903). *Notes on Early Life in New Zealand*. Hobart: Walch & Sons. (NZETC). George Clarke junior was an interpreter and from 1842 Sub-Protector of Aborigines (his father being the Protector). He went to Wairau immediately following the affray and gives his account in these memoirs.

Gerald Franklin, ed. (2006). *Some Reports & Letters Written by Frederick Tuckett During his Time in New Zealand*. Gerald Franklin & The Frenchay Tuckett Society. Includes transcripts of some of Tuckett's correspondence and his statement regarding the Wairau Affray to a Special Meeting of the Magistrates, Wellington, 18 June 1843.

Robert L. Stokes (1844). *A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Devon on the Late Massacre at Wairau*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. Stokes, who originally came to New Zealand as a surveyor for the New Zealand Company, edited the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* newspaper.

Edward Jerningham Wakefield (1845). *Adventure in New Zealand, From 1839-1844*. 2 vols. London: John Murray. (ENZB). Although not present at the Wairau Affray, E. J. Wakefield became caught up in the aftermath of the event which killed his uncle. His account of the affair appears in Chapter 15 of volume 2.

The *Nelson Examiner* newspaper provides contemporary settler accounts of this event. As well as reports around the time of the incident in June, the issue of 23 December 1843 includes a special 12-page supplement containing a "Narrative of the Wairau Massacre, and Proceedings Connected Therewith." It is available on Papers Past at <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/>.

Archives

J. W. Barnicoat: Diary 17 June 1843 - 11 Oct 1844 (PC-0208). Surveyor John Wallis Barnicoat was present at the Wairau incident and included a description in his diary.

Tuckett family: Letters and papers relating to Frederick Tuckett (ARC-0419). This collection includes letters from Tuckett, who was present at the Wairau Affray, to his family in England. Unfortunately, the collection does not include the letter in which he described the event to his family, but there are some references to it later (one of the relevant letters has been transcribed as part of Franklin's *Some Reports & Letters* – see the full reference below).

Flotsam & Jetsam

These are scrapbooks of newspaper clippings and other items compiled by Dr Hocken. These can be ordered via Hākena, the art, photographs, ephemera and archives catalogue. Items of interest relating to the Wairau Affray include –

Volume 9 (FJ-Vol.09)

- Item 82 – newspaper article giving an account by Mr M. Arldridge, a "very old settler," concerning an earlier 'massacre' in 1840 and his discovery of remains relating to the 1843 incident.
- Item 106 – an 1897 newspaper article giving an account of the Wairau Affray according to one of the survivors, Eugene Bellairs. There is a more complete and better copy in Volume 10, noted below.

Volume 10 (FJ-Vol.10)

- p. 62 – 1897 newspaper articles giving accounts of the Wairau Affray according to one of the survivors, Eugene Bellairs.
- pp. 76-7 – 1897 newspaper articles giving accounts of the Wairau Affray by Gideon Smales, a Methodist missionary based at Nelson and involved in various related incidents.

Modern studies

New Zealand. Waitangi Tribunal (2007). *Te Tau Ihi o te Waka a Maui: Preliminary Report on Customary Rights in the Northern South Island*. Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct. This gives some background to land issues in the district. This is also available electronically on the Waitangi Tribunal website – <https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/>.

Ruth M. Allan (1965). *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement*. Wellington: Reed.

Ray Grover (1982). *Cork of War: Ngati Toa and the British Mission: An Historical Narrative*. Dunedin: John McIndoe. A novel closely based on historical sources, which includes a chapter on the Wairau Affray.

Jim McAloon (1997). *Nelson: A Regional History*. Whatamango Bay: Cape Catley.

Philip Temple (2002). *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. A detailed biography of the Wakefield family, including an account of the Wairau Affray in which Arthur Wakefield was killed.

There are numerous books relating to Te Rauparaha – check Library Search|Ketu under the subject heading *Te Rauparaha*.

Northern War, 1845-1846

The library catalogues refer to this war as *Hone Heke's Rebellion, NZ, 1844-1846*.

Official records

Publications

The *British Parliamentary Papers* (available on the ready reference shelves and some reports available via <https://onehera.waikato.ac.nz/>) include various official government reports and despatches relating to the war. Check the Australia New Zealand Index under the heading 'Maori Wars – Heke's War'. References to some of the Māori leaders (Hōne Heke, Te Haratua and Tāmami Wāka Nene) can be found in the index under 'Maoris, Individuals' while leading Britons are simply indexed under their names.

