

THE SOLILOQUY OF WHITENESS:
COLONIAL DISCOURSE AND NEW ZEALAND'S
SETTLER PRESS
1839-1873

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree

of Doctor of Philosophy in Journalism

in the University of Canterbury

by Gina Maree Colvin

University of Canterbury

2009

table of contents

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES	VII
HEI MIHI	8
ABSTRACT	11
CHAPTER ONE	13
INTRODUCTION	13
Accounting for the Present	13
Finding a History of the Present	17
Historical Notes	18
Approach	20
Thesis Organisation	20
A Note on Writing Style	22
CHAPTER TWO: THEORY AND LITERATURE	23
The Colonial Gaze	25
Power, and Knowledge of the Colonized	28
Discourse	32
Colonial Discourse	34
Colonial Audiences and Colonial Journalists	35
Race	38
Racial Formations	41
Whiteness	47
White Colonial Hegemony	54
Media	58
Rationale for Discourse Analysis	62
Conclusion	64
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	65
The Research Questions	66
Data Collection	67
System for Data Collection	67
Issues with the Settler Press	69
Re-transcribing Texts	69
Coding and Categories	71
Analysis	73
Validation	75
Coherence	76
Emergence of new problems	76
The Analysis	78
CHAPTER FOUR: THE DISCOURSE OF SOVEREIGNTY	80
The Newspapers	82
Background	84
'Discovery' Talk	84

Capitalist Talk	85
Legal Talk	86
New Zealand Company Talk	87
Constitutional Talk	88
Jurisprudence Talk	90
Summary of Background to Chapter Four	91
Article One	93
<i>New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Island's Gazette</i> , 2 July 1840, p. 4	93
Surface Renderings	93
Patterns of Meaning	94
Summary	97
Article Two	98
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 18 April 1840, p.2	98
Surface Renderings	99
Patterns of Meaning	100
Summary	102
Article Three	103
<i>New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Island's Gazette</i> , 6 August 1840, p.2	103
Surface Renderings	105
Patterns of Meaning	106
Summary	111
Article Four	112
<i>New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Island's Gazette</i> , 12 November 1840, p. 3	112
Surface Renderings	112
Patterns of Meaning	112
Summary	113
Article Five	114
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 27 February 1841, p.2	114
Surface Renderings	114
Patterns of Meaning	115
Summary	117
Article Six	118
<i>New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser</i> , 5 August 1842, p. 2	118
Surface Renderings	118
Patterns of Meaning	118
Summary	120
Article Seven	122
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 23 November 1842, p. 3	122
Surface Renderings	122
Patterns of Meaning	123
Summary	123
Article Eight	125
<i>New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser</i> , 17 March 1843, p. 2	125
Surface Renderings	125
Patterns of Meaning	126
Summary	127
Chapter Four Conclusions	127
CHAPTER FIVE: THE DISCOURSE OF DISCIPLINE	129
The Newspapers	131
Notes on the Chapter Background	131
Article One	132
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 24 April 1841, p.2	132
Surface Renderings	132
Patterns of Meaning	134
Article Two	138
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 10 July 1841, p.3	138
Surface Renderings	138
Patterns of Meaning	140

Summary	142
Article Three	143
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 22 November 1842, p.2	143
Surface Renderings	143
Patterns of Meaning	145
Summary	146
Article Four	147
<i>New Zealander</i> , 7 June 1845. p.2	147
Surface Meanings	147
Patterns of Meaning	149
Summary	151
Article Five	152
<i>New Zealander</i> , October 11, 1845, p.2.	152
Surface Renderings	152
Patterns of Meaning	154
Summary	157
Article Six	158
<i>New Zealander</i> , 13 December 1845, p.2.	158
Surface Renderings	158
Patterns of Meaning	160
Conclusion	162
Article Seven	163
<i>New Zealander</i> , 11 July 1846, p.3	163
Surface Renderings	164
Patterns of Meaning	167
Conclusion	173
Article Eight	175
<i>New Zealander</i> , 29 January 1848, p.2	175
Surface Renderings	175
Patterns of Meaning	178
Conclusions	185
Article Nine	187
<i>New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian</i> , 28 February 1849. p.3	187
Surface Renderings	187
Patterns of Meaning	188
Conclusion	190
Chapter Five Summary	191
CHAPTER SIX: THE DISCOURSE OF PATERNALISM	193
The Papers and their Editors	195
Article One	196
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 6 September 1839, p. 3	196
Background	196
Surface Renderings	198
Patterns of Meaning	198
Conclusion	200
Article Two	201
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 3 September 1840, p.3	201
Background	201
Surface Renderings	202
Patterns of Meaning	203
Conclusions	204
Article Three	205
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 30 October 1841, p.2	205
Background	205
Surface Renderings	207
Patterns of Meaning	208
Conclusion	210
Article Four	211

<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i> , 7 May 1842, p.3	211
Surface Renderings	211
Background	211
Patterns of Meaning	212
Conclusion	212
Article Five	213
<i>The Daily Southern Cross</i> , 23 September 1843, p.2	213
Background	214
Surface renderings	216
Patterns of meaning	217
Conclusion	223
Article Six	225
<i>New Zealander</i> , 14 March 1846, p.3	225
Background	225
Surface Renderings	226
Patterns of Meaning	227
Article Seven	235
<i>New Zealander</i> , 15 December 1847, p. 2	235
Background	236
Surface Renderings	238
Patterns of Meaning	239
Constituting Economic Relations	242
Chapter Six Summary	245
CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCOURSE IN COLONIAL SPACES	248
Introduction	248
Historical Background 1850-1873	250
The Newspapers	250
Sourcing	251
Analytical Considerations for Chapter Seven	252
Discourses of Sovereignty	253
Summary	259
Summary	267
Constituting Martial Authority	267
Discourses of Discipline	270
Constituting Legal Authority	271
Constituting Martial Authority	276
Constituting Political Authority	284
Summary	287
Constituting Othered Identities	287
Summary	292
Discourses of Paternalism	294
Constituting Economic Authority	294
Summary	295
Constituting Moral Authority	296
Summary of Moral Authority	299
Constituting Social Relations	299
Summary	305
Synopsis of the Discourse of Paternalism 1850-1873	306
Conclusion	307
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS	309
The Research Questions	309
<i>What white British colonial ideologies and discourses can be identified in the colonial press in relation to the native?</i>	309
Colonial Discourses as a Discursive Racial Framework	310
<i>How did New Zealand's colonial press constitute the authority, privileges and entitlements?</i>	312
Patterns of meaning in Colonial Discourse	313
<i>What do these discourses look like over time?</i>	314

Other ways of Authoring the Encounter	316
The Question of Whiteness	319
Research Implications	321
Further Implications and Links to Local Research	324
BIBLIOGRAPHY	328
APPENDIX	342
Chapter Seven Articles	342
Endnotes	396

list of figures and tables

Figures

Figure 8.1: Percentage Comparison of Discourses 1850 to 1873	310
Figure 8.2: Percentage Comparison of Patterns of meaning 1850 to 1873.....	313
Figure 8.3: Percentage Comparison of Discourse Fluctuations 1850-1873.....	315
Figure 8.4: Percentage Comparison of Fluctuations in Patterns of Meaning 1851-1873.....	316

Tables

Table 8.1: Time Clusters 1850-1873.....	314
-----------------------------------------	-----

.

hei mihi

Ko te mihi tuatahi ki te Atua i te rangi, me tāna tamaiti, ko Ihu Karaiti. Nā rāua nei ngā
mea katoa.

I te taha o tōku tipuna wahine, ko Te Here Taiapa
Ko Hikurangi te maunga
Ko Waiapu te awa
Ko Te Whānau a Ruataupare te hapū
Ko Te Hono ki Rarotonga te marae
Ko Ngāti Porou te iwi

I te taha o tōku tipuna tāne, ko Hau Ruwhiu
Ko Puhanga Tohora te maunga
Ko Maungatawa te awa
Ko Punakitere te marae
Ko Ngaituteauru te hapu
Ko Ngā Puhi te iwi

E tū ana mātou, te iwi Māori, ki runga i te kaha me te mana o ō tātou tūpuna mātua. Mō
rātou tēnei mahi rangahau.

Muhammed Musa got this ball rolling when we arrived back from Taiwan. He called me one day to urge me *strongly* to re-enrol in my PhD, so with new-born in tow I took the plunge.

Heart-felt thanks for his interest and support goes to my supervisor, Donald Matheson. Donald sensed early on in this exercise that I was not a plodder, and was more comfortable with moments and flurries of intellectual activity punctuated with months of inactivity. He also had to watch the size of our family increase exponentially, and if he had any doubts that either of these less conventional personal circumstances would create an unrecoverable intellectual dent, he didn't let on. I am indebted to his quiet, thoughtful and encouraging guidance throughout the process. Nga mihi hoki ki a Rawiri Taonui, from Aotahi, who stepped in at the last minute to look over this draft – sacred blessings ki a koe!!

I have been happily supported by two very timely scholarships. A scholarship from Te Runanga o Ngā Puhī, who called me one day to ask for more details, as their scholarship committee was meeting at that moment. Being a good Ngā Puhī, I ran down the road to my office and condensed as much information about Heke and Kawiti into my explanation as I could. The next week I was delighted to receive a much appreciated and timely cheque. Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga have also provided valuable support. The doctoral conferences were outstanding, enjoyable, and a wonderful opportunity to share, laugh and tautoko one other. We doctoral students live double lives at those conferences. In front of our power points, we are eloquent, engaged, and articulate intellectuals. In the whare nui, the tellies get big, the accents thicken, and we laugh, mock, cajole and rib each other mercilessly. You can't buy that kind of camaraderie. Ngā mihi hoki ki Ngā Pae for their karahipi, their pūtea to attend the conferences at Kawhia and Whakatane, and their ongoing mentoring of Māori academics.

Ngā mihi hoki to my colleagues at the University of Canterbury, School of Māori, Social and Cultural Studies in Education; Lynne Te Aika, Rachel Martin, Richard Manning, Gipsy Foster, Nicole Gully, Te Hurinui Clarke, Verity Tamepo and Bonny King who were outrageously supportive and loads of fun. Ngā mihi hoki for showing up to the first conference presentation of my work and helping me feel that perhaps my research was worthwhile!!

Our move at the beginning of 2009 to Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, necessitated a change of mahi. Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa agreed to take me on and have been tolerant and supportive as I have combined what has seemed like an all too busy life with the completion of my research. Would that everyone had the opportunity to associate with such outstanding colleagues as Kath Cooper and Roimata Kirikiri.

This thesis has coincided with an eventful five years. In 2004, our second son Finn was born, and my mother Marie Colvin-Eketone died. In 2006 and my father Hemi Ruwhiu died. In 2007 Roman, our third (whangai) son came to us and he was followed closely by the twins, Elric and Xander. Deacon came to us at the beginning of 2009 to complete our

family of six boys. At the beginning of 2009 my sister Sarsha died. Isaac, throughout has been a most delightful, bright, patient, gentle and loving elder brother, and I am thrilled and privileged to be his mother. I am grateful also to Christ's College for their tireless support of Ihaka both financially and pastorally. The rocky places over the last three years have been easier to bear because I knew that he was well looked after.

During this time my sister Ruth has been my soft place to fall. My gratitude to her knows no bounds for her friendship, love, support and manaakitanga. In the final months, without question Ruth and Alan opened their home enthusiastically to me on my frequent trips from Wellington to get this work completed. The bed was always made, the key to the Laser was always ready, and meals were made as required. I am indebted also to her for convincing Jeff that we both needed a two week, all expenses paid trip to the USA. It couldn't have come at a better time and aside from being a ruinously stunning break from the demands of children (and husbands), it was also exactly, utterly and thoroughly what I needed. Jeff was dazzling. He tolerated happily the hundreds and hundreds of miles of travel to take us places he had seen a dozen times before. He indulged our taste for Carl's Junior, allowed us to swan about lazily in his pool, and took me to meet our cousins on the Pima-Maricopa reservation. Without this healing break I believe I would still be staring blankly at the heading to Chapter Seven.

Finally, to my husband, friend and companion, Nathan. Ahakoa he Pākehā, he ngakau Māori tāna! I remind him constantly how fortunate he was to marry a Māori and he always responds, eyes wide with gratitude; 'I really am!!'. I can't actually recall the reasons we decided to; move around the country, have a four year adventure in Asia, do our doctorates, combine poverty with private schools, take on children and then more children - but I am grateful that we did. It has been an uncommon life but one full of interest, laughter, passion and joy. Nathan's love and fidelity has been uncompromising, his patience- legendary, his support- invaluable, his openness- unsurpassed. I am indeed 'happily situated'.

And to Mr. Eathorne, Thank you.

abstract

From 1839 to 1873 New Zealand was characterised by ideological, religious, economic cultural and social contest. This struggle to order a new society, in which colonists and indigenes were required to co-exist, is captured in the newspapers of the day. These document and attest to a contest over power; power to appropriate and control resources, power to administer, control and institutionalize the colony, and power to ascribe identities. Newspapers published during the initial period of colonization in New Zealand are saturated with instances of ideological work where discourses were deployed that supported the colonial endeavour. In this study therefore I have sought to understand and articulate those racial ideologies, racial formations, and discourses, which emerged from New Zealand's colonial press archives. How did New Zealand's colonial press constitute the privileges, entitlements and struggles of the white British colonist in relation to the native? What white British colonial ideologies, discursive formations and discourses can be identified in the colonial press in relation to the native? Are there any patterns or relationships between these discourses? What did these discourses look like over time? A critical discourse analytical approach has been applied to a body of texts extracted from newspapers published in New Zealand between 1839 and 1873. From this analysis three broad discursive formations have been apprehended; the discourses of sovereignty, discipline and paternalism respectively. These discourses were not independent of one another but worked to construct an interlocking network of discourse that provided sound ideological coverage. The discourse of sovereignty provided a broad platform for working out the colony's ideological and institutional plan; discourses of discipline discursively managed native disruptions to the plan, while discourses of paternalism invested the colonial project with affectations of concern and interest in the progress of the native. Weaving through these discourses are patterns of meaning which worked to constitute white British colonial authority in economic, political, judicial, social, martial and moral affairs. These constitutive repertoires were malleable and adaptable and attached and detached themselves, according to the context, to and from the discourses of sovereignty, discipline and paternalism. Over time it appears that these discourses and the associated patterns of meaning worked responsively and flexibly, bleeding into each other,

reconstituting authority and identity across different contexts. Furthermore, these discourses and patterns attest to a complex encounter with a vociferous non-white challenge, which necessitated a flexible reservoir of rhetoric to situate and position the white British colonial incursion favourably in the white settler public arena.

chapter one

introduction

Accounting for the Present

As a young child growing up in Christchurch, New Zealand, the more sober memories of my social life are characterized by the sense of my ‘race’ preceding me. Living primarily with and around Pākeha, I, (like many of my contemporaries) was subject to their quips, sermons, totalizing judgements, the ‘knowing gaze’ about my ‘race’ and the often suffocating inability to escape from a predetermined course. It seemed that much of how I was to be understood at the level of the social had already been worked out. My colour and my ‘race’, it appeared, were difficult for most Pākeha to ignore. This was most evident during my own social transgressions. The rapidity, and force of Pākeha response to my behavioural misdemeanours, particularly at school, suggested that the adults who were responsible for my education knew me, and anticipated me on a level of which I was wholly unaware.

After two expulsions, time at Kingslea Home for Girls, and a stint at Four Avenues School, (an inner city alternative school recommended by Lincoln High School on account of my inability to comply and my turbulent demeanour) I miraculously stuttered my way out of Linwood High School in 1983 with University Entrance. (I am grateful to this day that Linwood took me, as I had been refused enrolment by a number of more wary institutions). There is, however, only one day from my time at Linwood High School, which I recall with absolute clarity. On the 15th August, 1981 a test match between the All Blacks and the Springboks was under way at Lancaster Park. Our fifth period teacher, Tony Ryan, had abandoned us, his fourth form music class, to join the protest, commanding us as he left, ‘*Stay where you are until the bell rings!*’. The initial flush of pleasure at our liberation gave way quickly to boredom, and then to the usual churlish adolescent banter: ‘*He shouldn’t be allowed to do that*’; ‘*We should tell someone*’; ‘*Let’s go!*’; ‘*Where should we go?*’; ‘*Why don’t we go to the protest!?*’; ‘*Yeah, let’s go eh?*’; ‘*We can’t... we’ll get in trouble!*’. After seeing the news coverage of the protest on

television that night, I thought Mr Ryan was a celebrity, and I was secretly thrilled that I knew someone who could be so wonderfully 'subversive'. My interest was piqued however. People that I knew were arguing about the unfair treatment of non-white folks, and I wondered what this meant to me.

In 1983 I was awarded a work study scholarship to Brigham Young University – Hawaii, where my tuition and board was paid for by a 20 hour per week job at the Polynesian Cultural Centre in Laie. Apparently they didn't have enough real Māori for the Māori village and were embarrassed when tourists complained that they only got Hawaiians dressed in piupiu, when they had really wanted to see 'real' New Zealand natives. Not being particularly good at kapa haka, poi, or tirakau, I was assigned to tour guide duties. My job was largely informative rather than performative, yet it gave me a chance to talk to the mostly American clientele. While in New Zealand I was aware of the conspicuous anticipation of my failure by Pākeha educators, here in the balmy Hawaiian heat, I was aware of the patent expectation of me as an indigenous theatrical artefact. These people had paid to see a bronzed spectacle, something romantic and authentic from the South Seas. Their eyes gleamed as they implored me to do something, or say something native. I found the experience degrading, undignified, and tedious and was tired of explaining to ignoramuses that; New Zealand wasn't just off the coast of Hawaii; Māori didn't live in whare whakairo; we didn't still wear grass skirts. As soon as I could I took the first plane home.

Sensing that I was intellectually restless, I enrolled at the University of Canterbury. My transcript, to this day, reads like a bomb site as I stumbled from this course to that degree, waiting to be captivated by something. In 1991 I enrolled in Rob Steven's *New Zealand Politics*, and found there the first glimmers of what I had been looking for – neo-Marxist critique. Rob was an outstanding teacher - his lectures were insubordinate and his tutorials were defiant. We would crowd into his office, sit on the floor and 'share' our stories of political oppression while Rob would weep (I think he was going through a marriage break up at the time). This nebulous and indefinable sense of my own construction within a white political narrative was finally given some definition and shape, and Rob was a

sympathetic teacher who enthusiastically welcomed my burgeoning, uneasy, halting, and awkward politicization. I was on my way.

*Nga mihi nui ki a koe Ropata,
Haere, ki te wā kainga
Haere ki te kainga tuturu
O tō tātau matua i te rangi.
Haere, haere, haere*

At Christchurch College of Education in 1995, I discovered ‘media studies’. Having picked it up as a teaching subject I found it compelling, and acknowledged it then as an area of absolute interest. It was during this diploma year that Bruce Reid, my professional studies, and media studies tutor, introduced me to Paulo Freire. It is said that we don’t find books, but that books find us. I read *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* from cover to cover in one sitting, and I am not ashamed to say that this one text changed the course of my life, not only professionally, but personally, and politically. Everything I have done academically since then can be traced back to that one day, prostrate on the couch, ignoring food, family and phone, devouring Freire while my construction in a white political hegemony was recounted to me with startling and uncompromising precision. I pursued my interest in the media through courses over the next few years at Waikato University, Massey University and then back to Canterbury. I happily found that I had a knack for critique and with that in mind I embarked on this PhD journey in which I have returned, in part, to the broader question of my experience with my own ‘Māori’ situatedness in a white colonial narrative. My passion for New Zealand history, media analysis and liberatory politics are not united here coincidentally. Just as I have been curious to know what Pākehā were seeing when they looked at me, that made them jump so proscriptively, and inevitably, I have been interested to know if there is any relationship between these renderings and our colonial past. As I pointed out above, these schemas of knowledge seemed always to precede me. So naturally my interest in the media led me to look at the settler archive for those literary resources left behind as a testament to the particulars of the white settlers’ ‘ways of knowing’.