Wakarongo ... Proclamation by Robert FitzRoy (Governor) and Andrew Sinclair (Colonial Secretary) offering a reward of £100 for the apprehension of Heke. Parallel Māori and English texts, published 1845. Bound with other pamphlets in Hocken Variae 4, Item 18 (order via Hākena - VAR-Vol.04).

Wakarongo ... Proclamation by Robert FitzRoy (Governor) and Andrew Sinclair (Colonial Secretary) pardoning all chiefs who separate from the 'Rebel Chiefs', Kawiti and Heke. Parallel Māori and English texts, published 1845. Bound with other pamphlets in Hocken Variae 4, Item 21 (order via Hākena - VAR-Vol.04).

George Clarke (1903). *Notes on Early Life in New Zealand*. Hobart: Walch & Sons. (NZETC). George Clarke junior was an interpreter and from 1842 Sub-Protector of Aborigines (his father being the Protector). He witnessed many events of the war in the north. See also the Clarke papers listed below with archival collections.

Robert FitzRoy (1846). *Remarks on New Zealand, in February 1846*. London: W and H White. (ENZB). FitzRoy includes an account of the events leading up to and during the northern war. FitzRoy was replaced as Governor of New Zealand in November 1845, before the war ended. See also the biography of FitzRoy in the *Te Ara The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies>.

Geoffrey Charles Mundy (1852). *Our Antipodes: or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies*. London: Bentley. Mundy was appointed Deputy Adjutant General in the Australian Colonies, first arriving there in 1846. In 1847-8 he visited New Zealand and accompanied Governor Grey on visits to Auckland, the Bay of Islands, Wellington, and Whanganui. Vol 2 of this 3-volume work includes many details of the recently completed wars in the north, Wellington, and Whanganui, obtained from those who were involved (ENZB).

Archives

Collected papers of and relating to George Clarke senior and family (ARC-0032).

George Clarke, originally a CMS missionary, served as Protector of Aborigines. His son, also George Clarke, was a translator and Sub-Protector of Aborigines. One of the bound collections of correspondence within these papers (MS-0062; order the preservation copy PC-0058) includes letters concerning the northern war. See especially letters 87 onwards – many of these are letters from Clarke junior to his father, reporting on events of the war.

Edward Meurant diary (ARC-0413). Meurant was an interpreter and government agent who accompanied troops to the Bay of Islands in 1845. His diary describes various activities of the war and includes a casualty report of Despard's troops killed and wounded at Heke's Pā, Ōhaeawai. These are transcripts of the original held by the Auckland Public Library.

Soldiers' accounts

Publications

Michael Barthrop (1979). *To Face the Daring Maoris*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. An account of the Northern War based on soldiers' letters and diaries, compiled by an English military historian with connections to the 58th Regiment. Includes many extracts from primary sources.

Thomas Bunbury (1861). *Reminiscences of a Veteran*. London: Charles J. Skeet. Bunbury was an officer in the 80th Regiment. He arrived in New Zealand in 1840 and served as commander of British forces in the country until 1844. Volume 3 of his *Reminiscences*

recounts his experiences in New Zealand in the period leading up to the northern war. Chapters 1-5 of this volume are available online (ENZB).

T. B. Collinson, "Remarks on the Military Operations in New Zealand." This extract from *Papers on Subjects Connected With the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers* is bound with other pamphlets in Hocken Pamphlets Volume 18. The author was a captain in the Royal Engineers, and his paper, completed in 1853, "is intended to be a short connected account of all the military operations that have occurred in New Zealand from the commencement of the colony." His sources were published books, private sources, and "three years' personal experience, from 1846 to 1850." (ENZB).

Henry Despard, "Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of New Zealand During the Months of June and July, 1845. With some account of the attack on the native fortress of Ohaiowai, on the 1st of July, by the troops under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Despard, 99th Regt., acting as Colonel on the staff." Originally published as a series of articles in *Colburn's United Service Magazine* in 1846 – these are bound together as item 10 in Hocken Pamphlets Volume 18.

Tom Gibson (1969). *The Wiltshire Regiment (The 62nd and 99th Regiments of Foot)*. London: Leo Cooper. A history of the 99th Regiment, including its involvement in the Northern War and Wellington war.

Robert Hattaway [1889]. *Reminiscences of the Northern War*. Auckland: Wilson & Horton. Hattaway was one of the first of the 58th Regiment to land at Auckland. He became Colour and Pay Sergeant and after his discharge served in the New Zealand Militia.

H. F. McKillop (1849). *Reminiscence of Twelve Months' Service in New Zealand as a Midshipman, During the Late Disturbances in That Colony*. London: Bentley. McKillop was a midshipman on HMS *Calliope*, which arrived at the Bay of Islands in December 1845. He was involved in military action during the Northern War and later in the Wellington region. (ENZB).

John Webster (1908). *Reminiscences of an Old Settler in Australia and New Zealand*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs. Webster arrived in New Zealand in 1841 and was living in Northland when war broke out. He volunteered and fought under Tāmāti Wāka Nene against Heke's forces. Selected chapters relating to New Zealand are available online (NZEB).

Archives

Transcript of the journal of Cyprian Bridges (MS-0051). Cyprian Bridges was a major in the 58th who commanded the regiment in its fight against Hōne Heke and Kawiti at Puketutu in 1845. He later served as Resident Magistrate in the Bay of Islands. Dr Hocken made this transcript of Bridges' journal from an unknown source. There is also another transcript at MS-2117.

Transcript of the journal of J. J. Symonds (MS-0051). John Jermyn Symonds served as a captain with the 99th Regiment during the Northern War. In 1846 he was appointed private secretary to Governor Grey. Dr Hocken made this transcript of Symonds's journal from an unknown source.

Settler accounts

Publications

Alexander Kennedy (1873, 2nd edition 1874). *New Zealand*. London: Longmans, Green. Kennedy had lived in Auckland for about thirty years when he wrote these reminiscences. They include coverage of the northern war, including various war scares in Auckland. (ENZB).

Frederick Maning (1862). *History of the War in the North of New Zealand Against the Chief Heke*. Auckland: Chapman. Hocken Pamphlets Volume 41 No 5. 2nd edition published 1864 is in Hocken Pamphlets Volume 115 No 1. Maning was a trader and Pākehā-Māori who organised supplies to the government's Māori allies and witnessed several of the major fights during the Northern War. He wrote this history from the perspective of an imaginary Māori supporter of Hōne Heke. (NZEB).

A. S. Thomson (1859). *The Story of New Zealand*. 2 vols. London: John Murray. (NZEB). This early history of New Zealand includes considerable discussion of the Northern War and later events at Wellington and Whanganui. Thomson, a Scottish doctor, served with the 58th Regiment in New Zealand from 1847-1858 (after the regiment's involvement in the Northern War).

Newspapers

The Auckland weekly newspaper, the *New Zealander*, began publication in June 1845 and included news of the war in the north. The Hocken has reasonable holdings for the early years of this paper, which is also available online via Papers Past - <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/>.

The *New Zealand Journal*, which was published in London, contained much general news concerning the war. In particular, see 21 November 1846 and 5 December 1846 for an abridged translation of two reports by Captain Berard of *Le Rhin*, commander of the French station at Akaroa, concerning the northern war, originally published in *Le Moniteur*. Berard visited the Bay of Islands shortly after the attack on Kororāreka to offer his assistance to Pompallier and the Catholic mission. The 5 December 1846 edition also includes a report by the translator Joseph Merrett of a visit to Hōne Heke and Kawiti shortly after the war with their accounts of events.

Flotsam & Jetsam

These are scrapbooks of items relating to New Zealand history (mostly newspaper cuttings) compiled by Dr Hocken. These can be ordered via Hākena. Items of interest relating to the Northern War include:

Volume 2 (FJ-Vol.02)

- Item 9 – extracts from journals of Captain Robertson of HMS Hazard describing his men’s engagement with Māori during the Northern war.

Volume 5 (FJ-Vol.05)

- Item 15 – letter from George Clarke to Shortland, 18 March 1845, discussing the destruction of Kororāreka.

Volume 6 (FJ-Vol.06)

- Item 14 – fragment of a letter to Shortland from unidentified correspondent, 18 March 1845, discussing the destruction of Kororāreka.

Volume 9 (FJ-Vol.09)

- Item 2 – a detailed account of events in the Bay of Islands published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 13 June 1845. The report was written by an officer on HMS North Star, which had just returned to Sydney.
- Item 4 – 1879 article concerning a painting *The Battle of Okaihau*.
- Item 6 – a later newspaper account by a source quoting Bishop Selwyn.