However, it is not that difficult to determine from the archive how colonizers understood Māori. What is more nebulous is determining what white British settlers thought of themselves in relation to Māori. When I was called ‘dumb’, did that mean those Pākeha understood themselves as ‘clever’? When I was considered ‘difficult’, did that mean they understood themselves as ‘unproblematic’? And if this is the case, why has it been so necessary to repeat these appellatives from one generation to the next if they were so uncompromisingly accurate? I have found, in these colonial discourses, a palpable sense of Pākeha vulnerability, weakness, and limitation, expressly in relation to Māori. For here was a people, and here continues to be a people, who struggle to be firmly, utterly, connectedly, uncompromisingly grounded in this land as rightful and entitled. Hence the need to talk so vociferously, repeatedly, and determinedly about their superiority, rights and entitlement to occupy, govern and control that which is not their own.

Until relatively recently, New Zealand’s¹ historical archive was characterized by the deafening silence around events of the 19th-century. Looking back, there is little indication that there was a complicated, defining, challenging, and sometimes affectionate interaction between these two stunningly and obviously dissimilar groups of human beings, Māori and white British colonists. There is little indication that, for much of the 19th-century, New Zealand was dominated by tension, war, conflict, oppression, suffering, rebels, villains, heroes, theft, murders, sickness, poverty, broken promises, protest, and survival. The price of Britain’s colonization of New Zealand has been, and continues to be, staggering for Māori. Between 1860 and 1910 over 15 million acres of land were lost through military and legislative violations that were unrelenting, rendering a people intergenerationally impoverished. Efforts to civilize, Christianize, eradicate, assimilate and integrate Māori, informed social policy, while systemic skin colour prejudices regularly denied Māori access to rudimentary services. Social, political, cultural and economic processes were denied and undermined, rendering Māori alienated from their past, unsure in their present and unable to control the future. Yet Māori did not yield entirely to the colonial machine, making the white British colonial contest for ascendancy an ongoing struggle and process. This struggle to order a new society, in which colonists and indigenes were required to co-exist, is captured in the discourses of the day through

diaries, histories, commentaries and news. These document and attest to a contest over power; power to appropriate and control resources; power to administer, control and institutionalize the colony; power to ascribe identities. Yet for all of this discursive work, the machinery of the white British colonization of New Zealand features only nominally in New Zealand's public archive², suggesting that the complexity and drama of the colonial period has yet to be openly and forthrightly acknowledged, taught, discussed and addressed in contemporary discourse. In this study, therefore, I have sought to understand and articulate the racial ideologies, racial formations, and discourses that emerged from New Zealand's colonial press. What do New Zealand's colonial discourses look like? How did colonial writers make sense of Māori and to what social, political, economic and cultural end was this sense applied? Not that this study is concerned so much with the individuals involved as it is concerned with how the political, economic and cultural aspirations of these colonizing interlopers were worked out in the face of defiant and resistant indigenes. My hope is that in giving history definition, form and clarity to these 'ways of knowing' the Other, we might be able to more successfully talk back to these marginalizing renderings, placing the responsibility for them squarely where they belong; with a white British colonial incursion.

Finding a History of the Present

In this study, therefore, I have attempted to trace the genealogy (Foucault, 1972) of the marginalizing repertoires of colonization that appear in New Zealand's colonial press between 1839 and 1873, to follow those historical trajectories, and to make sense of those renderings, and discourses. I have attempted to talk back to one particular but seminal moment in New Zealand's history in order to understand how the colonization of New Zealand was discursively worked out. The settler media is an abundant place to investigate the deployment of discourses that worked to justify a colonial incursion. News articles of the day were generally up-to-the-minute records of the colonial experience, and, without the luxury of time to reflect and ponder critically, these often hastily and sometimes impassioned pieces present as a rich resource from which to apprehend the racial ideologies of the colony. While more often than not written by educated middle-class men, these journalists were nonetheless sensitive to the broader mood of the time, because in the final analysis, newspapers were a business and needed to attract a sympathetic audience to

survive. Thus, rather than concentrate on how media representations of Māori in the settler press can be criticized, I have analyzed how colonial news discourses constituted the aspirations of the colonists as acceptable, justifiable and defensible. The pressing analytical concerns were to discover what kind of conversations colonists were having with each other, through the media, to render it tolerable and even justifiable to take that which was not their own, socially, politically, culturally and economically.

Historical Notes

A rich and diverse assortment of 120 news articles, extracts, letters and reports was selected randomly from the period 1839 to 1873. The first English language newspapers were published in 1839³ and I considered it prudent to attend to the textual corpus deployed in the first 33 years of colonization because, as will be argued, the discourses set down at that time became the linguistic resources available to successive generations of authors, media and otherwise. This time period also coincided with both the most turbulent and the most peaceful movements during the early period of New Zealand's colonization. This period includes the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Crown Colony period, the move to government by General Assembly, challenges to British sovereignty by the Kingitanga movement, the land wars, the settler government's attendant legislative violations and 'Te Kooti's' guerrilla war in the East. This analysis, however, was never intended to be an historical recounting of the time and it is important to point out that many of the events discussed in the colonial period do not appear in the contemporary extant literature or early New Zealand historical commentaries (although contextual information is mostly likely found in the latter). As an organizational framework for this work I have relied on the events upon which contemporary historians agree as seminal to the development of the colony. My interest in New Zealand history has developed over many years and I have found myself going back to the same authors for their thoroughness and engaging treatment of New Zealand's past. These include; King (2004), Oliver (1981) and Sinclair (1991) who have provide a broad account of New Zealand's colonial and modern history. Orange (1992) makes an invaluable contribution to an understanding of the complexities and tensions which have characterised the place of the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand's legal, social, economic and political affairs, while McLintock (1958) maps the Crown Colony period providing much needed detail. Belich (1998), Simpson (1979),

Ballara (1986), and more recently Trotter (2007) have been significant sources. Largely revisionist histories these authors have sought to move reposition resistance Māori as central to the development of the colony and have dared to question the 'race relations haven' mythology by implicating settler vulnerabilities, weaknesses and rabid racism. They narrate an encounter between colonist and Māori which is afforded both depth and complexity. A surprising but most efficacious discovery was Miller (1958) whose treatment of early Victorian prejudices on the waterfront in Wellington provided some important insights into the disposition of the New Zealand Company immigrants towards Māori. Vaggioli (2000) whose observations of the British treatment of Māori during his tenure in New Zealand as a Roman Catholic priest was also a well thumbed text inasmuch his interpretation of events provide another cultural perspective for considering the constructedness of New Zealand's social history. For the particulars relating to the individual news items, I have had to rely largely upon many early books which were sourced mostly from Auckland University's digital collection of *Early New Zealand Books*, (<http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/>) and Victoria University Wellington's *Electronic Text Centre* (<http://www.nzetc.org/>). The accessibility of these texts has made the job of finding some contextual information for the news articles much more straightforward. Unfortunately in the majority of cases the specific contexts and backgrounds for each article has been difficult to source. However, because this thesis is interested not in the historical accuracy of texts, but rather the political orientation and social work of these texts, this is not a pressing concern. Each text can largely be taken at face value, and although I provide an historical background, where possible, so that the broader contextual issues can be considered, this work is not a 'colonial history'. However, I will say that historical sources surrounding any colonizing project are far from problematic and remain at one level participants in the colonizing project. They have a genealogy of their own and, in the New Zealand situation; colonial histories have drawn upon each other over time to contract and condense meanings into a predicable format. It is important, therefore, to point out that I am aware that the writings of New Zealand's history are contestable and that I use them with that in mind.

Approach

These texts have been analyzed using a critical discourse analytical approach. Critical discourse analysis offers the researcher a toolkit of questions to ask of the text such as: What social ‘work’ is it engaged in? How is it positioning the subject? Where is the speaker in this discourse? What would the speaker like to see happen as a result of his commentary? (Edwards & Potter, 1992) I argue that the kinds of conversations occurring in the media during that period worked to create boundaries and exclusions about what should or shouldn’t be spoken about in relation to this colonizer/native⁴ encounter. Additionally, a number of discursive formations appear in the colonial media at this time, each of which attends to a set of salient questions or concerns: How is a British system to be positioned over an existing indigenous political arrangement? How are the resources to accommodate colonists to be acquired? What is the best way of organising the infrastructure of the colony/country? What should the social organisation of the colony look like? How is an executive, judicial and legislative framework to be arranged that fits the colony? These racial formations have been organized into three broad discursive areas; sovereignty, discipline and paternalism.

Thesis Organisation

In Chapter Two I review the relevant literature and try to establish links to this study from a broad theoretical corpus. Not only are questions of racism and discourse wedded to this study, but whiteness, the role of the press, the colonial eye and of course ideology are all considered, in an effort to draw as many theoretical strands together. This has been done in order to enlarge and make room for more complexity in my analysis.

The first part of my analysis has involved the critical analysis of 24 news articles sourced from colonial newspapers in New Zealand from 1839 to 1849. This has been done in order to surface the broad racial formations or discourses that lie beneath the surface of the text. The discourses of sovereignty, discipline and paternalism, which arise out of the analysis of these 24 articles, are discussed in Chapters Four to Six respectively. Embedded in these racial formations are the building blocks of meaning, or the systemic organisation of colonizing ideas around various themes, ideas or what Wetherell and

Potter (1992, p.90) term, interpretative repertoires. Each discourse (sovereignty, discipline and paternalism) is attended by a malleable and flexible set of constitutive patterns of meaning that run through each discourse. In Chapter Seven a further 96 articles sourced from newspapers from 1850 to 1873 were analysed in order to understand how these patterns of meaning worked together, how they remained salient, coherent and sensible over time. In Chapter Eight the results, conclusions and implications of this research will be considered.

In this thesis therefore the overriding concern will be to articulate the racial ideologies of 19th-century colonial journalism in New Zealand and to understand how white British colonial journalists made sense of themselves as they authored the native, and to what political, economic and social end this sense was applied. These news stories were found not to be narrative but rather piece-meal sitting side by side, often in contradictory and paradoxical ways. The expressions of paternalism, and celebration for the progress of the natives were intertwined with talk of the primacy of white prosperity and the desperate need to appropriate native resources. Blame and culpability directed at the Crown and then successive settler governments for the exigencies facing settlers sat side by side with the outrage, fear and an acute consciousness of native subversion, where settler aggression was directed at the savage and barbarian.

These texts were suffused with scarcely any recognition of the material consequences of those colonizing discourses upon Māori. Underscoring these media accounts is a sense of entitlement arising out of an ideology of racial superiority, and the absolute righteousness of British colonial institutions, and their social, economic and political arrangements. These colonial texts however are complicated by the persistent appearance in the press of a humanitarian ideology that looked upon the Native as a race to reclaimed and redeemed from their own barbarity. When Māori did not respond with the anticipated acceptance of white munificence or fiscal interests, the newspapers responded with outrage and fear which eclipsed all other renderings.

What binds each of these discourses together therefore is a coercive ideology which is flexible and adaptable, reactive and resilient, and in which the colonial press plays a key role in responsively instantiating ideas, which over time reproduce an expropriative relationship with a group from whom political, social and economic control is to be wrested. Therefore, rather than understand this coercive ideology as monolithic and seamless, colonial discourses are erratic, piece-meal, flexible, paradoxical, and contradictory. Colonial discourse works in response to exigencies rather than descending upon hapless subordinates intact and with definition. Thus this expropriative ideology, in popular circulation, is not a static, singular, and unproblematic set of ideas, but rather a fluid archive of often disparate and ambiguous ideas that sit together sniffing out sites of contest and responding with predictability and regularity to any exigency that might undermine white British colonial hegemony in New Zealand.

A Note on Writing Style

Because this study deals with colonial texts from the position of the present I have endeavoured throughout the textual analysis to ensure that I don't unsettle the texture of the Victorian style of writing by writing over the top with a more contemporary approach. The effect of drawing the colonial texts into the present by interrogating them, rephrasing and rewording them with a more current writing approach I believe would be too jarring. According to Feltes (1986) there were a number of debates during the Victorian period as to the most appropriate style for newspaper writing. News, it was argued:

Was to be "parcelled up into short easily digestible portions," what Charles Morgan was to dismiss as "little buzzing attempts to surprise and titillate." T.P. O'Connor of the Star however, explained that although perhaps there might be in the "new journalism" as in a street piano a "certain absence of soul," the notes should come out "clear, crisp, sharp." Like McCauley's prose style, the "new journalism" was more interesting precisely because of its "infinite of petty details." (p. 67)

I have thus sought where possible to assume the Victorian prose style in order to allow the texts to remain with their fulsome air.

chapter two

theory and literature

The preoccupation of this thesis is therefore in understanding the language, representations, racial formations, discourses and ideologies about Māori that appear in New Zealand's colonial press from 1839 to 1873 which; "belong to the historical process of colonization" (Spurr, 1993, p.1). These ways of authoring the Other have implications for the ordering of New Zealand society where authority and power have been, and continue to be manifestly white and Western. As Goldberg argues (1993, p. 9):

It is not just that the fact of discourse defines our species as meaning making, as both producer and product of these meanings and their embedded values. Particular conceptual systems signify in specific ways, encode values that shape thought in giving voice, even silently, to their speakers. Dominant discourses-those that in the social relations of power at some moment come to assume authority and confer status-reflect the material relations that render them dominant. More significantly, they articulate these relations, conceptualise them, give them form, express their otherwise unarticulated and yet inarticulate values. It is this capacity-to name the condition, to define it, to render it not merely meaningful but actually conceivable and comprehensible-that at once constitutes power over it, to determine after all what it is (or is not), to define its limits. To control the conceptual scheme is thus to command one's world.

What follows is a review of the relevant literature which has informed the theoretical approach, frameworks and definitions that will be applied in this thesis. Because the question of ideology is fundamental to this study, the first task is to excavate key theoretical works for their usefulness in coming to a functional and workable understanding of the theoretical and analytical terms used throughout the study.

According to Wetherell and Potter (1992), New Zealand's colonial present remains *an intensely British concern*, and continues to shape the way Pākehā New Zealanders acknowledge the Māori experience. Wetherell & Potter (1992) further argue that modern Pākehā New Zealanders have inherited a way of understanding Māori which belongs to an uncharted period of New Zealand's history. Far from ignoring Māori as irrelevant to Pākehā New Zealanders, in conversation with their research subjects Wetherell and Potter discovered that many of them "have at their disposal, ready to be deployed in argument,

traces of a great many of the general intellectual resources of the Western World” (ibid, p. 4).

Below are some of the respondents’ arguments about Māori which appear in Potter and Wetherell’s study:

- The Maoris seem more advanced than the Aborigines
- The Maori on the whole isn’t a leader
- The Old Maori was a cannibal
- To be able to sing well seems to be a general trait
- It’s this innate shyness they’ve got
- I have a friend who is almost full-blooded
- They do have a racial trait...they’re basically lazy
- Intermarriage and a bit of the old protestant work ethic...might improve them
- They are not accustomed to sitting down and studying
- I mean, none of the Maoris are pure...(ibid, pp.120-124)

Wetherell & Potter (1992) therefore make an important contribution to the field of discourse analysis in their study of Pākehā New Zealander discourse about Māori. While a study of contemporary ‘interpretative repertoires’, their research indicates that such prejudicial accounts can be analyzed, not only for their patterns of meaning and their ‘social work’, but it also for their connections to a historically broader colonizing work. Thus, ways of understanding Māori, constituting them in talk and text, seem to precede modernity and to draw upon an experience and a time which has remained largely invisible to the public archive, yet remains potent in discourse.

Representations, discourses, ways of understanding, and images of Otherness, (‘the native’, ‘they’, the tribes, the savages, even the soubriquet ‘Maori’) work therefore to construct for Pākehā New Zealanders a way of understanding what it means to be European. A reference point as it were, so that in moments of interrogation, Pākehā New Zealanders are able to readily share their remarkably similar deficit evaluations of Māori which “define the European as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience” (Said, 1979, p. 273).

The Colonial Gaze

“The Maori character itself is a very exceptionable difficulty in the colonists' way. The New Zealand natives may be few, but they are certainly the most redoubtable savages that England ever had to encounter” (*Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 December 1868, p. 4)

The annals of New Zealand history are replete with vigorous descriptions of what colonial writers discovered upon their arrival, and their subsequent settlement of New Zealand. The observations of the new European arrivals were often recorded with immense attention to detail. From the stark-yellowed, tussocked-rugged emptiness of the high country of the McKenzie Basin in the South Island, to the close, humid dampness of the Taranaki bush - all was carefully surveyed, critiqued and chronicled. Slicing, sectioning, partitioning and apportioning parts of the country appear, on the surface, to be a common-place activity associated with the process of colonisation and settlement (Byrnes, 2001). Surveying as an occupation requires particular material and computational skills, spatial awareness, and physical endurance. Equipped with the necessary tools of surveillance, the colonial surveyor probed the interiors, and with a sharp eye, chains, compasses, transits and levels, the landscapes were transformed, made readable and coherent to an awaiting land commissioner, land company, settler or newspaper subscriber. The authoritative colonial gaze, empowered by, and in possession of, the instruments of extra-vision, progressed around the islands naming, claiming and taming as it went – little by little shifting the land away from one conceptual space to another (Byrnes, 1995). Colonial surveyors deployed an enduring language associated with their first forays into the interior - discovery, exploration, reconnaissance - as if, before they arrived with their tool kits, the land was empty, bare, barren, waste, uninhabited. Now, with considerable acumen and under the ensign of the British, Maui's fish and Maui's boat took on new proportions, and possibilities. The landscape found 'new' contours, and a 'new' aspect, which, once blurred and obscure, under the voracious gaze of the colonial surveyor came into sharp relief, throwing up possibilities once only dreamed of, now all but realised:

“The scientific exploration and survey of the Province, for which Mr. Peppercorne earnestly pleads, would undoubtedly throw much light on the probabilities in this matter; but whatever might be its issue as to gold, sure we are that it would disclose and place on a firm foundation the abundance of other means of wealth, in the development of which capital might be vested with certainty of an ample reward, and which, sooner or later, will

urge onward (as Lord John Russell once expressed it) “the glorious destiny to which New Zealand is called.”. (*The New Zealander*, 4 August 1852, p. 2)

At the heart of the colonial settlement of New Zealand, therefore, is the colonial gaze which fell, not only upon the land, but also upon the native who was similarly scrutinized.. Māori were visually probed, prodded, and sectioned for their hue, cranial proportions, breadth of torso, height of body, and texture of hair, the character of facial expressions, eye colour and muscularity. Indeed, in his seminal expose on the ‘Māori Race’, Tregear (1904) observes:

The Maoris were a handsome and well-developed race; muscular, fleshy, with fine figures, good arms and well-shaped legs, but with the feet flat and broad. The men were as tall as the average Englishman, but many of the chiefs, owing to better nourishment than the common people, were far above the middle height. Among a hundred Maoris, at least ten would be six feet high or over, and these by no means weedy, but of corresponding bulk and weight. The women were shorter than the men, but in youth were elegant and graceful; many of them had small and beautifully shaped hands, especially those whose birth removed them from the necessity of heavy and constant work. (p. 8)

The settler gaze - roving, searching, examining, recording and appropriating as it went - desired, penetrated and laid claim to both the landscape and the people, from coast to hinterland. The land and her residents began to orientate around the rightful place of the colonist, as governors of the people and proprietors of the territory, so that the entitlement of settler institutions to determine the destiny of the soil and its inhabitants was assured. This proprietary right was taken up by colonial writers as they affirmed the land and the people’s subjection to British governance, authority and control.

Shohat and Stam (1994, pp.1-2) argue that eurocentrism or ways of centring European ‘ways of knowing’ characterize the public archive and provide:

... a single perspective in which Europe is seen as the unique source of meaning, as the world’s centre of gravity, as ontological ‘reality’ to the rest of the world’s shadow. Eurocentric thinking attributes to the ‘West’ an almost providential sense of historical destiny. Eurocentrism, like the Renaissance perspectives in painting, envisions the world from a single privileged point. It maps the world in a cartography that centralises and augments Europe while literally ‘belittling’ Africa. The ‘East’ is divided into ‘Near’, ‘Middle’, and ‘Far’, making Europe the arbiter of spatial evaluation, just as the establishment of Greenwich Mean Time produces England as the regulating centre of temporal measurement.

Post-colonial theorists have provided useful theoretical frameworks for justifying the interrogation of the imperial archive so that the place of the colonizer is subordinated to the perspective and experiences of the colonized, or the subaltern (Bhabha, 1996, pp. 191-207; Spivak, 1988, pp. 271-313). Said (2003) further argues that early discourses associated with the constitution of the Other have, over time, worked to construct for the West, ways of understanding themselves. Imagining and constructing the Māori in text and talk has become a way of both simultaneously marginalizing and disciplining Māori while at the same time ordering a society in which the European colonist enjoys authority and legitimacy. Thus Māori are the means by which Pākehā have come to interpret, comprehend and know themselves as superior, authoritative and entitled (Schech & Haggis, 2002, p.45). Power and domination are therefore inseparably connected with schemas or repertoires of knowledge or ways of understanding the world around us. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (1994, p.1) further argue that:

Eurocentrism is deeply embedded in everyday life, so that residual traces of centuries of axiomatic European domination (a) inform the general culture, the everyday language and the media; and also (b)

It is not therefore possible to arrive at an understanding of non-European peoples in New Zealand by relying upon the colonizer's discourses and representations of Māori inasmuch as discourses created by the 'gaze' are more about the observer than the observed. Rather, Said (1994, p. 8) suggests that these "systems of knowledge" are not innocent 'truths' or observations of what is evident for all to see, but rather are "shot through" with doctrines of European superiority, serving also as a sign of European power. Representations, discourses, ways of understanding, knowledge and images of Otherness, serve at the same time to construct for Europeans a way of understanding what it means to be European. As the Orient occupies a singular place in the European's experience, and has helped to shape a European identity, according to Said's thesis, Māori, as Other, might also help to "define the European as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (pp. 1-2). It is apposite therefore to draw on the literature in order to understand how those European systems of knowledge or ways of knowing the Other, which inform the way the colonizer account is authored, have been constructed over time.

Power, and Knowledge of the Colonized

Said (1978) argues, that from the view point of the colonizer (and in this case he was referring to the justification for the British annexation of Egypt), “knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control” (p. 36).

According to Foucault the exercise of power attaches itself inseparably to the pursuit of knowledge. For power to be operational it depends upon ‘systems of thought’ which succeed at social control where these ‘ways of knowing the world’ are legitimated and institutionalised (Gutting, 1994, p. 231). In other words, knowledge is not innocent of power. Furthermore if identity is dependent upon knowledge, then identity formation is also linked to power. A ‘system of thought’ (or a ‘way of knowing’) that dominates or has power in society will also provide for all social participants, ways of knowing each other and themselves which are invariably politically positioned or invested with degrees of power.

Gergen (1991) seeks to account for the historical development of the Western identity in order to show the relationship between ‘systems of thought’, identity, and power. He describes three distinct periods in the development of Western cultural thought; The Enlightenment, Romanticism, and Modernism. A description of these ideas is useful in that it illustrates that knowing *The Other* and the *Self* is informed or fashioned by a conceptual order, a system of ideas, discourses, hegemonies, and ideologies.

Gergen (1991) argues that the eighteenth Century ‘Enlightenment’ thinkers and empiricists such as Locke, Hume, and Voltaire, “place central emphasis on the individual’s power of observation” (p. 20). However, while the emphasis here is upon ‘individual or personal power’ Gergen (ibid, p. 20) argues that there were, “enormous social and political implications” for disrupting a system that claimed civic power by virtue of divine authority. Thus the need arises to regulate the social where the potential dissidence of the private was subordinated to the systemic interests of the public.

The Enlightenment therefore saw the institutionalised use of the scientific tools of empiricism and rationalism which, according to Goldberg (1993), “encouraged the tabulation of perceivable differences between peoples and from this it deduced their natural differences. Rationalism proposed initial innate distinctions (especially mental ones) to explain the perceived behavioural disparities” (p 28).

Goldberg (1993) further suggests that anthropological and biological interest in difference led to the construction of a racial order. These renderings were, of course, attached to the West’s interest in appropriating the world’s resources. In other words, a way of knowing the world was offered by science, using the tools of observation and reason in order to secure and justify dominance. Out of this period came particular racial categories: exotic, Oriental, the East, Negro, native, savage (Goldberg, 1993, p. 29). Attached to these general categories were particular descriptions of how one might understand the Other in terms of temperament, language, civilisation, culture, religion etc. (p. 30). As discussed below, the virtues, characteristics, and the meaning of physical beauty were also named during the Enlightenment. This interest in the physicality, observable features and characteristics of the Other was clearly “a science of people without history” (Goldberg, 1993, p. 30). The East was violent but sensual, the Negro was a subspecies, and the native American was the “least lacking of savages” (ibid). Goldberg (1993, pp. 29 & 32) offers Kant’s description of Negroes as the “most lacking of all savages”.

So fundamental is the difference between [the Negro and White] races of man and it appears to be as great in regard to mental capacities as in color... The blacks are vain in the Negro way, and so talkative that they must be driven apart from each other by thrashings.

The Enlightenment therefore provided the West with the intellectual and scientific tools to go confidently into the world, appropriating, settling, exploiting and creating racial subjects out of the mass of humanity that they came to ‘know’. In doing so they came to know and define themselves as entitled to reorder the world based upon their superior innate strengths and characteristics.

Spurr (1993, p. 126) citing Rousseau, argues that the production of the savage had political value.

We are asked to understand his conception of the primitive not as historical truth, “but solely as hypothetical and conditional reasonings, better fitted to clarify the nature of things than to expose their actual origin” Here Rousseau, explicitly proposes the idea of savage as a construct upon which to found contemporary ideals of the “rights of man”.

Melville’s *Typee* similarly represents the Other as offering the European an image antithetical to the West, possessed of “a free and natural sexuality, a marriage system based on female desire, a society living in ease and abundance, and in complete harmony with its natural surroundings” (Spurr, 1993, p. 128).

This image of the savage or primitive served to symbolise for Europeans the nature and essence of humanity in its pre-corrupted (pre-civilized) form, thus giving expression to the restless and passionate energy of the romantic in his/her quest to know the unseen within. The savage, native, or primitive was possessed of the “natural language” of humanity (Spurr, 1993, p. 126) as coming forth from nature, sexually free and unencumbered by the restraints of Western society. The primitive represented for the European a way to know the origins of the human species, to know the former state of civilized ‘man’, and to reconnect with the ‘natural’, carnal, and spiritual within.

However, while there was considerable cultural currency in the Romantic interest in the origins, nature, and political character of the Savage (Spurr, 1993, p. 27), it would eventually give way in part, at the end of the nineteenth century, to an epoch of expansionism, mass production, scientific, medical, technological advances and war. Modernism gave rise to a return to, and valorisation of, the Enlightenment ideals of reason, observation and logic.

The reconstitution of the European individual as being invested with the capacity for arriving at truth, through the discipline of observation and reason, has consequences for the observer and the observed, when the seeker of truth is confronted with physical, social and

cultural difference, as is amply demonstrated in Cromer's (1908) observation of the Oriental in his volume *Modern Egypt*.

Want of accuracy, which easily degenerates into untruthfulness, is in fact the main characteristic of the Oriental mind....The mind of the Oriental ... is eminently wanting in symmetry ... their descendants are singularly deficient in the logical facility ... they are often incapable of drawing the most obvious conclusions from any simple premises. (cited in Said, 2003, p. 38)

On the other hand the European is described thus:

The European is a close reasoner; his statements of fact are devoid of any ambiguity; his is a natural logician ... he is by nature sceptical and requires proof before he can accept the truth of any proposition; his trained intelligence works like a piece of mechanism. (ibid., p. 38)

In filtering thought through a 'system of ideas' or ways of knowing (and I have argued here specifically about reason and observation of the Enlightenment and the Modern eras as related systems, and the idealization of the savage during the romantic period as another) the observer is performing a number of social functions. He is otherising the observed by creating social distance, difference and division. He is constructing a schema of 'truths' about the observed, carving out an identity or creating knowledge or a way of knowing the observed. He is, at the same time, constructing his own identity as oppositional to the observed, rendering the observed an object of comparison and measurement. He ascribes social worth to his 'own kind' and ranks the observed inferior in his/her capacities and himself superior. This 'way of knowing' the Other coincidentally becomes a justification for the Other's subjugation:

There are Westerners, and there are Orientals. The former dominate; the latter must be dominated, which usually means having their land occupied, their internal affairs rigidly controlled, their blood and treasure put at the disposal of one or another Western power. (ibid., p. 36)

The physical signs of these constructed subjects, in the New Zealand context, are to be found in the imperial archive, those writings, documents and texts which have been left behind from the settlement period. These transcripts of colonization can be critically

analysed in order to understand how the colonial subjects, both colonizer and the colonized, are constructed in discourse.

Discourse

Inasmuch as this study is directed toward the interrogation of talk, it is important to apply a working understanding of the relationship between social structures and ideas as expressed in talk. The concept of ideology and its relationship to discourse is fundamental in understanding how specific systems of ideas are reflected in a social structure that seeks to organise society along racial lines.

For Marx (1975, pp. 44-48) the ruling ideas of any society are the ideas of the ruling elite. Ideology therefore is the means by which the system of ideas of a ruling elite (ideas which are motivated toward the maintenance of their position of dominance) in any given society becomes acceptable as 'natural' and 'normal. Or as Gramsci defined: "Ideology [is] the ruling ideas which present the 'social cement' that unifies and holds together the dominant social order" (cited in Durham & Kellner, 2001, p. 34). He further states that ideologies "organise human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, and acquire consciousness of their position" (ibid, p. 45).

Because ideology works to create consensus for the way society is organised, ideology is built upon a framework of codes and meanings which situate and naturalise power within a particular group in society – or as Marx would suggest – the ruling class. Post-structuralist scholars would suggest that there is no manifest destiny or timeless fait accompli in the favourable distribution of material and other resources toward white New Zealanders (Docker, 2000; Smith, 1999). There must be at work a coercive machinery that assigns and seeks to maintain each group in its respective position in the social pecking order. In addition there must be present a potent complex of ideas and mechanisms that helps to insinuate the efficacy of this hierarchy upon the cognition of all members of society, so that these ideas find both broad acceptance and minimal resistance.

Thus ideology works as a generalised corpus of shared beliefs. Racial ideologies in the New Zealand context are therefore characterized by a totalizing and universalizing fabric

of feelings which circulate through the dominant white colonial population as unassailable assertions as to the properties of the Other.

Drawing on Foucault's theory of discourse, Crampton & Eldon (2007) suggests that, rather than a disparate set of ideas, ideology should be understood as units of meaning. Ideology is therefore seen as discursive formations, an amalgamation of statements or "a provisional unity of discourse whose coherence is attributed to a delimitable range of common objects, subject positions, concepts and argumentative strategies" (p.88) Discourse should be understood, therefore, as the unity of statements which belongs to a particular discursive formation.

While racial ideologies can be considered as a system of shared beliefs about the Other, racial formations are the unity of statements which have a constituting effect upon the Other, that work together purposefully to produce the ideal racialized subject. Racial discourses on the other hand include repertoires, images, statements, talk, text, and representations which make up a racial formation. Thus, a generalized social climate in which white British colonials are afforded economic and social privilege would signal a racial ideology at work. The 'deserving white settler' as a social subject would be a racial formation, while the unity of statements or tropes which produce the undeserving Māori, such as, 'they are lazy', 'they are wasteful', 'they are uncivilized', are racial discourses. Although racial discourse is always in a state of change racial formations are reconstituted, this is not to say that the colonizing project retreats. Indeed, Koditschek (2009) argues that "the consolidation of new racial formation often leads merely to new stereotypes and ideologies which reassert racial privilege and prejudice in altered form (p. 111).

Colonial discourses are deployed in different ways, constituting the racialized subject across time and adapting to the exigencies of the day. However, my argument throughout this thesis will be that they never fully withdraw but become embedded in practices, relationships and institutions. Colonial journalists therefore have at their disposal certain racial discourses comprised of tropes which are embedded with meaning. These tropes are ambiguous, can be reformed, redeployed and reimagined, and form the building blocks of discourse. Tropes signal Otherness, through metaphor, appellations, insinuations and

soubriquets. Thus, tropes are the executors of discourse and put together fill the existential gaps created by the abstractions in racial discourses (see Bhabha, 2004; Limon 1998). While the above theorists provide an overview of discourse, it is necessary to locate a finer definition of discourse that can account for ways of knowing, talking and constructing the social during colonization. Thus, it is essential to comprehend the nature of colonial discourse in particular.

Colonial Discourse

Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (2007), attribute the term 'colonial discourse' to a reworking of Foucault's theory of discourse by Edward Said (2003) which they consider "valuable for describing that system within which that range of practices termed 'colonial' came into being" (p.41). Said's seminal text *Orientalism* (2003) was key, Ashcroft et al argue, in explicating how "colonial discourse operated as an instrument of power" (ibid). Hulme (1986, p. 2) argues that colonial discourse is:

...an ensemble of linguistically-based practices unified by their common deployment in the management of colonial relationships, an ensemble that could combine the most formulaic and bureaucratic of official documents – say the Capitulations issued by the Catholic Monarchs to Christopher Columbus in 1492 – with the most non-functional and unprepossessing of romantic novels – say Shirley Graham's *The Story of Pocohantas*. Underlying the idea of colonial discourse, in other words is the presumption that during the colonial period large parts of the non-European world were produced for Europe through a discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis, and kinds of writing and imagery, normally separated out into the discrete areas of military strategy, political order, social reform, imaginative literature, personal memoir and so on.

Thus, it would seem that colonial discourse appears at textual sites in the colonial annals "where the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated. How are subjects formed 'in-between', or in excess of, the sum of the 'parts' of difference (usually intoned as race/class/gender etc.)" (Bhabha, 2004, p. 2).

Colonial discourse looks, therefore, to be a practice, and a strategy for the organization of the colonial project. It is not straightforward, but is imbued with contest, antagonism and an awareness of the Other and their resistance. Colonial discourse is characterized by its location at diverse linguistic sites but its unity as a practice that supports the broader

colonial endeavour. Colonial journalism is therefore one of those sites which requires critical interrogation in order to disaggregate and deconstruct those linguistic practices and strategies that accompanied New Zealand's white British settlement.

Colonial Audiences and Colonial Journalists

New Zealand's colonial newspaper audiences were largely constituted as narrow geographically self-interested, class based or organisationally partisan groups. Hope (1996) argues that the initial audience for the *New Zealand Gazette*, a New Zealand Company newspaper which commenced publication in England, was largely intending emigrants (p.13). He further suggests that "these commercial imperatives brought into being a public sphere whose participants were geographically defined as migrants, voyagers and founders" (ibid). When the *Lyttleton Times* commenced publication in 1850 they already had a list of English subscribers whose interest in being brought up to date with the progress of the Canterbury Association preceded the publication of the first issue (ibid). Unlike the New Zealand Company papers whose early audiences were either interested parties off-shore or company immigrants, the *New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Island Gazette* was the vehicle through which the then Governor William Hobson was to publish his official decrees and ordinances for the information of the early New Zealand settlers (Day, 1990). During the early years of New Zealand's settler press the business of newspaper publishing was thus driven by either an organisational imperative (on the part of the New Zealand Company) or an administrative imperative (on the part of the Colonial Government). According to Day (1990) between 1840 and 1850 these were years of "anticipating a readership and survival was precarious" (p.139). He further argues that the first decade of newspaper publication was largely oriented toward specific rather than mass audiences with whom the message of that particular newspaper had some explicit sympathy or appeal (ibid). During the 1860's however, with a steep population increase the newspaper business turned sharply from its almost exclusive work as a political forum for sympathetic readers, to a commercial enterprise with financial interests. When the population warranted this turn some (but by no means all) of the more partisan interests of the proprietors had to be 'reorganised' in order to attract as broad a circulation as possible so as to remain financially viable. Thus, colonial audiences for New Zealand newspapers were, depending on their geographical position, addressed largely in terms of the political

or commercial exigencies of that particularly region. The colonial newspapers were furthermore and unsurprisingly modelled on the Victorian papers in Britain. The classified advertisements occupied significant space on the front two pages of most of the early newspapers with the more high brow copy and ‘intelligence’ that might have more appeal to the upper classes (ibid) appearing in the final pages (Williams, 1998, p.32). In this way newspaper proprietors were fulfilling their dual objectives of drawing in a broad audience without relinquishing their political interests. While the business of the colonial newspapers might appear on the surface to be either mundane transactional copy or vaulting partisan decrees that set regions, personalities, and organisations apart from each other, upon one point do these newspapers converge and that is in the constitution of the colonist as authoritative, entitled and superior to the indigenous Other.

Of all 19th-century colonial commentators, the journalist occupied a place often at the centre of colonial society, where, from the disarray of the imperialist endeavour he⁵ created meaning, sense and order. The colonial journalist played an important role, not only in the colonies but also in England, by providing a steady flow of information for audiences at home. According to Krandis (1999) “the preponderance and popularity of travel diaries, colonial journalism, and imperial administrative innovations during the period testifies to the desire for such knowledge of Other and Elsewhere” (p.108). The colonial journalist therefore assumed the authority to look without boundary, border, or limits. Access permissions to the land or the inhabitants were neither required, nor were there any restrictions or constraints imposed. The colonial journalist possessed the autonomy to order, arrange, classify, regulate and organize the object of his gaze (Spurr, 1993). Ashcroft (2001) argues that:

One of the most powerful strategies of imperial dominance is that of surveillance or observation: because it implies a viewer with an elevated vantage point, it suggests the power to understand and process that which is seen, and it objectifies and interpellates the colonized subject in a way that fixes its identity in relation to the surveyor. (p.141)

Māori did not talk back in this uneven exchange. Māori were plundered for material to excuse, justify, and explain a white British colonial incursion. The colonial journalist, however, remained absent in the narrative; his role in the construction of these discourses

about Māori was effaced. Colonial literature, narratives and journalism, therefore, are full of absence and concealment and are characterised by the singular lack of awareness on the part of the colonial journalist as to his own presence in the text. These early commentaries constitute much more than a description of what was found upon arrival. They serve as fertile resources from which the very place of observation may be understood. The eye, as it surveys and beholds is, in and of itself, abundant with meaning about how it understands itself and its place in this world. It would seem therefore, that the sustained silence around those seminal and formative moments in New Zealand's colonial past signals a place of implication from which Pākehā New Zealanders have retreated. Thus, the study of the New Zealand's colonial hegemony is attended by the particular dilemma of Pākehā New Zealanders or New Zealand settlers'⁶ disavowal of themselves and their legacy. New Zealand's colonial hegemony rests quietly in its taken-for-grantedness, its naturalness, its unspokenness and its invisibility. It is interesting, then, that Māori have lived daily with the sense that everything is to be calibrated to a colonial pulse and any variation from that rhythm is the anomaly that needs to be addressed – not the colonial project itself (Te Hiwi, 2008). Thus, a further concern of this study is to excavate those places of disavowal and to daylight those sites of utterance.

Spurr (1993) makes an important contribution to the field of colonial discourse in his seminal work *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism and Travel Writing*. Spurr's study is valuable in terms of both the theoretical and practical contribution he makes to the study of colonial discourse. In Spurr's work, tropes that accompany the construction of subaltern identities are elucidated and provide an example of how patterns of meaning emerge from texts, how those patterns of meaning can be organized. However, he does not specifically disaggregate his genres, so that while valuable, there is no specific reference to colonial journalism as a discrete narrative mode. It would appear, then, that colonial texts, as an area of investigation, have been aggregated with other colonial narratives, memoirs and letters, and have been taken up largely by those researching in the field of literature. Edmond (1997) for instance, studied representations of the South Pacific found in an array of texts from the period 1767 to 1914 where he argues that, for Europeans, Polynesia came to be understood as a compelling 'theatre' for the exercise of the European imagination.