Volume 10 (FJ-Vol.10)

- pp. 131-2 – 1886 article on “Heke’s War” from the *Canterbury Times*.
- p. 182 – obituary of Riwhitete Pōkai, who fought in Heke’s campaign.
- p. 55 – 1898 letter to the editor concerning Heke and the flagstaff.
- pp. 55-6 – extracts from the diary of William Woon, Methodist missionary at Hokianga during the Northern War (a copy of the manuscript diary is also available at Hocken – see below under missionaries).
- pp. 56-8 – reminiscences of the war by Robert Hattaway, Sergeant in the 58th Regiment (also published as a book – see above under soldiers’ accounts).
- p. 43 – account of a lecture on Heke’s War by Dr Hocken.

Volume 11 (FJ-Vol.11)

- pp. 50 & 52 (NB there are two pages numbered 52) – two opposing accounts (evidently published much later) regarding the death of Lieutenant Philpotts of HMS *Herald*, killed at the assault on Heke’s pā at Ōhaeawai.

Missionaries

The Church Missionary Society staff in the Bay of Islands were deeply involved in the war in the north and were, to a significant extent, caught between Māori and British perspectives, sometimes acting as negotiators between the two parties. See our separate reference guide

Missionary Sources at the Hocken Collections - <https://www.otago.ac.nz/library/hocken/guides-to-the-hocken-collections>

Publications

Extracts from a Diary kept by the Rev R. Burrows during Heke's War in the North in 1845. (1886). Auckland: Upton & Co. Hocken Pamphlets Volume 115 No 2. Also available in a modern facsimile edition and online (NZETC). Robert Burrows was an Anglican priest who served with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) at Kororāreka from 1840. He moved to the mission station at Waimate in October 1844. His diary covers the period March to December 1845 and includes explanatory remarks added later. See the list of archives below for further Burrows items.

Frances Porter, ed. (1974). *The Turanga Journals: Letter and Journals of William and Jane Williams New Zealand 1840-1850*. Wellington: Victoria University Press. William Williams was a CMS missionary at Tūranga (Poverty Bay) during the 1840s. However, he spent some time at his brother Henry's Bay of Island mission station during 1844 and his diary includes an account of Hōne Heke's first cutting down of the Kororāreka flagstaff. William Williams wrote the pamphlet *Relative to the Late War in the Northern District of New Zealand*, published at Auckland in 1847 and intended, according to Frances Porter (*Turanga Journals*, p. 402), to put an end to "malicious rumours about his brother's duplicity."

Lawrence M. Rogers (1973). *Te Wiremu: A Biography of Henry Williams*. Christchurch: Pegasus. This biography gives quite a bit of detail about the involvement of Williams, leader of the Bay of Islands mission, in events of the war. For other works relating to Williams, check Library Search|Ketu under the subject heading *Williams, Henry, 1792-1867*. See also his entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies>. Henry Williams wrote the pamphlet *The Fall of Kororareka in 1845*, published in Auckland 1863 (bound in Hocken Pamphlets Volume 41) (ENZB).

George Augustus Selwyn (1847). *A Letter from the Bishop of New Zealand to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; Containing an Account of the Affray Between the Settlers and the Natives at Kororareka*. 2nd edition. London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Hocken Pamphlets Volume 41 No 6. Written by Selwyn at Easter 1845.

Archives

Church Missionary Society, London: Letters and journals of Richard Davis (MS-0066). Davis was a CMS missionary in northern New Zealand during the war. He moved from Waimate to Kaikohe in 1843. Includes material relating to the Northern War (items 88, 89 & 153). Transcripts are available at MS-1211.

Church Missionary Society, London: Letters and journals of James Kemp (MS-0070). James Kemp was a CMS missionary at Kerikeri. During the war the mission station became a temporary barracks for British troops and the Kemps assisted in tending the

wounded after the battles at Ōkaihau and Ōhaeawai. Includes material relating to the Northern War (items 76, 77, 79).

'Missionary Letters &c, F Hall 1821, H. Williams 1864' (MS-0053). This collection of 150 letters, bound into a volume by Dr Hocken, includes, among other items, letters written by various missionaries to George Clarke, Protector of Aborigines, concerning the war in the north. Contributors include Henry Williams, Robert Burrows, Richard Davis, James Kemp, and Robert Maunsell. W. H. Trimble's 1912 catalogue of the Hocken Library (available on the ready reference shelves) includes references to individual letters within this collection under the subject heading 'Maori Wars' and under the names of individual correspondents as authors.