In New Zealand specifically, colonial journalism has been researched as an historical account of the early New Zealand press. Of the few scholars interested in the early New Zealand press, Guy Scholefield (1958) was the first to provide an archival description of New Zealand's newspaper history. Meiklejohn's (1953) *Early Conflicts of the Press and Government* gave an account of the Auckland newspapers, while McNeill (1963) provided a history of *The Press 1861-1961*. Patrick Day (1990) presents his account of the political and organizational interests of newspapers from 1840 to 1880. More recently, there has been scholarly interest in critically analysing Māori newspapers (Curnow et. al., 2002; Paterson, 2006). However, in terms of a critical discourse analysis of the colonial press, there are no published works done in the New Zealand context.

There has, however, been an interest in contemporary race reporting and the media in New Zealand. Much of this work is around representations of the Māori in the media and forms an important corpus of literature about the construction of minority identities and their mass communication (Abel, 1997; McCreanor, 2008; Nairn & McCreanor, 1997; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine & Barnes, 2006; Spoonley, 1984). These works and others will be discussed in relation to this study's overall findings in Chapter Eight.

Race

Terms such as 'race' and 'ethnicity' are often used interchangeably in academic work but do require some explication in order to frame the terms of reference more critically. Cottle (2000) and Hannaford (1996) agree that race is a social, cultural and political construction. Race, according to Hannaford (1996), does not occur as a pre-modern social category. Race, as a way of accounting for human and social differentiation, has currency only in the last 200 years and can be largely attributed to the discourse created out of dialogue between scientific naturalism, Christianity, politics and colonial expansion. This study will therefore treat the idea of race as an 'empty' category which, when excavated and deconstructed, is an unstable and problematic signifying system bearing no relationship to the 'fact'. This does not mean that the idea of 'race' has not had very real and considerable material consequences, particularly for those whose 'racialisation' has resulted in reduced life chances, the unnecessary loss of life quality, or even the loss of life itself. However,

rather than expending yet more investigative energy examining the reduced life chances and the prejudicial representations of particular groups who are often unwittingly 'raced', even in academic literature, the idea of 'race' requires thorough interrogation and the term 'race' requires careful, and critically conscious deployment.

The use of the term 'race' can overemphasise an uncontested and biologically fixed designation for certain groups other than white, English speaking Europeans. Even though important advances have been made in terms of thinking before and beyond the 'race' idea (as briefly outlined above), much of New Zealand research in this area continues to treat 'race' as an inevitable biological category for non-whites and in particular 'Māori'. The idea of Māori was constituted historically and came to represent a category of people who most significantly could be differentiated from white colonizers by their physically darker appearance, and less importantly, by those aspirations that did not agree with the colonial endeavour. Identification according to tribe and hapu was supplanted, over time, by the all encompassing and convenient term 'Māori' or 'native'. A colonizer could easily recognize and survey the 'native' and draw upon popular representations, rhetoric and discourses that made 'common sense' out of the notion that non-white New Zealanders in the colonial period behave as 'Māori', regardless of their complex and specific political, economic, cultural and social interests. In other words, the constitution of the 'Māori' is a *racial project* (Omi & Winant, 1994) which continues to work to solidify and reinforce racial structures, categories and divisions in New Zealand as being natural or common sense. Deploying the appellative 'Māori' without recognition of the ideological work that this term has done over time, reproduces the idea that this racial category is somehow 'normal' and that there is an inevitability surrounding New Zealand's major racial division. Therefore, use of the term 'white' and 'Maori' should not be considered as more than unstable subjectivities within a complex of historical racial projects.

Spoonley (1984) makes a useful argument that the media can, and do, exacerbate racial tensions and inequalities through the disarticulation of Māori social and material reality. While he does not take as a given that race is a natural, predetermined, biologically sound human category, his analysis is one which treats the problem as a race relations issue. He

acknowledges the sociologist's concern with "intergroup relations that are influenced by and mediated through some conception of race" (ibid, p. 5). However, he proposes that inequalities can be redressed by the education of the white public as to the 'true' circumstances and consequences of European colonization upon New Zealand's indigenous population. I would suggest, however, that revisionist histories are not going to overcome New Zealand's colonizer resistance to a mythologised version of the Māori account. Rather, demystification of the settler New Zealander's stake and the impetus for reproducing these discourses might serve to reposition the debate away from the need to feel 'remorseful' for the Māori situation, to the need to experience critically, colonial New Zealand supremacy discourse and its consequences for the Other.

In this study therefore, the term 'race' will be employed as a way of expressing a complex of racial projects and formations that have worked over time to form social divisions and reproduce race-based power structures by white British colonizers in New Zealand. It will be used to signify the social, cultural and biological construction of New Zealand's indigenous population, immigrant community and imported representations of Others via global media, for the purposes of justifying economic exploitation, social exclusion and political domination. It will be deployed to indicate the classification of phenomenal characteristics that distinguish and mark certain non-European groups, based on physical characteristics and behavioural attributes that supposedly pre-determine their 'naturally' inferior position in the human hierarchy. 'Race' and its linguistic luminaries will therefore not be applied in this thesis as a biological certainty or inevitability, as this rendering is, at best, a mythologized explanation of Otherness based at the very least upon skin colour (Bonnett, 1997; Donald & Rattansi, 1992; Stoler, 1995; Young, 1995).

Ethnicity, on the other hand, refers to an unstable and interlocking complex of cultural and social identities that might include not only biology, but also history, culture, geography, religion and politics. For the purposes of this study 'ethnicity' is not at the heart of the question so is not useful. Ethnicity is a contemporary term and in many writings is applied in an almost romantic way in order to excuse physical difference (Steinberg, 1981). In modern Western social organizations, interrogating the concept of 'race' and disadvantages

of skin colour are of primary importance because they come directly out of the struggle for white domination. Appeals to ethnicity merely provide a pretext for fixing, and appropriating Other identities as an immutable but consumable fact. Ideas around 'race', taken together, are the building blocks for racial ideologies and racial formations and consequently, racial practices.

Racial Formations

In this section a variety of approaches to the question of racism will be considered in order to find a satisfactory framework from which a model for understanding the relationship between whiteness and racism might be developed. Any approach to the concept of racism is complex, convoluted and sometimes contradictory. Therefore, while "race is formed and fashioned and racism operates in relation to and through other systems of exclusion, marginalisation, abuse and repression" (Essed & Goldberg 2002, p. 3), the researcher must be careful not to be reductive and assign analyses of racism to the reproduction of "wayward, irrational, individual psychologies and dispositions" (ibid, p. 5) nor give one feature of racism exclusive and exclusionary consideration. Racism belongs to an historical period, a social structure, a political order and economic relations and is embedded in text, talk, institutions and systems. Thus, according to Essed and Goldberg (2002), "manifestations of racism remain complexly articulated, deeply embedded and subtly intertwined" (ibid, p. 4). The following theorists have endeavoured to unravel the complex issue of racism and to suggest efficacious approaches to understanding its origins, manifestations, character and function.

Stuart Hall (1996) suggests that we need to think about racism as a consequence of the economic and materialist ordering of modern society. However, he argues that a purely economic approach to racism cannot account for the complex of racist articulations, ideologies and discourses that come out of specific historical sites and are reproduced over time in more than material relations. Racism, he argues, attaches itself to other forms and articulations that divide and structure society. Hall favours the fusion of an approach which seeks to critique the role of economic forces in the formation of social divisions which have given rise to specific racial and ethnic characters, with an approach that favours an analysis of the social and cultural features of these social formations.

The first tendency whether Marxist or not gives an overall determinancy to the economic level. This imparts a hard centre – a materialist basis to the otherwise soft-centredness or culturalism of ethnic studies...the stress on the second tendency...aims to introduce a necessary complexity into the simplifying schemas of economic explanation and to correct against the tendency towards economic reductionism. (ibid, p. 40)

Hall's thesis is useful in arguing for the efficacy of twin levels of analysis that will hopefully "correct the weakness of the opposite" (ibid, p. 40), giving rise to a theoretical adequacy which avoids both economic reductionism and historical relativism. (Essed & Goldberg, 2002, p.43) Accordingly, a theoretically adequate approach to the study of the relationship between white hegemony and racism would involve an analysis of the economic relations and activities in modern society that have given rise to a class (of non-white people) who have been "dominated, contained, disabled and neutralized" (ibid, p. 63) by a class of white people who have been constituted as superior. This would go hand-in-hand with an analysis of the ideological functioning in society that has naturalised and popularised these relations thus securing a "whole social formation under a dominant (white) class" (ibid, p. 63).

Cornel West (2002) in mapping the *Genealogy of Modern Racism*, is quick to subordinate the power of discursive and non-discursive structures as he accounts for the doctrine of white colonial hegemony. The inception of white supremacy doctrine (which gave rise to the imperial endeavour) he argues "is to be found in the classificatory categories and the descriptive, representational, order imposing aims of natural history" (ibid, p. 99). West makes a case for considering three stages as crucial in the development of a modern discourse of race: the scientific revolution, the Cartesian transformation of philosophy and the Classical revival. The modern rules of scientific enquiry involving observation, comparison and measurement are twined here with a philosophical orientation which represented and accounted for differences from the 'normative gaze' as deformations. White is "the real and natural color of man" (ibid, p. 100) according to Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon, while "Black people and other races were variations of this natural color" (ibid, p. 100). Thus the mathematical and scientific rules which were developed to

explain the differences in the appearance of human groups grew out of an interest in and valorisation of Classical Greek and Roman physical form.

This new discipline linked particular visible characteristics of human bodies, especially those of the face, to the character and capacities of human beings ... This discipline openly articulated what many of the early naturalists and anthropologists tacitly assumed: the classical ideals of beauty, proportion, and moderation regulated the classifying and ranking of groups of human bodies. (ibid, p. 102)

The white European was most characteristic of the ideal bodily form and were accordingly constituted as superior. The assumption followed therefore that “physical, especially racial variations are always degenerate ones from an ideal state” (ibid, p. 103); the ideal state, of course, being white.

While West (2002) does not suggest that the genealogical approach explains entirely the rise of modern racism, he does suggest it is valuable inasmuch as it “accents the fact that the everyday life of black people is shaped not simply by the exploitative (oligopolistic) capitalist system of production but also by cultural attitudes and sensibilities, including alienating ideals of beauty” (ibid, p.109).

West’s argument for considering the rise of modern race discourse as in some way dependent upon a historically situated scientific project, is useful inasmuch as it makes a strong case for identifying race ideology as comprising powerful notions about the human form and how physical normality should be characterised. It thus forces an acknowledgment of the role of physical appearance in the ordering of society and makes a useful case for its historical specificity which should not be ignored. However, highlighting a genealogy of racism does not adequately create a linkage between racism’s genealogy and the economic, political and psycho-cultural nature and functions of racism today. West (2002) chooses to focus on one particular (and largely unaddressed) manifestation of racism and purposefully neglects in his account to critique the many manifestations of contemporary racial practices.

Omi and Winant (2002) on the other hand, propose some useful definitions and frameworks which give rise to a theoretically robust and broad approach to the questions of racism which will be useful in framing and focusing an otherwise unwieldy subject area. Race, they argue is a “complex of social meanings transformed by political struggle” (ibid, p. 123). They argue that race must not be seen as fixed or biological. Rather, “race signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies” (ibid, p.123). As Hall suggests above, race needs to be seen as playing “a fundamental role in structuring and representing the social world” (ibid, p. 123). Thus, society is constructed and structured with clear social divisions, including a significant division between people of a particular physical appearance and skin colour. Omi and Winant (1994) propose that, instead of thinking about ‘race’ as a given and reacting to race and racism discursively, we need to consider how society became ordered or constructed with these divisions and boundaries. In other words, it is more valuable to talk about ‘racial formation’ and ‘racial projects’ than to draw upon unstable and contradictory notions of race and racism that do not satisfactorily account for social structures, representations and political struggles across time.

Racial formations (according to Omi and Winant, 1994) are a significant element of social divisions. They argue: “We define racial formation as the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed” (ibid., p. 124). Racial formations are achieved through an intertwining of two key processes; social structuring and representation. Thus, racial formations are achieved on a macro-level, historically, through science, politics (racial dictatorships and democracies) and racial hegemonies. Racial formation also occurs on a micro-level through representations or the symbolic, discursive work at the level of the everyday that reproduces, essentialises and naturalises patterns of difference. In racial formation theory therefore racial projects:

...do the ideological work of making these links (between structure and representation). A racial project is simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines. (ibid., p. 125)

Racial projects therefore interpret race for us in a way that agrees with, and reproduces, racially organized social structures and everyday experiences, or *racial formations*. Thus, racial projects are historical, they reproduce patterns of domination across time and they are based upon essentialist categories and notions about human difference. Omi and Winant furthermore argue that:

Society is suffused with racial projects large and small to which all are subjected. This racial subjection is quintessentially ideological. Everybody learns some combination, some version, of the rules of racial classification, and of her own racial identity, often without obvious teaching or conscious inculcation. Thus are we inserted in a comprehensively racialised social structure. Race becomes “common sense” - a way of comprehending, explaining, and acting in the world. A vast web of racial projects mediates between the discursive or representational means in which race is identified and signified on the one hand, and the institutional and organizational forms in which it is routinized and standardized on the other. These projects are at the heart of the racial formation process. (ibid., p. 127).

White British colonial supremacy and hegemony in New Zealand, therefore, might intersect with other projects at different times such as religious ideologies, ideologies of capitalism, nationalism, class and gender. While it is important to deconstruct racial projects and, in particular, to unmask and demystify the racial project of white supremacy in New Zealand, it is important at the same time not to treat it as the only form of rule or to subordinate it to other social projects aimed at the formation and structuring of society.

Omi and Winant (1994) do provide some important cautions to prevent the over-determining, over-arching position that all racism is *essentially* white racism, as proposed by the new abolitionists (see Winant, in Rassmussen et al., 2001). They reject the notion that non-whites cannot act in a racist way or reproduce structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race in wider social or global contexts. The idea that racism belongs exclusively to white British colonists reproduces an essentialist or scientific version of non-whites and vice-versa. It repudiates the possibility that non-white groups have the capacity to “reverse the roles of racially dominant and racially subordinate” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p72). While this thesis is interested in the racial project of white colonial discourse in New Zealand, it is not claiming that racial supremacy discourses or essentialist

race notions are the domain of white folk alone. Once again, the racial project of white colonial discourse in New Zealand must be treated in terms of its historical, political and social specificity and fluidity rather than an all encompassing, intransigent polemic about the marginalizing global politics of a universal whiteness.

Furthermore, the idea that white colonial supremacy is universal and complete also works to undermine political projects and resistance to white domination over time by the racialised and subordinated who have transformed the racial order in society and secured at least a modicum of power and influence. If one were to insist that racial domination in New Zealand was purely about white colonial domination one would have to concede that non-whites in New Zealand have gained no political, social, cultural or economic power, which would in turn deny or disavow the power of Māori resistance both historically and currently. This is not to say that the racial project of white colonial hegemony either never existed or has evaporated. It merely suggests that racial formations and racial projects change transform and are reconstituted over time, largely due to the resistance of the subordinated. It is the very fluidity of the racial project of white colonial hegemony in New Zealand that this thesis seeks to account for.

Omi and Winant's (1994) racial formation theory is therefore central to this thesis. They provide a theoretical structure and approach that accounts not only for the complexity of the topic but also provides a framework which works to position the overriding questions and interests of this study within a broader theoretical construct. White colonial hegemony discourse in New Zealand would therefore be a racial project within a complex of contradictory and often competing, or even complementary, racial and social projects and might account for the unequal distribution of power. However it cannot be reduced to the single form of domination in New Zealand. Racial formation theory is therefore crucial in resisting reductive or over-interpreted accountings of white supremacy discourse in the formation of New Zealand society. Having introduced the idea of a white colonial hegemony in New Zealand, it is worth considering firstly what is meant by 'white', and secondly the meaning of a colonial hegemony.

Whiteness

What is needed, in other words, is a recognition that racism (or, as I will argue, global white supremacy) is itself a political system, a particular power structure of formal or informal rule, socio-economic privilege and norms for the differential distribution of material wealth and opportunities, benefits and burdens, rights and duties. (Mills, 1997, p.125)

As Moreton-Robinson (2005) argues: “The discursive formation of Anglocentric whiteness is a relatively uncharted territory that has remained invisible, dominant and pervasive” (p.79). In referring to whiteness I am stating that white colonial hegemony is a political, cultural, social and economic activity that involves the continuing struggle of the powerful to win the consensus of the socially subordinate for its role in reproducing a racial hierarchy where the benefits accrue to white colonists. As was stated above, the cultural project of demystifying whiteness should be one of deconstructing and interrogating the structures of power within any given society where skin colour privilege operates. As a consequence, the study of whiteness should include a “critique of the hierarchical ordering of Western thought” (Rodriguez & Villaverde 2000, p. 4). Because of the relationship between the practice of whiteness and the ordering of Western thought, we are drawn then to reflect upon the organization of human behaviour and the hierarchies that were created and continue to be sustained along racial lines. If the distribution of life chances is proportional to, or reflective of, the colour of the social groups in question, one would conclude that certain material privileges are systematically and routinely afforded to white British colonists and denied non-whites. One aspect of the practice of whiteness, therefore, is one of privileging certain material advantages to white British colonists that might not (as a consequence of this social ordering) be afforded to non-whites. Because the media are responsible for the reproduction of social hierarchies, in the context of this study we should be interested in problematising media representations of white privilege and white control over the definition and display of self. In other words we need to deconstruct the discourses and images of whiteness and how they are deployed in the continuing struggle to secure white dominance in New Zealand at the expense of non-white groups. Moreton-Robinson (2005) argues that:

Whiteness is constitutive of the epistemology of the West; it is an invisible regime of power that secures hegemony through discourse and has material effects in everyday life. (p.75).

Greenberg (1980) takes an economic approach to the study of white racial hierarchies and examines the relationship between Western Capitalism and the perpetration of racial ordering. White privilege, according to Greenberg (1980) involves the “disproportionate control over economic resources, a presumptive privilege in social relations and a virtual monopoly on access to the state.” (p.30)

He further suggests European white hegemony and privilege to have been historically associated with land alienation, state power and control over colonised societies, labour controls, displacement, and the destruction of indigenous populations. He argues that societies reordered after the Western European Capitalist model typically where political, social and economic affairs are constituted with white colonists positioned at the ‘core’ of all community operations and non-white, indigenous populations exist only at the ‘periphery’. Thus, non-white, indigenous populations are discursively constructed as non-Capitalist, while the dominant white British colonists group are positioned as legitimate capitalists. White colonists are positioned as developed and progressive; while non-white Others are denied access to the tools of modern progression and remain underdeveloped. White British colonists demand control over this subordinate group at the periphery, while the non-white periphery is disciplined into accepting this control. The dominant state actors assume an expanded role in regulating and controlling the labour market, while the periphery must submit to their labour and resources being plundered by the core. The dominant white core undermines subsistence production while the non-white periphery must cope with these often cooperative traditional forms of production being replaced by limited access to an organized labour force. All of these factors therefore work to ensure that non-white labour remains cheap and accessible to the white colonists and that non-white people remain economically immobile and politically impotent. Because the rural sector, business and the trade unions all stand to gain from these operations, legitimacy is extended to this racial order, and consequently race domination becomes a central feature in the construction of Western Capitalist economies. Notwithstanding Hall’s (1996)

interest in refocusing an economic interpretation of racial formations, Greenberg's (1980) analysis therefore provides a useful framework for understanding the economic rationale behind racial orderings in European colonised societies. He provides an economic theoretical framework which proves helpful in understanding the relational economic and political power differences between white colonists and Māori that, over time, have afforded domination, power and privilege to New Zealand white colonists at the expense of 'racialized' Others.

However, Dei, Karumanchery and Karumanchery's (2004) anti-racism project seeks to extend the case for a racially constructed society out further than Greenburg (1980) who positions the argument mostly within the frameworks of political economy. Like Hall (1996) they seek to expose white power and privilege by interrogating the discursive permutations and positionings of white racism. They examine the means by which white domination and privilege are perpetuated by suggesting that whiteness relies largely upon a disavowal, denial, and protection of white racism, and propose that, in order to create resistance to white privilege, whiteness as a practice needs articulation, recognition and unmasking. They suggest that Western societies are constructed along colour lines, creating 'oppressive relations of power' where white hegemony oppresses, and non-white Others are oppressed, resulting in the unequal distribution of social control. However, they argue that white dominance in contemporary Western society is achieved largely by the employment of discourses and ideologies that obfuscate the "privileged nature of whiteness" (Dei et al., 2004, p. 83). As White oppressors race Others, they at the same time position themselves "as raceless and outside of the racial sphere vested with a power and social advantage which they themselves need not consider", because 'that's just the way it is' (ibid., p. 84).

As a result white people have the advantage of:

Proceeding without a conscious reading of their own racial positioning – that is, until they place it in relation to another person's race. Until there is a 'racial collision', the privileged have the luxury of interpreting race as something that Other people have..(p.84)

Because whiteness is denied, it cannot be resisted and, as a consequence, the privileges of whiteness are reinforced and it is allowed to “perpetuate, re-generate and re-create itself” (ibid., p. 84). If privilege is unspoken and kept invisible, they argue, it avoids interrogation and therefore resistance and diminution. White privilege is therefore upheld by its own resistance to explication and examination. McIntosh (1997), in her classic critique on whiteness as an unearned power which is conferred systematically, catalogues the powers and benefits of white privilege:

White privilege is like an invisible knapsack of unearned assets which White people can count on cashing in each day, but about which they remain oblivious.... Some of these include (a) the normalizing effects associated with having one’s race widely and positively represented in the media, (b) the security of knowing that one’s race will not hinder or prevent access to resources (e.g., legal, medical and social services) and that (c) skin colour privilege means never having to educate and prepare your children to face/resist/recover from the daily physical and mental suffering intrinsic to a racialized existence. (1997, p.195)

Dei et al. (2004) further suggest that the ideology of white privilege is evident in the discourses and language that name the world. Within this fabric of social cognition the rhetoric of white supremacy describes the virtues of beauty, intelligence, strength, meritocracy and excellence. Difference is constructed as something Other to these ideals which can only be realised in those possessing a white skin.

Therefore, according to Dei et al. (2004), white privilege is a social construction affording white people political, cultural and economic capital and thereby providing society with the contexts and understandings of what power, difference, normality and privilege mean. White privilege is the power to re-produce an ideology that offers society the ‘correct’ frameworks for understanding, representing, and interpreting human and social existence. White privilege is the power to describe what constitutes material, political, symbolic and psychological worth and to measure those qualities against the non-white Other. In other words White privilege is the power to manufacture popular consent for its acceptances and exclusions, boundaries and oppositions, rewards and punishments - at the expense of the racialised Other. White privilege is the power to render non-White Others visible and to

subject the 'visible' Other to the exercise of White disciplinary power while at the same time remaining aloof, untouchable and invisible to themselves and Others.

Dei et al's study (2004) is useful in that it describes the practice of whiteness in a way that disrupts the hitherto invisible nature and work of white domination. The authors excavate the discursive nature of whiteness as part of their anti-racist project that seeks to bring about what Freire (1996) terms 'critical consciousness' as a precursor for social reform.

Peggy McIntosh (1997) suggests that while a white skin colour does attract privileges and powers, it does not automatically confer moral strength. Rather, white privilege is an unearned advantage which is present in institutionalised and embedded forms. White privilege is, therefore, visible acts of oppression and discrimination at the expense of non-white people. More importantly it is more than isolated acts of meanness. White privilege is also a seamless, obfuscated fabric of feeling that runs through all social arrangements and discourses. It is powerful and insidious because it is obscured by disavowals and denials. McIntosh (1997) lists 46 reflections on the daily experience of white privilege as a way of verbalising and materialising moments of skin-colour privilege. She summarises them as follows:

In this potpourri of examples, some privileges make me feel at home in the world. Others allow me to escape penalties or dangers, which others suffer. Through some, I escape fear, anxiety, or a sense of not being welcome or not being real. Some keep me from having to hide, to be in disguise, to feel sick or crazy, to negotiate each transaction from the position of being an outsider or, within my group, a person who is suspected of having too close links with a dominant culture. Most keep me from having to be angry. (p.295)

McIntosh (1997) believes that to be privileged in a damaged and disavowing culture is to make one directly complicit with structures of domination and control that subordinate the needs of all human beings. Her concern is with the dehumanising effect of white privilege on not only non-whites but white British colonists themselves. While, by all accounts, white British colonists have a far better deal in Western society than non-whites, the term 'privilege' is somewhat deceptive. This is not to say that we should undervalue the experience of the oppressed by subordinating the 'privilege' of whiteness to theoretical dialectics and wrangles over definitions. However she suggests that the discussion on the

issue of racial hierarchies controlled by whites needs to be repositioned away from identifying the unequal distribution of social power and control to a need to, along the colour-line, redesign social systems and reconstruct power structures. McIntosh's (1997) much cited working paper is therefore one that, like Dei et al. (2004), is engaged with a politics that seeks, as a fundamental task in the struggle for political equity and freedom, the need for white folk to engage critically and consciously with their own compliance in a system of oppression.

Mahony (1997) also critiques whiteness from its place of disavowal. She claims that the invisibility of whiteness and its obscurity to white colonists is an important feature of its continued reinforcement and maintenance. White colonists need not see embedded acts of racism as anything but a situation-specific, individualised experience. Because white colonists have resisted being raced, there is very little shared group identity, and a denial of language from which to experience race as a form of systemic oppression. White colonists have the advantage of enjoying a sense of personal entitlement as a result of their individual efforts rather than the benefits of systemic discrimination in favour of the white colonial project. An important aspect of white colonial privilege, according to Mahony (1997), is that there is no need to pay any attention to one's own whiteness. There is very little to suggest, in social discourse, that white colonists are experiencing privilege. There is very little to suggest that the disadvantages of one raced group in society, might as a corollary, spell the advantages of the other dominant, white colonial group.

Wildman (1997) adds to Mahony's exposition that the language used to describe a system of power that privileges whiteness has been muted. White colonists are, as a result, relieved of the responsibilities for their own privilege - rather like having a credit card without needing to pay the bill. She suggests that a language has formed around white colonial privilege that masks the racial ordering of that privilege. Whites gain by affiliation with the systems of social power. As McIntosh (1997) pointed out, and as Wildman (1997) reiterates, there is no need to take up a struggle against racial oppression if you are white. Or conversely one may opt out of a struggle at any time without suffering from the perpetuation of racial oppression. White colonists are able to enjoy the myths of

biculturalism, multiculturalism and a racism-free society without suspicion or contempt. And as Mahony (1997) suggests, white colonists have the privilege of being able to attribute their success to their individual merit rather than being required to acknowledge one's success as an outcome of a beneficent system that has 'done a lot' for one's non-white race group.

Dyer's (1997) personal narrative of his own experiences of whiteness expresses his awareness of the privileges associated with his colour:

I know I won't be stopped for long at immigration controls; I know I'll be respectfully served in shops, banks and restaurants; I know that, with class and gender also on my side, it is not really surprising that I now have a good job and a nice house. (p. 6)

Dyer's project (1997), like that of Dei et al. (2004), is to challenge white colonists, in particular, to consider carefully and critically white racial imagery so that they themselves, who have heretofore resisted being named (let alone raced), might challenge the way that they function as the human 'norm'. In naming whiteness, white power might be dislodged. Dyer's goal is to 'make whiteness strange' – to disrupt the taken-for-granted nature of white hegemony and to articulate how white identities assume political, economic, social, and cultural and image dominance. White people, have power according to Dyer, "and believe that they think feel and act like and for all people" (ibid, p. 8).

The above authors agree that the practice of whiteness affords whites a store of unearned privileges which come at the expense of non-white Others. White colonial hegemony is realised in its power to name, structure, organise, and 'normalise' the world. However, the major difficulties inherent in the project of interrogating whiteness as a cultural, economic and political practice lie in its invisibility. For white hegemony to operate it must be protected from interrogation. White colonial hegemony's maintenance and perpetuation therefore relies heavily upon its disavowal and denial. The challenge of an anti-racist project, according to the above authors, lies in the task of un-masking whiteness, giving whiteness expression, untangling it from its place of silence and demystifying the privileges that are associated with a white skin colour. These authors are useful to this

study in terms of providing important direction for the analysis of a powerful, yet obfuscated, social, economic, cultural and political force in modern Western society. The above authors explicate the privileges of whiteness and provide a broad framework and rationale from which to craft a comparative study of white colonial hegemony in the New Zealand context. These ideas are useful in this study of white privilege and the New Zealand media. It is important now to consider the role of the media in the reproduction of white hegemony and to weave together white hegemony and media politics as two interlocking concerns.

The particular concern in this study is to rearticulate the longer project of white hegemony with the colonial endeavour. This argument is taken up by Alfred Lopez (2005, p. 19) who suggests that racism studies would be emboldened with:

A broadening of the comparative focus of the debate on whiteness beyond a strictly U.S. model – that is beyond a United States centred model that allows American studies to duck post-colonial issues and lets the United States off the hook for its own imperialist history and current colonial practices.

Thus, this study is an attempt to replicate critical theories of whiteness (which have been historically underscored with an interest in the USA's black-white civil rights movement or the racial politics of the Hispanic) in a colonial context.

It is not possible to talk about the colonization of New Zealand without considering the importance of skin colour in the determination of social identity, social knowledge and social power. Whiteness in New Zealand has long been associated with the colonizer and it is worthwhile, therefore, to include in our accounting of New Zealand's past, an appropriate emphasis on whiteness as a sign of entitlement, superiority and right.

White Colonial Hegemony

New Zealand's colonisation from the late 18th century onwards is a useful starting point from which to begin unravelling the complex discourse of white colonial hegemony. A critique of the characteristics of white colonial discourse during this period of British settlement and colonisation by the English serves to connect to an imperial archive and its discursive deployment into modernity and post-modernity. Colonisation is the practical

realisation of the doctrine of white ascendancy. Thus, white hegemony and colonisation rest inseparably upon each other. The practical business and exigencies of colonisation, along with its justification and rationale, are intertwined with a rhetoric that excused the sometimes horrific material consequences visited upon non-white Others simply because the executors were white. Gladwin (1980) provides a useful outline of the main features and characteristics of colonisation. These features give a broad indication of the nature of the British colonial project which displays a remarkable similarity in all areas colonized by foreign (mostly White European interests). Gladwin (1980) suggests that a period of exploration into non-white and non-British areas of the globe was followed by the inevitable exploitation of the local resources (which was thinly disguised as trade) followed by a conquest of the territory and the instalment of political control. Political control was established making land appropriation possible through coercive and legal (sometimes extra-legal) means. With the gradual settlement of these newly appropriated territories by ex-Patriot Britons came the introduction of material goods (for example, alcohol and tobacco) and eventually disease, leading to epidemics and the depopulation of many 'indigenous' peoples. Meanwhile missionaries worked to undermine traditional values and belief systems, while the introduction and sale of guns and muskets converted local rivalries into bloody skirmishes, once again increasing mortality among the non-White locals. These stages of colonisation inevitably lead to a significant reordering of indigenous affairs, and a sometimes coercive demand for conformity to this hostile and alien way of life. Gladwin (1980) suggests that: "Most white men have a conviction which amounts to absolute certainty that all white people are by their natures more intelligent, and are worth more as human beings than brown men in similar circumstance." (p.47)

Most importantly Gladwin (1980) proposes that the myth of white supremacy is intertwined inextricably with the imperatives of capitalism. Capitalism he argues:

instills in white men a constant yearning for the material benefits and power which they believe money alone can bring. Throughout the entire colonial history, no white man ever thought of negotiating a fair return for the lands they had taken from their owners. Brown people were related to the land only as cheap labour to extract and its resources. (p. 25)

However, while Gladwin (1980) makes some hefty assertions regarding the nature of white superiority in the colonial context, he does little more than settle with an account of white superiority as one of arrogance and habit. In order to account for the complexities of a white colonial hegemony, it is necessary to interrogate how white colonial identities are constituted and the place that the 'native' occupies within those discursive renderings.

Mohanram's (1999) study of the constitution of the Othered body in colonial space is useful as she interrogates the idea of the native, suggesting that the 'the native' in the European mind is one that is a fixed and unchanging. Thus, 'the native' is effectively anchored to its place and time. The natives, as the original or indigenous people, cannot therefore occupy positions outside of the place in which they were initially encountered and produced by the Europeans. The New Zealand natives are therefore, at least conceptually, those people who do not transcend time or space. The native cannot be encountered nor experienced outside of a native environment, nor can they be comprehended as native when denuded of native artefacts. The native as unknowable also offers the European an encounter with difference and the exotic, and an opportunity to know one self beyond the realms of the ordinary. Indeed Thomas Kendall was so seduced by the native during his mission in the Bay of Islands that he remarked: "I have been so poisoned with the apparent sublimity of their ideas that I have been almost completely turned from Christian to a Heathen" (Henare, 2005, p. 105).

The opposite of the native in this colonial context, of course, is the white European. Where the native is fixed to a place, the white European in New Zealand is constituted as universal, from anywhere, a citizen of the world. In naming the 'in' group as European, the author creates an exclusion that works to shut down the possibility of this group being assigned to one particular locale or time. The white European settler therefore inherits the world and is given the latitude to inspect and survey from a position of liberation. Unlike the native, who cannot be known, unless he/she is associated with some timeless geographical coordinates and is adorned with the apposite historical accoutrements, the European evades interrogation because he/she is not knowable, fixed and open for scientific calculation. In deploying the term 'European' to refer to himself and his group,

the author transcends the same parameters and exclusions he places upon 'the natives'. In this text, and indeed the majority of texts under interrogation, the European's country of origin is elided as if to do so would make them knowable in the same way that the natives are knowable.

According to Mohanran (1999) the only critical thing to know about the European is that the European is not a native. The European is certainly not the same colour as the native. In fact, where the New Zealand natives are decidedly brown, the European evades the assignment of a particular colour that is liberally assigned by the Europeans to Others. Unlike the native, the European is not ensconced nor shackled to the land, but rather, will survey it, give it boundaries, populate it and exploit it. Unlike the native who can only come into being when from a clearly defined place - a genealogy, a village, an tribe - the European floats freely across these delineations without the need to give the world an accounting of him/herself over place or time. The native must come from somewhere whereas the European may come from anywhere. At liberty and emancipated from their genesis, the European may reap from the world's fields, eminent, unbound, and limitless on the one hand, but furnished with the transcendent attributes of morality, discipline and principle on the other. Therefore, in naming and producing an 'Other' group in the third person, the writer constitutes his own group, which is created only in relation to the one he is authoring. In hailing 'the native' and constituting it as a particular racial group, the author is drawing boundaries around his own racial group. While he renders the object group as 'the natives', he is, at the same time, constituting his own group as its binary opposite. Thus, while 'the native' is produced, its binary opposite, the non-native, is constituted. Thus, it is crucial to understand the discourse politics involved in constituting a white colonial hegemony through talk and text.

The above discussion concludes that racial formations in New Zealand work to serve and naturalise white colonial hegemony and privilege. The literature further suggests (as will be discussed below) that white colonized societies, including New Zealand, are awash with systems of ideas that work to reinforce and maintain particular relations, boundaries, and exclusions amongst several of its member groups. These ideas are circulated in order to

sustain a social hierarchy which affords particular benefits and privileges to white colonists. Having made a case for the existence of a schema of privilege, we are left to examine the dynamics that have historically worked over time to construct the boundaries and exclusions associated with the colonial endeavour in the New Zealand situation. In understanding the racial formations that seek to shape a hierarchy of human value, we might be well placed to rethink and disrupt the currency of these social meanings. It is not enough to establish that New Zealand's white colonial hegemony exists and to examine the consequences of white privilege that are daily visited upon Others. We need to talk about these issues within a clear historical and social context that seeks to account for how and why the colonists' privilege came to be normalized, and how and why it continues to have currency. In the final analysis, white colonial discourse has been more about the heirarchicization, ascendancy, power, control, domination, and authority of whiteness in New Zealand than it has been about the repression and subjugation of Others. Because the marginalisation of Others in New Zealand has occurred as an unfortunate consequence of white hegemony, white hegemony is therefore the social and cultural site that requires interrogation rather than continually examining mythologised versions of New Zealand history in the hopes that setting the record straight might encourage better 'race relations'. Perhaps it is time we moved beyond revising ethnocentric accounts of New Zealand's colonization. We need to engage not with what was poorly written, but to ask why these accounts had currency historically, and what work they are doing in contemporary New Zealand. How did these accounts become popularised? How have they been articulated and reproduced over time? How and why have revised articulations of the colonized's experiences been resisted by New Zealand's white majority?

Media

Teun van Dijk (1991), a leading discourse analyst, suggests the dominant ideology to be "at work in the media account of the ethnic situation" (p. 246) as does Gandy (1998), who approaches racism in the media from a structural perspective, further indicating that racism is not confined to individual cognition but is both structured, organised and re-producible upon many different levels. Van Dijk (1991) further suggests that 'racial' ideology represents "an ordered system of beliefs, its development and reproduction is not random, but is the product of considered effort" (p. 246)

Thus according to Gandy (1998), it is essential to study 'race'/ethnicity (and I would add white colonial hegemony) on a number of levels. Firstly, he proposes that 'racial' ideology is socially constructed and has been historically associated with the distribution of life changes rather than being purely associated with physiology or genetics. 'Race' is therefore a crucial site for inquiry as it is significant in the study of the unequal distribution of material resources. An analysis of race might also contribute significantly to an understanding of social hierarchies, particularly in Western economies. Furthermore, racism is routinely recreated through everyday social practices, thereby further integrating a 'racial' hierarchy into the fabric of social relations.

Secondly, he proposes that the 'news' be studied as a system of production and distribution intertwined with the logic of the capitalist market. Because, as was mentioned above, 'race' is important to the distribution of material resources, the news industry requires interrogation in terms of the part it plays in reproducing historical social inequalities. Because media companies require the financial investment of advertisers, who in turn are interested in the distribution of their product in exchange for consumer investment, majority white people are often valorised and given a larger and more authoritative and 'normalised' presence in the mainstream media to the exclusion of Others.

Thirdly, he suggests that texts be analysed as re-producers of 'race' discourse. He suggests that the "mass media are the primary source of those indirect or mediated experiences; thus we cannot doubt that the media play an active role in the reproduction of racism" (Gandy, 1999, p. 156). Furthermore:

Whereas problems in the accuracy or completeness of representations of 'racial' and ethnic groups and their relations with other members of society are assumed to have important consequences for the development of self-image and personal identity... media bias threaten the ability of individuals, or society as a whole to make informed choices within the marketplace, or within the public sphere. (ibid, p.158)

Gandy would furthermore argue that 'race' identity can be formed on the basis of the quality of the information provided. Thus, if particular stereotypes are reproduced as texts,

the parameters of the audience's understanding of 'racial' identities, although multi-dimensional within the spectrum of other social beliefs and opinions, will be informed by the structured pattern of messages received via the media.