William Woon: Copy of the journal kept as a Wesleyan missionary (MS-0969). Woon was a missionary in the Hokianga in the early 1840s, and his journal includes references to Hōne Heke's activities. A copy of the original diary held at the Alexander Turnbull Library.

The archives collection has a large folder of pā plans (MS-4248), generally drawn by military personnel (some of the plans are originals, but most are facsimiles or published versions). Included are plans of Ruapekapeka, Ōhaeawai and Ōkaihau pās.

Archives on microfilm

Church Missionary Society (Micro 121/1-71). The Hocken has 71 reels of microfilmed Church Missionary Society, London, records. These include minute books, reports and correspondence covering the period of the New Zealand wars. The microfilms can be found in the public microfilm section of the library. For further details, ask reference staff for the 'Microfilm Finding Aids: Missionary Papers' folder.

Methodist Missionary Society (Micro 163/1-64). These microfilms of papers relating to the New Zealand and other South Seas missions held by the Methodist Missionary Society, London, include committee and district minutes and correspondence covering the period of the New Zealand wars. The microfilms can be found in the public microfilm section of the library. For further details, ask reference staff for the 'Microfilm Finding Aids: Missionary Papers' folder.

Bishop George Augustus Selwyn (Micro 297/1-9). The microfilms of Selwyn's papers include correspondence relating to the war in the north. (order via Library Search | Ketu - 10297). For a detailed list of the letters ask reference staff for the 'Microfilm Finding Aids: Personal & Business Papers' folder.

Art and Photography

The art collection has, in the Godward collection, a series of sketches from the *Illustrated London News* relating to the war in the north. See Hākēna for details.

New Zealand-related material from the *Illustrated London News* is also available on the University of Waikato Library's digital collections at <https://onehera.waikato.ac.nz/>.

Wellington and Whanganui, 1846-1847

Official records

Publications

The *British Parliamentary Papers* (available on the ready reference shelves and some reports available via <https://onehera.waikato.ac.nz/>) include various official government reports and despatches relating to the war. Check the Australia New Zealand Index under the headings 'Maori Wars – Hutt Valley disturbances' and 'Maori Wars – Wanganui incident (1847)'. References to some of the Māori leaders (Hōne Heke, Te Haratua and Tāmami Wāka Nene) can be found in the index under 'Maoris, Individuals' while leading Britons are simply indexed under their names.

Geoffrey Charles Mundy (1852). *Our Antipodes: or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies*. London: Bentley. Mundy was appointed Deputy Adjutant General in the Australian Colonies, first arriving there in 1846. In 1847-8 he visited New Zealand and accompanied Governor Grey on visits to Auckland, the Bay of Islands, Wellington and Wanganui. Vol 2 of this 3 volume work includes many details of the recently completed wars in the north, Wellington and Whanganui, obtained from those who were involved. (ENZB).

Archives

Edward Shortland papers (ARC-0020). Shortland held a succession of official positions within the colonial administration, including Sub-Protector of Aborigines. Items MS-0489/001 includes copies of correspondence during 1844 and 1845 between government officials, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata concerning land occupation in Heretaunga (the Hutt Valley). See Hākena for full details.

Records of the New Zealand Company 1837-1861, held in England, are available on microfilm (Micro 10215). These include correspondence from Wellington during the period of these wars. (order via Library Search | Ketu). For further details, ask reference staff for the 'Microfilm Finding Aids: Official Papers' folder.

Soldiers' accounts

Publications

Tom Gibson (1969). *The Wiltshire Regiment (The 62nd and 99th Regiments of Foot)*. London: Leo Cooper. A history of the 99th Regiment, including its involvement in the Northern War and Wellington war.

H. F. McKillop (1849). *Reminiscence of Twelve Months' Service in New Zealand as a Midshipman, During the Late Disturbances in That Colony*. London: Bentley. (ENZB). McKillop was a midshipman on HMS *Calliope*, which arrived at the Bay of Islands in December 1845. He was involved in military action during the Northern War and later in the Wellington region.