The theoretical divide between post-modern communications theorists and functionalist theorists is addressed in the work of Robert Ferguson (1998). He suggests that it is not always efficacious to make much of racially liberalising idea (advanced in particular by contemporary cultural studies theorists) and that polysemic differences should be highlighted in analyses of cultural identity as even apparently complimentary accounts of 'race' in the media can encourage racist discourse. Through a case analysis of radio, film and television texts, Ferguson argues that 'race' is not only about identity; it is also inextricably linked to the distribution of power. He favours an ideological analysis of 'race' and suggests that this type of analysis is:

...about much more than identifying or spotting the negative in any media representation. It is also about recognising the semiotic and discursive contradictions and tensions within a representation or set of representations. ...at the core of these contradictions and tensions, there is the potential to challenge particular power relations and concepts of identity. In need of most urgent challenge are those media representations which foster either racism or hopelessness. (Ferguson 1998, pp.5-6)

In his study of 'race'/ethnic reporting in a selection of Dutch and British papers, van Dijk (1991) concludes that while reporting has become less obviously racist, stereotypes of ethnic minorities as social problem, victims or social threats still abound. Furthermore, he concludes that the topics associated with ethnic minorities are restricted mainly to such items as crime, violence and immigration. In his empirical study of news audiences he suggests that:

The Press manages to manufacture an ethnic consensus in which the very latitude of opinions and attitudes is quite strictly constrained. They not only set the agenda for public discussion (what people think about) but, more important, they strongly suggest how the readers should think and talk about ethnic affairs.(p. 234)

This study will take the approach that race accounts in the media are highly complex, organised, and usually invisible, requiring a project that seeks to illuminate how and why

social meaning has been organised and structured in ways that reproduce inequalities, boundaries and exclusions because as Henry & Tator (2002) argue:

Racialized discourse in the media consists of that repertoire of words images, texts, explanations and everyday practices which when threaded together produce an understanding of that world and the position and status of people of colour in that world. (p. 12)

However, it is important to point out that the news media doesn't straightforwardly reproduce ideology. Rather it is a cultural space where public accounts are both tested and contested and where the legitimate record is established. Ways of knowing and creating meaning around the Other involve struggle and resistance which is largely obfuscated in the press. As Eldridge (1993) points out: "There is little discussion of the social struggles that take place around meaning in the process of production prior to the moment of definition" (p. 113).

The colonial media were thus in the business of defining, making sense of and responding to Māori, amidst the struggle and complexity, creating a discursive space so that whiteness could make itself at home and embed, depending "for its strategy upon this flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient [or Māori] without losing him the upper hand" (Said, 2003, p. 3).

Therefore, this study will seek to locate those sites in the colonial media, not through attention to media representations of Māori per se but to white British colonial discourses, in order to understand how white hegemonic practices and the exercise of power are embedded in representations of Others. Furthermore, it is apposite to ask questions about the kind of work prejudicial representations did on behalf of the colonial endeavour. As Gabriel (1998) points out, sociological knowledge about race prejudice and discrimination has been produced around the idea of the minority victim. Therefore, it is appropriate, given the paucity of research into the racial politics of the colonial press in New Zealand, to carry out a project that seeks to describe, in a systematic way, the structures of race talk in the media and how that talk is situated ideologically in relation to the cultural production of race and ethnicity. However, while the overriding interest in New Zealand race

relations is focused on Māori as a social underclass, this study will shift the focus to an examination of Pākeha or white colonists and the historical production and perpetuation of a set of beliefs regarding white British colonials as superior and more entitled than Māori.

Rationale for Discourse Analysis

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the white settler press worked ideologically over time to reproduce a white colonial hegemony. These organising ideologies might also be referred to as ‘discourses’ or ‘interpretative repertoires’ (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). It is also of particular interest to examine and account for the flexible and often contradictory nature of these discourses, discursive formations or interpretative repertoires, in order to locate the places and contexts in which they emerge.

The approaches advanced in the field of critical discourse analysis will be used in examining white colonial discourse in the New Zealand press from 1839 to 1873. Critical discourse analysis lends itself favourably to this particular investigation inasmuch as it is aimed at understanding the important relationship between language and meaning. As Kress (1979) argues, “there are many regularities to be found in social phenomena, sets of systems organising or constraining choice, and these choices are part of social meaning” (p. 209).

Wodak and Meyer (2001) furthermore suggest that:

Power is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of difference in social structures. The constant unity of language in social matters ensures that language is entwined with power in a number of ways; language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is a contention over or a challenge to power. (p. 11)

Therefore, rather than assuming that language functions as a description of social experience, critical discourse analysis asserts that language does not merely capture and record the social, it works as social action. Language has a social function inasmuch as it serves to shape, define, and give meaning to social experience. Discourse analysts are interested in analysing texts and talk in order to unpack patterns of meaning located within the text. However, meaning is not assigned to the social world arbitrarily. There are certain rules which are associated with the ascription of meaning to the particular. For

instance in Kupu Taea's (2005) *Media and Te Tiriti o Waitangi 2004 Report* it was found that 60% of stories gathered from a variety of newspaper sources which emphasised conflict between Māori and non- Māori, deployed a 'military language' including such descriptors as: *war, battle, clash, attack, threat etc.* This would suggest that there are particular conventions or language forms which are drawn upon as one group (in this case the White settler group) seeks to account for or 'describe' its relationship with another group (non-white indigenous group). The deployment of such language works to advance and reproduce the particular social, ideological and political interests of one group at the expense of the 'Other'. Media discourse is therefore highly structured, organised and reproducible upon many different levels, and even across time. Critical discourse analysis takes the position that language has a function beyond communication. Language operates as social action, in that it fills experience with meaning. Language not only creates social groups, it offers definition, shape and, 'sense' as these social groups interact. Language offers humanity a way of not only understanding ourselves and others, but a way of patterning and organising ourselves. Discourse analysts therefore seek to discover what patterns of meaning are embedded in texts and how they function as social action. (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996; Fairclough, 1995; Jaworski & Coupland, 2002; Rogers, 2004; Weiss & Wodak, 2003).

However, discourse analysts are not merely interested in discovering patterns of meaning in language; they are also interested in investigating the ways in which the text (whether written or verbal) belies the subjectivity of its authors. Blackman and Walkerdine (2001) ask: "What if images (including all texts) of the Other, are part of the process through which we construct relationships with ourselves?" (p.6) Moreton-Robinson (2005) proposes that:

The existence of those who can be defined as truly human requires the presence of others who are considered less human. The development of a white person's identity requires that they be defined against other less than human beings whose presence enables and reinforces their superiority. (p.76)

When one social group constructs an identity, through discourse, for another group with whom they believe they are in competition or must seek to dominate, they are at the same

time constructing ideas around what they are not, and are therefore reciprocally constructing their own identities or who they think they are. Critical discourse analysis is therefore interested in what texts reveal about the social, political and economic interests of the writer. In the New Zealand context this kind of discourse analysis has most recently been completed by Potter and Wetherell (1992) who (as stated above) used a critical discourse analytical in their examination of the talk of New Zealand Pākehā about Māori. Potter and Wetherell's work focused attention on language as a site of cultural and political power and successfully stepped beyond the tendency to treat Māori as a site of misrepresentation, class, and/or racial prejudice.

A central concern of critical discourse analysis is in understanding how particular texts work to prejudice a particular understanding or interpretation of the social world. While discourses incline the reader to agree with the meaning of a text, they don't compel the reader to accept its connotations. Critical discourse analysis is thus interested in discovering the ways in which dominating discourses make ambiguous the hierarchical and oppressive organization of the social world.

Conclusion

In this literature review the extant work was considered in relation to the overall proposition of this thesis that the discourses of the colonial press worked to constitute a white hegemony. In so doing the ideas of the colonial, white and political hegemonies were stripped back and considered in relation to the function of media discourse. It was necessary to disaggregate notions of Māori, the native and 'racial', from their often inert essentialist renderings. Rather, as will be demonstrated below, the colonial press will be found to be mobile, dynamic, active and fluid in its political activities over time, particularly in its role as reproducer of white colonial hegemony.

chapter three

methodology

The previous two chapters provide a broad indication of the research concerns. In this chapter the specific research questions will be clarified along with a discussion regarding the methodological approach that has been used to analyse these texts. One of the attendant difficulties when seeking to understand the discursive constitution of power relations in a 19th century New Zealand colonial context is finding a method which can be applied neatly to those written texts which clearly do not present using the same formats as the contemporary press. Critical discourse analysis is a relatively recent methodology and has been generally applied to contemporary written texts (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1984; Wodak 2001) that present with predictable formats which lend themselves well to the analysis of headlines, context, sources, angles, experts, and of course the story itself. Headers in the settler press rarely signalled the topic or importance of the story either by explicit statements or by the size of type. The pages consisted of four columns. Headers were one column in width and the articles and editorials would often run for several columns and include lengthy and extravagant monologues which meandered around many different themes at the same time. Because many of the early editors were often printers and publishers before they were journalists there is little in the way of adherence to the modern journalistic codes of balance, fairness or objectivity (Williams, 1998, p.26). When approaching these texts it became clear that some of the more linguistic/grammatical or semiotic approaches to discourse analysis would be too difficult to apply to the shape and size of my data set necessitating a strategy that was less prescriptive and more malleable. Wodak and Meyer (2009) stress that:

CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA. Quite the contrary, studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies. (p. 5)

With this in mind it was crucial to adapt a 'stripped back' methodological approach that would accommodate the complexity of my data set. This dictated the forming of a

particular set of questions that would narrow in directly upon the broader social ‘work’ of the text.

The Research Questions

The following research questions arise out of concern to understand broadly the social work of the colonial press and how the colonial press in New Zealand actively reproduced an ideology that favoured the power interests of the white British colonist (whether missionary, settler or official). The representation of the native in the colonial press has been identified as an important site of analysis because the native signifies, for the white British colonist, a struggle for domination and power. The colonial press’s responses to the presence of the native, native resistance or native acquiescence (whether imagined or not) are invariably sites of social and political struggle, and contestation for power and domination. The deployment of critical discourse analysis is essential in order to uncover and articulate the discursive contest for domination of one group at the expense of another, and to understand how the press of the day was active in the instantiation of ideologies of racial superiority and entitlement.

1. How did New Zealand’s colonial press constitute the privileges, entitlements and struggles of the white British colonist in relation to the native?
2. What white British colonial ideologies, discursive formations and discourses can be identified in the colonial press in relation to the Native?
3. Are there any patterns or relationships between these discourses?
4. What do these discourses look like over time?

One hundred and twenty articles were collected from August 1839 to December 1873 - approximately four articles per year. The number of articles selected reflects an interest in gathering a collection of news texts from each quarter of the year while keeping the size of the data base manageable. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 120) suggest that there is “no correct, natural limit” to the number of texts that might be collected for analysis. It was necessary to give a broad indication of the nature of colonial discourse in New Zealand and

the selection of four articles per year (indicative of only a small percentage of all articles) indicates that this study is neither predictive nor statistically inferential. The central focus is upon the quality of those discourses that appeared during the period under investigation and the data size reflects a broad interest in apprehending the ideological mood of the entire period rather than the specificities of a smaller time frame.

Data Collection

As this study is interested in understanding how language functions over time as social action, I am not interested in pre-determining particular instances, events or moments of discourse. Because the intention is to interrogate texts over a long period of time in order to discover discursual flexibility, adaptation, contradiction and nuance as colonial journalists respond to different historical and material contexts, the news texts for investigation is taken from New Zealand newspapers from August 1839 to December 1873. The four news items per year were collected from English language settler newspapers held in the digital collection (*Papers Past*) of the National Library database. This period of time has been selected to include the first English language settler newspapers published in 1839 until 1873. An emphasis on the early years of English language journalism in New Zealand highlights the ideological work being undertaken in the settler press from its very beginning and captures the initial instances of settler discourse in the public account.

System for Data Collection

There are two periods over the course of this research in which data were collected. Before the digitization of the newspapers by the National Library of New Zealand, articles were transcribed from micro-film records. All of these articles were from the period 1839 to 1849. During the 1840s newspaper publication was erratic and unreliable and because they weren't digital at the time of data collection the process often required reading many newspapers before a suitable extract would be found. Therefore, the data collection from 1839 to 1840 is less systematic. Only 24 articles were collected for this period and this on a rather piece-meal basis. Not only were the reproductions often difficult to decipher, there were also difficulties in maintaining chronological regularity because of gaps in the collection and the exigencies created by the labour intensiveness of the exercise. Happily,

by 2006 the colonial papers the National Library published their digitized newspaper records and made them available via their online database. The articles from 1850 to 1873 were therefore extracted from the *Papers Past* website using their search engine, and computer-generated extracts from the scanned original were copied straight into a word document. This required, in some instances, significant editing. However, in comparison to the pain-staking work of searching for, and transcribing, micro-film records, it was a straightforward process.

For each given year from 1850 to 1873, four articles were chosen across alternating quarters. Thus the first article of 1850 was chosen from January, the second April, the third from July and the last from October. The following year the articles were selected from newspapers chosen from the adjacent month for each quarter, thus the 1851 data is from papers in February, May, August and November, and so forth.

Search words were used to find the relevant articles. The date for selection was entered and the results were organised by 'relevance'. The search words were 'Māori' and 'native'. While during the early years of colonial journalism Māori were also referred to as aborigines, because of the proximity and the interest in Australian news, references to 'aborigines' in the New Zealand press increasingly referred to Australia's indigenous peoples. As time went on, by the 1850s, the term 'aborigine' was almost exclusively used to refer to indigenous peoples elsewhere. Similarly, the appellation, 'New Zealander' was rarely used and only in the first years after the Treaty. It was found that the most reliable search words were Māori and native. These were used throughout the entire period and though the term native was used less and less towards the end of the period, it had not been entirely retired at that time.

In keeping with a desire to generate a data set that is independent of any predetermined event or criteria - except that the text must seek to represent a version, view, report or a position on the 'Māori' situation - the first news returned from the search engine by relevance, which addressed a 'Māori' issue, was chosen for the data base. This was either in the form of an editorial, a letter to the editor, or a general news report. Where the

search yielded unsatisfactory results in that the item was unreadable, or not a news item (i.e. an advertisement) the next result was selected. This strategy ensured a broad range of types of newspaper texts from geographically diverse areas, about a variety of topics. In total (as was mentioned above), the corpus included 120 news extracts.

Issues with the Settler Press

More often than not, the early papers included news that had been received by correspondence from sources outside of the paper's staff and may have taken a long time (by modern standards) to arrive at the paper's office. Thus, the modern journalistic practice of timeliness is absent or is not quite as urgent in settler papers as papers will report only when information comes to hand. In the case of the Wairau incident on the 17th June 1843, it was the 27th June 1843 before a full incident report was made in *The New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, even though it was a Wellington paper, run by New Zealand Company associates who had colleagues involved in the affray. Thus, when incidents are fully reported, they are often done so well after the fact. In addition, it would appear that sometimes these reports might be scant or communicated through a number of people who might not have actually witnessed the event, or have received their reports through sources (such as the military) who possess a clear bias in relation to that event. Since my interest was less historical than ideological, concerns arising out of such issues as timeliness, accuracy, and bias were not emphasised. Rather the stress in the analysis was overwhelmingly with the white British colonial sense-making, and the mapping of discourse in the first years of the colonial press. Thus, this study does not focus upon the 'practice' of journalism in the colonial period but rather the work of colonial discourse found in the settler press.

Re-transcribing Texts

Each of the news articles was either copied or transcribed onto A4 sheets for a variety of reasons:

1. For ease of cataloguing, management and reproduction. Because some texts will be relevant to a number of different categories and themes, copies of the texts can be managed more easily if they are in a standard form and size.

2. The font used by many settler papers was quite small and dense, particularly so when copied from the National Library electronic database. This makes reading the texts rather difficult and because they need to be read and re-read, it is prudent to have them re-written in a more accessible type.
3. The layout and format of early New Zealand papers are quite different from modern papers inasmuch as there are few headlines designed to alert the reader to the content of the report. Sometimes several columns must be read in order to find some relevant text that might not even have a clear beginning or end. Isolating these texts from that which might not be directly relevant makes them more visually readable and thereby more accessible.

In general it is practical to take the 120 news texts and to standardize them by re-transcribing them on a standard sized paper so that they can be easily read, reproduced and filed. The need to standardize these news articles had to be balanced against the possibility of losing the context provided by the placement of the article, the page number, layout and typography. In sum, however, the practical preparation of the articles for analysis was more important than preserving the articles and accounting for their physical presentation in the papers. Largely, colonial newspapers appear to be textually dense with little white space. The editorial usually ran for several columns on the front page (which was later supplanted by advertising, moving editorials to the middle pages), with letters to the editor, general assembly notes (from the 1850s onwards), travel diaries, correspondents, local intelligence, court reports etc. occupying the middle sections, and foreign news appearing towards the end. There were few topical headings and rarely pictures. The layout of the newspapers reflected a larger interest in following a manageable format for news publication rather than the creation of visual appeal. Printing was a labour intensive activity during the period, requiring the meticulous work of typesetting. Weekly variations to the format would have complicated the process which already a required a painstaking effort. Thus, the loss of context provided by the physical presentation is offset by the necessity of making the texts manageable.

Coding and Categories

The methodological approach involves the use of grounded theory. Grounded theory provides an open-ended critical approach to data which “comprises a systematic, inductive and comparative approach for conducting enquiry for the purposes of constructing theory...the method is designed to encourage researcher’ persistent interaction with their data while remaining constantly involved with their emerging analysis” (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 1).

Discourse analysts draw upon grounded theory inasmuch as it provides both a methodological and theoretical approach to the management of data. Charmaz (2006) points out that:

As grounded theorists we study our early data and begin to separate, sort and synthesize these data through qualitative coding. Coding means that we attach labels to segments of data that depict what each segment is about. Coding distils data, sorts them, and gives us a handle for making comparisons with other segments of data. (p. 3)

The primary purpose of coding, therefore, is to reduce large amounts of data to manageable textual portions that can be dealt with, analytically, with greater ease. The first stage when coding is to begin to generate a picture of the themes or categories which appear to be relevant to the research questions. In this study a theoretical starting point for the initial selection of categories and themes was provided by Spurr (1993) who in his study of “the particular languages which belong to the process of colonization” (p. 1) suggested there were at least twelve rhetorical modes or ways of writing about non-Western people (p. 3). The identification of these tropes suggests that colonial discourse might be identified in terms of patterns of meaning. Spurr’s rhetorical modes are as follows:

1. Surveillance
2. Appropriation
3. Aestheticization
4. Classification
5. Debasement
6. Negation
7. Affirmation
8. Idealization
9. Insubstantialization

- 10. Naturalization
- 11. Eroticization
- 12. Resistance

Spurr's substantive inventory of discourse forms gave rise to a theoretical framework from which patterns of meaning were found that could account for the kind of flexibility anticipated in a study that is interested in the variability, consistency, function, and consequences of racialized language forms across a relatively broad chronological space.

However, I found them to be too unwieldy for a more systematic approach to discourse over time. There were too many tropes for the number of articles I had, so I required broader discourse categories as these tropes were too narrow and more appropriate for a selective thematic study, than a random discursive study. I needed to find other rhetorical modes that could be used to account for the ambiguity of discourse over time.

Wetherell and Potter (1992) also identified patterns of meaning in their seminal work *Mapping the Language of Racism*. These broad discursive categories account for the ways in which contemporary Pākehā New Zealanders make sense of the native. These are as follows:

1. Constructing community: 'race', 'culture', and 'nation.'
2. Accounting for the social: stories of social conflict and social influence.
3. Practical politics and ideological dilemmas.
4. The prejudice problematic

The forms of discourse which they identified will also be theoretically useful and these discourse themes will be intertwined with, and developed alongside, those of Spurr because they are specific to the language of race in New Zealand and are helpful in that respect. However, the difficulty in using the discourse themes established by Wetherell and Potter lies in the time period under investigation in their study. Though not specifically stated, Wetherell and Potter's study commenced shortly after the Springbok tour of New Zealand in 1981. The documents that were presented to participants for discussion appear to be specific to that period of time and therefore will elicit discourse that captures a particular discursive moment in New Zealand's history. This is not to suggest that there is no relationship between the discourses that are generated at other times - before or after -

indeed one would expect that there is. However in this project I wish to map a genealogy of the language that concentrates around the idea of racial difference in New Zealand throughout the colonial period.

From my in-depth analysis of the 24 articles from 1839 to 1849, I found that the following patterns of discourse appeared:

1. Discourses of sovereignty
2. Discourses of discipline
3. Discourses of paternalism

These were broad, consistent, and followed a pattern over time. From here I was able to locate the places (from 1850-1873) where the patterns of discourse were deployed and others were dropped, replaced or contradicted.

Analysis

Potter (1996) stresses that it is not prudent to be prescriptive about the process of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a complex activity that requires the researcher to be interested in the minutiae in the text that might not be noticed upon initial readings but are discovered subsequently to be noteworthy. Thus it is stressed by Potter (1996) & Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) that the analyst read and re-read, not only for familiarity but in order to discover important rhetorical features such as contradiction, conflict, fragmentation, and nuance.