W. Tyrone Power (1849). *Sketches in New Zealand, With Pen and Pencil: From a Journal Kept in that Country from July 1846, to June 1848*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. (ENZB). Power served with the 58th Regiment, which he joined on August 1846 while it was involved in operations against Te Rangihaeata at Pāuahatanui. It was then garrisoned at Whanganui, where he was present during the siege and subsequent skirmishes.

Settler accounts

Publications

Interesting Chapters from the Early History of Wanganui, 1847. (1887). Wanganui: A. D. Willis. Hocken Pamphlets Volume 40 No 19. Includes extensive coverage of the siege and subsequent events, incorporating material from Tyrone Power's book (listed above with soldiers' accounts) and the diary of Dr Wilson, who was the *Wellington Independent's* Whanganui correspondent.

Thomas Bevan (1905). *Reminiscences of an Old Colonist Personal and Historical*. Wellington: Evening Post. Chapman Pamphlets Volume 59 No 12. Bevan migrated to Wellington with his family while a child in 1840; a few years later they settled at Waikawa, near Ōtaki. He records meeting soldiers involved in the skirmishes of 1846, and later, the impact of the Kingitanga and Hauhauism at Ōtaki.

Newspapers

Newspapers of the day provide a settler perspective of events. See

- *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* (1844-1865, gaps)
- *Wellington Independent* (1845-1871, gaps)

There was no newspaper in Whanganui at the time, but Wellington newspapers provide coverage of events there. The *New Zealand Spectator* and *Wellington Independent* for this period are also available online via Papers Past - <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/>.

Missionaries

Publications

J. M. R. Owens (2004). *The Mediator: A Life of Richard Taylor 1805-1873*. Wellington: Victoria University Press. This biography of the Whanganui missionary Richard Taylor includes coverage of the war at Whanganui, as revealed in Taylor's diary.

Richard Taylor, (1855). *Te Ika a Maui or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. (ENZB). Richard Taylor was a missionary at Whanganui and this book gives his version of events there.

Modern studies

New Zealand. Waitangi Tribunal (2003). *Te Whanganui a Tara me Ona Takiwa*. Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct. This report on the Wai 145 claim details the background to disputes concerning land in Heretaunga (the Hutt Valley). Also available electronically - <https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/>.

New Zealand. Waitangi Tribunal (c1999). *The Whanganui River Report*. Wellington, N.Z.: GP Publications. This report on the Wai 167 claim details the background to disputes at Whanganui. Also available electronically - <https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/>.

Gavin McLean (2000). *Wellington: The First Years of European Settlement 1840-1850*. Auckland: Penguin. A lively history of early Wellington which includes a chapter on war in the district.

David P. Millarn (1972). *Once Upon a Village: A History of Lower Hutt, 1819-1965*. Wellington: New Zealand University Press.

Alan Mulgan (1939). *The City of the Strait: Wellington and its Province, A Centennial History*. Wellington: Reed. Another older work which, like Ward's *Early Wellington*, includes some useful material. Also includes a chapter on Whanganui, with brief discussion of war there.

W. Hugh Ross (2004). *Turbulent Beginnings of Wanganui Settlement*. Ngongotaha, N.Z.: Faircroft Trust. A compilation of articles originally published in the *Wanganui Herald* and *Wanganui Chronicle* in the 1970s and 80s.

David Young (1998). *Woven by Water: Histories From the Whanganui River*. Wellington: Huia.

Louis E. Ward (1928). *Early Wellington*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs. An older work which includes some useful information, particularly with respect to the British regiments.

Art and Photography

We have two sketchbooks by J. A. Gilfillan, which include pencil sketches of the stockades and members of the 58th Regiment at Whanganui, c. 1847 (6,444 & 6,445). See Hākena for details, or view some of the images via Hocken Digital Collections (search via the artist's name).

See the “Hutt Valley” folder for an image of Boulcotts Stockade, and the “Pahautanui folder” for a battle scene via the Hocken Snapshot section of Hocken Digital Collections <https://hocken.recollect.co.nz/>.

Websites and further information

New Zealand History online - <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/> The Ministry of Culture and Heritage’s history website includes several essays on the New Zealand Wars. Take the links to ‘New Zealand at War’, then ‘New Zealand’s internal wars’.

Te Ara The Encyclopedia of New Zealand - <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies> Includes many biographies of military people – you can find these by doing an advanced search under ‘armed forces’ in the ‘occupation/activity’ field. See their story ‘New Zealand Wars’ at <https://teara.govt.nz/en/new-zealand-wars>.