Potter (1996) suggests that there are two important phases in the analytical stage, both involving a search for patterns of meaning. He highlights the central importance of finding both variability and consistency in a text. In other words the researcher should be interested in finding moments where accounts of similar events or topics show discrepancies in different texts or even where discrepancy and variability is found in the same text. Variability discovered in the texts will highlight the fractured and ambiguous nature of discourse, signalling its socially constructed and functional character. In discourse analysis the theory is that language occurs in moments as a social action, in order to achieve a particular end. As such, language becomes highly variable as it flexes and adjusts to the social expediencies produced at certain moments of group interaction -

particularly in moments of conflict. It is therefore important to note during the analytical stage where those moments of variability occur and find possible patterns of variability, and, furthermore, to seek to account for the variability - looking for elements that might be present in conjunction with these variations.

Potter (1996) also emphasizes the importance of searching for consistency. He stresses that it is important to locate those moments where all accounts and content share similar features. It will be important, once again, to search out those meanings which are attached to particular signs that are not variable over time, or stay consistent in different accounts by different authors. If there is consistency in accounts it might suggest that there is an aspect of the social interaction (in this case between Māori and settler) that the settlers are unwilling to compromise.

The second phase suggested by Potter (1996) is the search for hypotheses and evidence as to the function and consequences of the discourse. Interpretative repertoires that are drawn upon as cultural resources in text (whether written or oral) provide the speaker with flexibility and adaptability according to the context in which the talk is occurring. A speaker may draw upon one interpretative repertoire in one context and then drop it for an alternative in another context. The discovery of these variations (as was mentioned above) indicates the function that the talk is filling. During this phase of the analysis the researcher would be interested in hypothesizing about the contexts in which variations in talk might occur. The researcher will also hypothesize about the particular function of the text and the effect that the text is motivated toward achieving. The next stage would involve identifying textual fragments that work as evidence to confirm the hypotheses regarding function and effect.

The research questions above frame and focus the direction of this study. However it is helpful to have some finely honed questions. The following questions are drawn from Widdicombe and Woofitt (1995) and provided by Gill (1996) and serve to drive the analytical phase of this project:

1. If what is being said is the solution, what is the problem?
2. How do speakers display their orientation to this business?
3. What strategies do they use to accomplish this?

Wetherell (2001) suggests that all talk, whether in texts or in the spoken word, is dialogical. In other words, nothing we say or write is original. We are drawing all the time upon the resources left us or passed on to us to understand, interpret and bring the world into being. Sometimes these texts take on different forms or new connotations as they combine with other language resources or interpretative repertoires. Sometimes they remain constant and inflexible. All that is spoken and written, however, is motivated toward organising meaning. The word is not simply an oral expression of what really is, the word is a device for the classification and arrangement of the world. The analytical phase of this project will be in attending to the detail of race text in New Zealand in order to interrogate the function of the meanings constructed in the white media discourse. Through this study it will be possible to establish how settlers, or more specifically settler news makers, mobilize the meanings they create around Māori, and furthermore, how some meanings become dominant and endure, while other drop away and even sometimes revive. Overall, it is central to this study to identify the social, political, economic and ideological interests that these renderings serve.

Validation

Edwards and Potter (1992) provide a set of useful analytical techniques in order to determine the validity of the analysis. Because discourse analysis is an activity which generates large amounts of analytical material which might appear at the surface to be contradictory, inconsistent and variable, it is important to have some techniques whereby the validity of the analysis can be tested. Edwards and Potter (1992) propose a number of appropriate techniques which will be used in the measurement of validity. Some of the techniques proposed by Potter are more specifically appropriate for conversation analysis, rather than written text.

Coherence

While it is possible to ascertain patterns of meaning, it is not possible, given the small size of the data base (120 texts) in comparison with the date range (34 years), to be certain that these patterns exist outside of the data base. However, Edwards and Potter (1992) suggest that any conclusions or claims arising out of the analysis of a body of text ought to give shape or coherence to that body of text. In other words it ought to demonstrate how the discourse works together as a whole. Edwards and Potter (1992) are sceptical that an analytical claim has validity if there are loose ends or features in the texts which sit outside of the claims. He suggests that the explanation take account of the broad patterns of discourse as well as the ‘micro-sequences’. In fact Edwards and Potter (1992) hold that claims are more academically robust if the exceptions to the patterns of discourse can be accounted for. They suggest that the “cases which lie outside of the framework are always more informative than those that lie within” (Edwards & Potter 1992, p. 170).

Edwards and Potter’s (1992) emphasis here is not necessarily upon building a neat, tidy and discreet explanation of discourse as social action. They expect the analyst to identify and analyse the exceptions, as it is within these moments of discursive movement that social change, conflict and problems can be found. A robust coherent discourse analysis should thus provide an explanation for emergence and disappearance of all renderings.

Emergence of new problems

Edwards and Potter (1992) suggest that a measure of validation is the emergence of new problems in communication. Discourse analysis is an approach that is aimed at identifying particular linguistic resources that speakers/writers are deploying in order to achieve a certain social action. As noted above, Spurr (1993) suggests broadly twelve tropes or linguistic resources that are thrown up in colonial writing in order for settlers to understand and make sense of their relationship with ‘natives’. In analysing discourse the analyst should take note of the emergence of new problems that arise in social intercourse when one interpretative repertoire is deployed rather than another, or when two contradictory interpretative repertoires are deployed at the same time. The very existence of contradiction provides confirmation that the writer or writers are drawing upon linguistic

resources which are highly malleable, fluid and can be arbitrarily replaced by yet other patterns of meaning. Thus it is crucial to look for moments where the use of particular linguistic resources throws up new problems.

More immediate limitations might theoretically arise out of my personal proximity to the text. As a Māori scholar I read the texts with an acute recognition of the political and social work of the news extracts. However, critical discourse analysis is explicit about an interest in producing counter-hegemonic knowledge which highlights the ways in which discourse reproduces political, economic, social and power inequalities, abuses or domination. Thus, my own political resistance and subversion of white British colonial ideology is compatible with this methodological and theoretical approach. While critical discourse analysis has largely been applied to contemporary colonial texts, in this study there may be some tensions arising out of the examination of texts 100 or more years after they were written. This is due in part to the practice of critique in mass communications and journalism being applied to current ideological practices. However, Spurr (1993) and Said (2003) cross disciplinary boundaries by intertwining an interest in history, literature, critical analysis, politics, anthropology and sociology, so that the utterances of the past are credibly and legitimately confronted in the present. This then poses another issue. How can one analyse an historical news text from the position of the present with validity and coherence when the attendant contextual information that might guide such a reading is lacking? As has been noted above, some of these articles do not present with readily identifiable historical information, which I have, where available, included in order to signpost for the reader the immediate circumstances that might have given rise to the utterances. However, while these discursive activities of the 19th century arise out of particular circumstances this is not to say that all human activity is context-dependent. Rather while utterances might be context-dependant, social action is rule bound and systematic, making it quite possible to read the social action despite an absence of contextual information. Coherence and validation of the discursive work on the 19th century colonial news media might therefore be achieved more accurately through identifying consistency in the patterns of meaning across texts than through the

transparency of historical sources which merely provides an interpretation of the context in which the utterance occurred. As Campbell (1998) suggests:

Anyone reared in the appropriate culture can successfully identify these acts and thus readily identify their meaning and what is more they can do this without reference to the social context in which the act occurs (p.117).

If we are to map the language of white colonial privilege it is essential to chart that discursive territory both in terms of time and space and take those critical boundary-crossing steps to merge what have become discrete disciplinary interests. In so doing we are better positioned to provide scope and breadth to our critical analyses however supposedly 'distant' our past.

The Analysis

As mentioned in the introduction, this study has been organised into two discrete periods. Chapters four, five and six include an in-depth analysis of 24 articles selected at random from newspapers between 1839 and 1849. In these chapters each article or news extract is presented. This is followed by a summary of the surface renderings (accompanied by some historical background), a critical analysis and the identification of patterns of meaning. Each of these levels of analysis is crucial as they build upon one other. The surface renderings provide a summary of the text as it appears. As these 19th century articles are often voluble, declamatory and are heavy with rhetoric, it is essential to extract the actual purpose of the article from the often aureate style of the colonial journalist. Identifying the surface intent provides the scaffold for the analytical phase. The background explanation provides any available historical information that might give the article some social or political context. These articles were mostly in response to institutional or social events and it is helpful to identify, where possible, the political and/or textual milieu for these texts. The texts were then analysed and the patterns of meaning and discourses were drawn out of the texts. One news extract might contain a number of tropes or patterns of meaning which were identified under sub-headings. After determining the surface intention and the examining the patterns of meaning, the articles were organised into broader discourse categories - either the discourse of sovereignty, discipline and paternalism. Not that these often verbose articles were always and exclusively doing the ideological work of ascribing

authority, advocating control or dispensing counsel. It was often the case that they touched upon a number of discourse categories at the same time. However, when unsure about where to assign the news text, I went back to the surface rendering which more often than not provided some clarity on the central purpose of the article. Each article was then summarized, providing an overall account of the analytical findings. Put together, these summaries provided the basis for ascertaining the presence of the three major discursive formations - sovereignty, discipline and paternalism - which are discussed in the conclusion of each of chapters four, five and six respectively.

In chapter seven these broad discursive formations provide the basis for analysing a further 96 articles between 1850 and 1873. While it would have been ideal to have analysed these 96 articles with the same attention to detail as the earlier 24 articles, it was not possible to critically analyse the texts in detail, in depth and over a 33 year period. Thus, chapters four, five and six, provide a theoretical scaffold for the consideration of colonial news discourse in the following 23 years. The discursive formations, discourses and patterns of meaning that are identified in the first three substantive chapters were linked to the texts in chapter seven, demonstrating the continuity of these discourses across time and context.

chapter four

the discourse of sovereignty

The following texts provide a few examples of the rich and often complex debate over the ownership and control of the colony. While the selection of texts below shows an overwhelming concern for the appropriation, possession, and management of the colony's material resources, at the centre of all of the discussions is the question of land and how it should be acquired, held, and by whom. The discourse of sovereignty invariably appeared in conjunction with three particular issues. The first issue concerned the kind of enterprise New Zealand would be as an antipodean outpost for white foreigners. Were New Zealand's affairs to be placed firmly under the rule of the Queen of England, or was a domestic government to be rallied from among the settler ranks which would bypass the interests of Her Majesty's government and operate independently and autonomously? Were the settlers going to share the control and management of the islands in full partnership with Māori, or were the financial interests of the New Zealand Company, for instance, going to hold sway and New Zealand become organised in a corporate or laissez-faire manner? Central to this question of the New Zealand enterprise lies the most pressing concern - what the presence of the natives should mean to the white population who were trying to figure out the whys and wherefores of this colonial project.

Secondly, the discourse of sovereignty includes arguments and debates over the management of the indigenous people and their resources. Overall, the New Zealand enterprise was to be one that privileged the aspirations of the immigrants (however they might unfold) and supplanted native autonomy with an institutional arrangement that in some way mimicked the political and economic arrangements of the 'motherland'. However clear cut the ideal might have been, the colonists were confronted with resistance from within and from without their ranks. The texts under question demonstrate the conflicted nature of these debates as white British colonists sought to manage the Māori presence, while they were at the same time eyeing up the land and resources for appropriation.

Lastly, the discourse of sovereignty includes various accounts and positions on where and to whom the benefits of colonisation should accrue. These debates include wrangles over the distribution of, and the entitlement to, the profit and gains, as well as the responsibilities for the liabilities incurred over the course of the colonial exercise.

The discourse of sovereignty therefore includes various positions held by the authors and contributors to New Zealand's newspapers on the nature, control, management and benefits of the colonization of New Zealand, and how these might be achieved in light of the existence of an indigenous population. These discourses are characterized by the deployment of the language of business on one hand, and the language of politics on the other. Both tend to elide the presence of an agent, so that 'the interests of agriculture' (*The New Zealander*, 14 November, 1846, p3.) for instance, does not state the subject, allowing 'the interests' to stand as a self-governing, unfettered, natural and scientific occurrence, out of the reach of human agency. 'The interests of agriculture' might have otherwise been phrased as 'Our economic interests in obtaining an economic advantage in the exploitation of local agricultural resources'. However, the omission of an agent once again suggests that interests occur outside of human volition.

What follows are those analysed texts which fall primarily into the discursive formation of racialized sovereignty during the period 1839-1849. These discourses share a particular interest in arguing, defending or advocating a certain approach to the colonisation of New Zealand and its future arrangements. There is also, in this discursive formation, a concentration of attention on inscribing a British identity onto New Zealand, both culturally and geographically.

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the newspapers, the editors and their political agendas in order to provide some background and context. Each article is analysed then summarised with a concluding rationale for being considered for this chapter. The chapter will end with a discussion of how these patterns of meaning work with each other, the

tensions between the textual practices, and how they are dealt with across multiple texts and contexts.

The Newspapers

The New Zealand Gazette was originally published in London by Samuel Revans in August 1839 and was intended for the 1856 New Zealand Company settlers who were soon to depart for New Zealand aboard the *Oriental*, the *Aurora*, the *Adelaide*, the *Duke of Roxburgh*, and *The Bengal Merchant* (Dench, 2005, p. 51). This first issue was to be re-printed in New Zealand in April 1840. *The New Zealand Gazette* was to change its title over the period of its publication and is known also as the *New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator* (Britannia was the proposed name for Wellington), and the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*. Its editor, Samuel Revans, (Robertson, 1989) launched the paper in London and having moved his printing equipment out to New Zealand proceeded to supply the fledgling colony with its first weekly, then bi-weekly newspaper. The paper was produced under the direction of the New Zealand Company with Revans, as well as successive editors, being at the same time company officials.

Over its four-year publication life, *The Gazette & Spectator* was “a staunch advocate for the New Zealand Company” (Day, 1990, p. 26). This support of the New Zealand Company was largely in opposition to the colonial administration. At first, the opposition was directed at the Crown’s exercise of its right of pre-emption. Editors also commented frequently upon the haphazard, casual and sluggish way in which the government was dealing with its official inquiries into pre-Treaty land purchases. Later, when the government lifted the restrictions on native land purchases (which it controlled), in order to raise money for the administration, the newspapers (including the *Gazette*) once again voiced their intense disapproval.

The New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette commenced publication on 15 June 1840 with Barzillai Quaife editor-in-chief. Quaife arrived in New Zealand in May 1840. A Congregationalist, Presbyterian minister and teacher, he was encouraged by his superiors in Adelaide (where he was writing for the *South Australian*) to go to New Zealand in order to set up a newspaper. It was only a matter of weeks before the *New*

Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette was published as a weekly newspaper. The few editorials written by Quaife were indicative of his unapologetic political orientation (Day, 1990, p. 20). Critical of both the colonial administration, and the injudicious appropriation of native land by speculators, Quaife's opinions were vociferous and strident. Barzillai Quaife's proximity to Government officials spelled the writing on the wall. When his newspaper voiced an active and ongoing opposition to the Government over the 'Land Question', the New South Wales anti-press laws of 1827 were revived and applied in order to censure and fine Quaife, forcing him out of business, and soon out of the country (ibid, pp. 12-14).

As the interests of the New Zealand Company and the settlers began to part, *The New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, with a publication period of only one year (2 August 1842 - 2 August 1843), was founded by a group of businessmen in "direct opposition to the Gazette which it saw as increasingly antagonistic to the settler's interests" (ibid, p. 29).

Thus, the three newspapers, analysed below are underwritten with a particular political bias. All were largely critical of the government and saw the colonial administration as ineffectual in supplying the settlers with an adequate provision of land. In this respect they share one common thread. The position of the colonists and their consistent failure to secure property was a central concern. If the Crown was going to act in an official and legal capacity in New Zealand, then the least they could do was to act on behalf of their white constituency and make it easy to acquire land without resorting to poorly thought-through treaties, proclamations, and policies. Thus, native political, economic and social interests are overlooked in favour of a political debate that was centred on how to obtain native land as quickly, efficiently, cheaply and peacefully as possible. The native as a subject is written into these commentaries only inasmuch as the native is tied to the land. The expectation expressed in these newspapers is that the Government will make clear to the colonists the exact nature of the relationship between Māori and their land in order for that relationship to be more efficiently disrupted. The perceived incompetence of the Government in failing to rule upon this subject provokes these newspapers to offer their

own suggestions as to how a British sovereign presence in New Zealand might best be imposed so as to favour the interests of the colonists.

Background

The eight articles below, taken from the three newspapers (discussed above) have been drawn from a period from August 1839 to March 1843 and cover some of the most important years in the colony's history. It was in these years that the legal basis for New Zealand's colonial future was beginning to be discussed, and institutional and ideological parameters set down. It was during this period that official declarations were made, remade, undone and modified, inciting a deep and abiding distrust of the colonial administration, its bureaucracy and officials. During this period the European inhabitants established their differences, advocated their interests, contended for their rights and spoke forthrightly on how things ought to be. The singular lack of a solidly placed institutional framework, to which reference could be made, incited argument, and cynicism. This chasm of institutional security gave way to the posturing of certain groups, such as the New Zealand Company, who felt that, given their assumed proprietary rights (having arrived before The Treaty of Waitangi was signed), any adjustments to their circumstances or future opportunities were gross violations (Petre, 1841, p. 33). Government officials in Auckland were rendered incompetent and ineffectual, raising questions about Auckland as the most appropriate centre from which policy should be administered. Together with these constitutionally taxing questions of sovereignty and land title, was the actual work of understanding, mapping, exploring and finding out what was available to the new arrivals and how to *be* in this new place. Thus a common set of understandings about these islands was worked out in the press, incrementally, discursively rendering this experiential chaos into a more ordered terrain. Though newspaper publications in New Zealand commence with an extravagant illustration of 'discovery' nostalgia, implicating this powerful and righteous force of Empire in this moment of sighting, over the next four years the tone descends into one of rancour, frustration and desperation as the press is mobilized in the service of the landed white masses.

'Discovery' Talk

The first article originally appeared in the *New Zealand Gazette* in London on the 21 August 1839. However, this narrative draws upon a written history of the antipodes that

renders New Zealand a territory whose commencement coincides with its 'discovery'. 'Discovery' stories in European popular narratives of the day play an important role in building optimism for the Empire and allowing other spaces for Britons to prosper and indeed to understand themselves (Gascoigne 2006). Captain Cook's forays into the Pacific during the age of Empire were valorized over the efforts of Britain's European competitors, Holland and Portugal, while Fernandez and Tasman serve as simple prefaces to the more authentic discovery (Cook, 1906). National identity is thus built upon such heroics (Jones & Wahrman, 2002, p. 66). The re-telling of these stories reminds would-be emigrants that their colonial destinies are built upon the work of such national characters, whose footsteps they will soon trace, and works to assure, comfort and inspire them in the knowledge that their ventures have a sure and mighty foundation.

Capitalist Talk

Once the settlers had begun to establish themselves (notwithstanding their lack of land) another important question arose in relation to the use of resources. Towards the end of the 18th century and for the most part of the 19th century, flax was a significant New Zealand export (Carr, 2005). Flax was harvested for cord and rope and was mostly prepared as fibre before being exported to Australia, Britain and North America (Matheson, 2000). The traditional preparation techniques used by Māori were intensive and laborious involving the scraping of leaf away from the fibres using a mussel shell. In order to create a profitable industry it became clear to colonists that the employment of the appropriate machinery would significantly reduce labour costs and time, and increase product yield. In article five of February 1841 concern is expressed for those settlers, endeavouring to export flax, who needed to find the right technology to support their business. Without the correct technology the flax industry would have had to rely upon native labour for the preparation of the flax fibres. However, native labour was not as easily obtainable and often came at a price. Māori were more than aware of the profits they could achieve working independently and were in most circumstances unwilling to submit to Pākehā wages and working conditions unless their cash needs were pressing (Wright, 1959, p. 34). In his 1842 account Charles Terry remarks that:

It is far more consonant to their habits (the native) to apply themselves to such extra labour than undertake the work, for many hours of the European. Labour on their part being at

present not a necessity, they will only exercise it on their own terms...and then they require, from their natural indolence, constant superintendence. (p. 252)

Although deeply infused with an imperial bias, this comment nonetheless speaks to a concern that native labour was both difficult to secure and to manage.