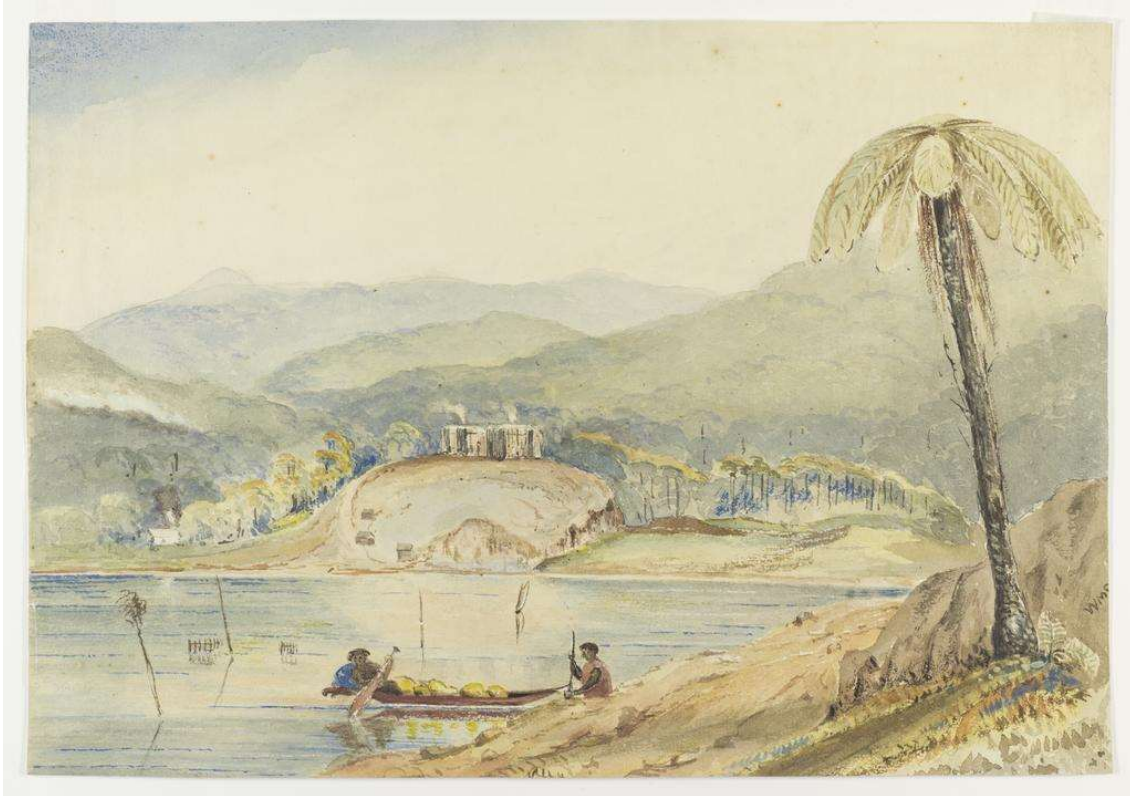
Auckland Museum - <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/>. The Auckland Museum’s website includes an online database, Cenotaph, of New Zealand servicemen and women who died at war, including the New Zealand Wars. Follow the links to ‘War Memorial’, then ‘Online Cenotaph’. The Museum itself has a war memorial section devoted to war history.

Archives New Zealand - <https://www.archives.govt.nz/>. Archives New Zealand holds a variety of sources relating to British and colonial soldiers serving in the New Zealand Wars. Most are held in their Wellington office. For details, see <https://www.archives.govt.nz/research-guidance/research-guides/war-records>. References to individual records can be found on their online catalogue, Collections search <https://collections.archives.govt.nz/web/arena#/>.

Army Museum – <https://www.armymuseum.co.nz/>. A specialist military museum.

DigitalNZ - <https://digitalnz.org/> This website incorporates digital collections from various archives and libraries and includes considerable material relating to the wars.

Te Ruapekapeka - <https://www.ruapekapeka.co.nz/> This website was created by the Department of Conservation and Te Ruapekapeka Trust and contains a variety of material relating to the Northern War and the Battle of Te Ruapekapeka.



***McCleverty, William Anson (1806-1897). Pawatanui, Rangihaiata's pah in 1846, 1849.
Watercolour with scumble on paper: 260 x 373mm, 12,776, Art Collection.***

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