Legal Talk

However, discovery and the labour needs of the colony aside, what was of particular concern was the nature and scope of a legal framework for the colony. On January 30th 1840, on Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson's arrival in New Zealand, Hobson read out the proclamation of George Gipps the incumbent Governor of New South Wales. This proclamation declared that New Zealand had now come under the jurisdiction of the New South Wales Government and as such the British subjects resident in the islands were now subject to the Crown law and authority. He then announced that:

I do hereby further proclaim and declare that I have this day entered on the duties of my said Office as Lieutenant-Governor, aforesaid and I do call upon all Her Majesty's Subjects to be aiding and assisting me in the execution thereof. (Colenso, 1890, p. 41)

A number of significant legislative moves complicated the sale and acquisition of native land in the early 1840's. In January 1840, Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales and New Zealand, facilitated the passing of the Sydney Land Act (1840):

Which invalidated all further sales of land in New Zealand until the outcomes of official investigations were known; secondly also in January 1840 a proclamation issued by Captain Hobson immediately after his arrival in New Zealand altered the status of land titles already acquired by declaring them invalid until confirmed by the Crown. (Mitchell, 2004, p. 283)

Only a month after these moves, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed prohibiting further private purchases of native land. Until May 1841 when New Zealand became a Crown Colony, Gipps, as New Zealand's first Governor, was particularly interested in ensuring that the colony's administrative budget be met by an interest in native land sales, rendering New Zealand a self-funding colony. The right of Crown pre-emption had worked its way into the Treaty of Waitangi and while there was some ambiguity in both the Māori and the English versions of the Treaty as to what this meant, the Hobson proclamation, delivered

coincidentally with the an announcement about the Treaty of Waitangi, made it clear. On the 6th August 1840 an editorial in *The New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Island's Gazette* interpreted the Act for the readership of the paper. Based upon the assumption that “savage peoples cannot confer any permanent title to their lands”, the Act declared invalid “all titles to lands in New Zealand acquired from natives”. No more private land purchases could be legitimately made. The net effect of this move was to raise reasonable revenue by selling the land at a profit. Rather than remaining oblivious to these fiscal manoeuvres Banner (2007) notes:

The Māori were not slow to figure this out. “The natives have heard of the Government buying at a cheap and selling at a dear rate,” explained a man name Paora. “They do not like it. The natives do not know what is done with the money”. (p. 76)

Māori had been selling property for some decades and were highly incensed that any future land transactions would now be taken off the market and restricted to Government agents.

New Zealand Company Talk

The New Zealand Company was also troubled by this highly unpopular legislation and felt that, not only was the future of the colony threatened, but that the Home Government would have been similarly outraged by such a violation. The disgruntled directors of the New Zealand Company reported their dissatisfaction to their shareholders in a lengthy missive which argued, in response to the devaluation of their land by the Crown:

Your directors are unable to reconcile this proceeding with the principles recognised by Her Majesty's Government in their instructions to Captain Hobson and in their more recent instructions to the Commissioner for Colonial Lands and Emmigration.(Ward, 1840, p. 182)

The aspiration to acquire native lands in the Port Nicholson and other New Zealand company locations was high. With the instalation of a Colonial Administration and the announcement of a native Treaty, the company's previous ‘purchases’ were brought under scrutiny by the Land Claims Commission, and private land transactions were made illegal through the pre-emption clause of the Treaty of Waitangi (McIntyre et al., 1971, p. 155). As has been noted above this was a deeply troubling concern for the company which had its client immigrants literally backed up on the beach at Wellington. Indeed Swainson

(1859) noted that ‘defects in the Company’s title’ caused some difficulty with the local Māori who refused their occupation, limiting the settlers “to a strip of land forming the site of the projected town of Wellington” (p.105). Although underfunded at this point, the colonial government was making its first moves to ensure all land was in a title. In this way they would be able to see what was available for acquisition and who should be negotiated with for its purchase (Williams, 1999, p. 108). The recognition of native title would have come from the colonial government as a political expediency for a number of reasons. Firstly Māori occupied a power position in the vending of land. Two generations of intimate contact with the wandering population of England would have been enough to indicate to the would-be colonists that Māori would not have tolerated the wholesale appropriation of their property (as had been done elsewhere), nor was their battle prowess and willingness to engage force to be reckoned with. The question of how to appropriate native land in 1842 was only the beginning of a long, costly and fraught process and one of the central concerns and activities of 19th century New Zealand (Denoon et al., 2000, p.123). The New Zealand Company would have welcomed the opportunity to have at their disposal a clear notion of what land was available and from whom. Although the New Zealand Company couldn’t at this stage make a direct purchase of land from the natives, at least it appeared to be a step in the right direction, by potentially clarifying title and giving them a clearer idea of the area.

Constitutional Talk

Furthermore, Hobson’s declaration that all land sales prior to this time would not be recognised, unless contracted by the Crown or her representatives, proved decidedly problematic. The consternation of the New Zealand Company, which had proceeded as if sovereignty and its right to sell land were vested in the Chiefs (Burns, 1980, pp. 152-153), was by now compounded by a proclamation affirming the sovereignty of the Crown. As a result of both the Treaty of Waitangi and the Proclamation, the powers of the Council of the New Zealand Company, their land purchases and future sales were called into question, placing this avowedly commercial project in a very precarious position. While superficially the council seemed to raise an important question as to whom their allegiance should be given, on another level they were deeply and jealously reluctant to offer their loyalty to any organisation that was not fully supportive of the Wakefield scheme (which

the Colonial Office was not). Perhaps in response to, or as a result of, these abstractions of the Crown, the New Zealand Company officials took it upon themselves to establish their own judiciary in accordance with the company's provisional constitution, which incidentally "had been declared to have no legal basis after they left England....and...now proceeded to bring it into operation" (Dodwell, 1932, p. 75). After their illegitimate imprisonment of Captain Pearson of the brig *Integrity*, Governor Hobson reacted by instructing the Colonial Secretary, Willoughby Shortland to "proceed to Port Nicholson in order to command all persons to withdraw from the illegal council set up by the settlers and submit to the proper authorities in New Zealand" (p. 75).

This attempt by the Company at engineering a transplanted and handpicked segment of English society, replete with English laws, customs, habits and material culture, was now undermined by representatives of the English Crown. This logistical and legal difficulty - that the juxtaposition of the Treaty and the Proclamation threw up - was the subject of a number of editorials that followed attacking the clumsy and contradictory nature of Hobson's activities.

The British Crown's colonial interests in New Zealand were, from the outset, by no means straightforward. With regards to the settlement of Wellington in particular, a five-way discussion cum dispute ensued between the British government in England, Governor Gipps in New South Wales, the Crown representatives in New Zealand, the New Zealand Company in Wellington and the New Zealand Company office in London (ibid, p. 137). These discussions were often contentious particularly between the New Zealand Company and the Crown Administration in New Zealand. In the first instance, those with private interests were deeply concerned as to the status of their pre-Treaty land acquisitions. In addition the New Zealand Company was deeply threatened by the arrival of Hobson and his successive proclamations. Wakefield was well aware of the Colonial Office's opinions of him and his scheme and despite their equivocation on the Royal Charter he decided to act independently upon his plans for the systematic and profit-oriented colonizing ventures. Secondly, the New Zealand Company was operating in a climate of uncertainty, particularly moving into the future, because their land supply was evaporating as

increasingly natives contested questionable company purchases or simply refused to sell. In fact, as Burns (1980) points out, the company surveyors, upon their arrival in Wellington:

... measured the various pa and kainga as if these did not exist, as if the land was vacant. The Māori were astonished and bewildered to find Pakeha tramping over their homes, gardens and cemeteries, and in places sticking pegs in the ground...The Maori took the obvious action and quietly removed the surveyors' pegs. (ibid, p. 152)

The 20,000,000 acres (Mitchell, 2004, p. 283) the New Zealand Company claimed to have purchased was looking to be a ridiculous and spurious acquisition which didn't translate into land for settlement as the immigrants began to arrive. Thus all parties, particularly those located in New Zealand, were operating in an intensely fractured, ambiguous and largely patchwork political environment. To add to this, Moon (1994) argues that neither Hobson made a particularly good impression on the colonists already in New Zealand and poses the question: "If the settlers found Hobson so feeble, what hope was there for him and the administration he had been charged with establishing" (p. 12). He also argues that in order to divert the attention of the Wellington settlers away from the struggles of the New Zealand Company, the directors whipped up a frenzy of malicious criticism directed at the Colonial Administration, "thus barricading themselves in to stave off an onslaught of settler fury" (ibid, p. 41). Samuel Revans, the author of article seven, happened also to be the Secretary of the Colonists' Council at Port Nicholson. His partisan newspaper was used on more than one occasion to communicate the Company's displeasure at the 'hostility' of Hobson.

Jurisprudence Talk

For those at the forefront of colonial expansion, one of the central interests was the application of a legal framework in their newly inhabited territories, one that was clear, one that they understood and one that they approved of. While the 'rule of law' was not questioned, the balance between common law methodologies and concepts of justice was frequently sought, and the media was to host numerous forums about these quandaries. In the Wellington papers (as in articles eight and two) during the first part of the the 1840s, a number of discussions were to be repeated. Firstly, the question of sovereignty was consistently addressed. This was in response to what the New Zealand Company settlers in

Wellington perceived to be the bogus and farcical pretensions of some puffed up London bureaucrats who, with a few pen strokes, dashed the hopes and aspirations of a fledgling immigration company and its settlements. Secondly, the question of a constitution was to be discussed frequently, and this was largely in response to the need for an agreement regarding the social, political and economic organization of the newly acquired territory. Thirdly, the need for self-protection was regularly addressed. This was in response to a burgeoning sense that a colonial presence was unwelcome by the indigenous peoples and that there would be further retaliation and resistance to the acquisition of tribal lands. Conversations regarding law were centred largely upon these three concerns. However, what was seldom questioned were the assumptions as to the universal applicability of the 'rule of law'. That is, the supremacy of the English legal system and its applicability in the colonies was assumed. Furthermore it was upheld in the discourse of the day that the rule of law was wholly informed by an underlying and stable moral basis. That the natives should be accommodated in the short term due to their 'legal' ignorance (see chapter four, article eight) was not a long term concession to tribal authority. Rather, it was an acknowledgment that in certain cases judicial precedent might be set by agreements over natural justice.

Summary of Background to Chapter Four

Thus, a number of salient questions can be identified as the central concerns of the press in relation to native land. What is the validity or nature of native title? What should the Crown's position be on surplus lands? How should the claims of the British settlers, colonists and speculators be legitimated or even dismissed? As was mentioned above, the colonial press was an important site where these dilemmas could be aired and worked out. Indeed Fairclough (1995), argues that texts and their discourses "include representations of how things might or could, or should be, 'possible worlds'. They imagine possible social practices and networks of social practice" (p. 207).

While the articles are indicative of colonial thinking around some salutary questions - in particular regarding land, sovereignty, title and law - they are by no means exhaustive. What is of interest, however, is the consistency with which the interests of Māori are obfuscated. As will be demonstrated below, there is an overwhelming of native interests

which worked to nudge out the possibility of Māori possessing their own aspirations for the future of New Zealand, their own legal framework, their own political, economic, and cultural structures. What stands out is the presumption of the superiority of Empire, and a wholly dismissive position on the validity of any institutions that might undermine a white Western capitalist patriarchy.

Article One

New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Island's Gazette, 2 July 1840, p. 4

As such a record may prove interesting to the future inhabitants of New Zealand, and instructive to those who shall engage in similar undertakings, we propose to give a brief history of the colonization of our adopted country. It is supposed by some that New Zealand was visited by Juan Fernandez. He left memoranda stating that he had sailed westward from South America thirty days, when he reached a country inhabited by a people of a light complexion, clothed in a kind of linen, who treated him hospitably; and in all parts of New Zealand the natives have traditions of being visited by Europeans long before the time of Captain Cook. Further information on this subject may be found in Burney's 'History of Discovery in the South Seas.' It is clear, however, that Abel Jansen Tasman first made known the existence of New Zealand to Europeans. He saw it first on the 13th of September, 1642, when he made the northern extremity of the islands, according to his latitudes; and, running down the east coast, passed through Cook's Strait into a Bay, which he called Murderer's Bay, from the circumstance of losing four men in a conflict with the natives, who effectually prevented him or any of his people from landing. There is no evidence of any European having landed on these islands before Captain Cook, which he did on the evening of Sunday the 8th of October, 1769, accompanied by Solander and Banks. It may be satisfactory to those engaged in the colonization of New Zealand, or other islands of the Pacific, to know that they are fulfilling the intentions of his Majesty George the Third, as will appear from the following extract from the instructions given to Captain Cook : —

"You are also, with the consent of the natives, -to take possession, in the name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such countries as you may discover, that have not already been discovered or visited by any, other European power; and to distribute among the inhabitants such things as will remain as traces and testimonies of your having been there; but if you find the countries so discovered are uninhabited, you are to take possession of them for his Majesty, by setting up proper marks and inscriptions as first discoverers and possessors."

In pursuance of these instructions, Captain Cook having circumnavigated, and surveyed both islands, which had formerly been deemed part of the great Terra Australis Incognita, and passed through the Straits which bear his name, landed on various points in both islands, and with the usual solemnities took possession of them on behalf of the King of Great Britain; and thus, according to the received law of nations, established a claim to the sovereignty as against all foreign power.

Surface Renderings

In this article Revans gives an historical account of the discovery of New Zealand by Europe. He outlines briefly the European 'discoveries', the naming of New Zealand and the claims of the British Monarchy to New Zealand by right of discovery.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Sovereign Authority

While the author does qualify the parameters of his historical interests, in that he identifies the ‘Colonization of New Zealand’, as of specific concern, the history of New Zealand nonetheless is orientated from this point. His exclusive attention to European ‘discovery’ works to elide the country’s pre-European past and render it as of little consequence. The primacy of Europe’s engagement with New Zealand is illustrated here, signifying the foundation upon which the islands are forthwith to be understood. Thus the chronological orientation of New Zealand is set at European contact, rendering the period ‘before’ discovery a political, social, geographic and cultural nullity. New Zealand’s indigenous peoples and their relationship with the land pales in significance compared with these seminal moments of incursion. The land is rendered formless and void before ‘discovery’, while upon discovery the islands and her people manifest themselves, are given time, space, and appearance. The much-heralded months September 1642 and October 1769 position New Zealand in a knowable chronological continuum. Time in New Zealand is fixed at these points. Just as the Christian world orients itself chronologically around the birth of Jesus Christ (LeGoff, 2005, p. 24), New Zealand is similarly periodized and ordered in relation to these determining events of sighting and circumnavigation. The geographical space is also given definition with names that recognise the primacy of Europe’s penetration into the Pacific. In the before New Zealand, as it came to be hailed, was an unintelligible and unknowable space before the islands were assigned identities that agreed with a context familiar to the European. The names of notable Europeans are hailed and collocated with the land as if they were the ones to call her into being from New Zealand’s murky insignificance. Juan Fernandez, Captain Cook, Abel Tasman are the heroes who discovered her and thereby deserve the kind of recognition that becomes embedded in the landscape and seascape. They are credited with making New Zealand knowable to the world, they exposed and laid her bare to Europe as if the world was Europe and New Zealand was not the world. Thus, in these first sentences, in this first newspaper, the place at which New Zealand begins is made apparent to the reader. All that was before is rendered meaningless and is subordinated to one perspective alone. Lost in

this account are centuries of social, religious, political, economic, and religious activity and context. Indeed Ashcroft (2001) posits:

The way in which the West has perceived vision and spatiality since classical times, its 'ocularcentrism' as Martin Jay (1993) puts it, its habit of objectivism, the revolutionary development of modern mapping, the discovery of longitude, the establishment of Greenwich Mean Time, the emergence of the discipline of geography, in short, 'the whole gamut of European ways of constructing space and place comes into operation including the separation of the space and time and the 'disembedding' of local communities from their sense of lived place. (p. 125)

The only humans in sharp relief in this account are the Europeans. The indigenes are rendered shadows upon the land, indefinite, amorphous beings, unknown and disconnected.

Upon these 'discoveries', the habitation of a people (in this case New Zealand) is surrendered to the King of Great Britain. The reader is thus assured that, in colonizing New Zealand, the colonists are 'fulfilling the intentions of His Majesty George the Third'. Thus New Zealand is spoken into being with authority, as a space belonging to England, and as such is fit to be a habitable abode for her subjects. The colonists may be further comforted to know that even Captain Cook "in pursuance of these instructions" was sanctioned by the Crown as he, "according to the received law of nations, established a claim to the sovereignty as against all foreign power". Central to this remarkable act of presumption is the motivating sense of British superiority and entitlement. Wilson (2004) suggests that Evangelical Protestantism and its complicity with scientific thinking:

Secured to the English and, secondarily the British, the assuredness of their own entitlement, superiority, pulchritude and difference. The English sense of cultural distinctiveness as well as British conceptions of the national destiny relied heavily on this inheritance, facilitating the English nation's ascendancy in the British isles and beyond. (2004, p. 181)

Thus, the future of New Zealand is shaped by a resilient absence of doubt in the privilege and right of England to first name, then claim the world.

However, this presumption is not without theatrical benevolence. The author recites the King's instruction to Captain Cook to "take possession" with the proviso that this be done: "with the consent of the natives". This moment of apparent thoughtful consideration is

undermined by the sheer impossibility of one nation taking possession of another by virtue of an act of consent. History's silence on the prospect attests to the vacuity of the proposition. The possibility of a nation of people with the capacity to consider and weigh the idea of universally relinquishing sovereignty, with all of its implications, is wedded too tenuously to the act of 'taking possession' and must, as a consequence, admit doubt. It would appear therefore that the Crown was speaking in metaphorical echo chamber rapturing at the sound of its own humanitarian pretence. The systematic deployment of the language of benevolence in order to neutralize and narcotise outbursts of conscience and defiance from within and from without is characteristic of this relationship between native and white man in New Zealand

This is not to say that these renderings and positionings happened consequent to contact. These are ways of seeing that world that precede England's colonial aspirations in New Zealand. As was mentioned above, England's intense and uncompromising sense of supremacy occurs as a combination of religious pretensions suffused with imperial aspirations.

Constituting 'Othered' Identities

Fernandez reaches "a country inhabited by a people of a light complexion, clothed in a kind of linen, who treated him hospitably". Thus the native is given an appearance but this appearance is limited to what the beholder is willing or interested in seeing. Firstly, the hue of the skin is noted and is of central concern. The natives are visually probed, with European whiteness as the point of reference. In this case, however, the colour of the beholder is not explicated; the colour of Fernandez is disavowed in this singular visual transaction. Rather, the account of a light complexion takes its significance not in relation to the observer but in relation to blackness. As the natives, the Indians or the Aborigines are encountered by the European, they are organised into an optical spectrum where each position from light to dark is given a fixed value upon which the nature of the white European's relationship with the Other might be calculated. Thus the primacy of skin colour in the account suggests a specific interest in the physicality of the Other as if his or her appearance is central both to the initial and succeeding encounters.

Not only is the clothing seen by the observer in relation to the known, (the inhabitants were “clothed in a kind of linen” cloth), the success of the encounter is measured upon the hospitality of the natives toward Fernandez “who treated him kindly”. The axes upon which these assessments are made, by the European of the native, are therefore primarily European. These encounters are characterised primarily by their one-sidedness, as if the native is incapable of speaking back to the European. The native shows hospitality and generosity, while the observer is once again central to, yet invisible, in this moment. His treatment of the native passes without reflection or consideration. As he consumes the Other he is incognisant of his role as consumer but fixes his attention solely upon that which is external to him yet is centering him in his own certainty. However, this traffic of media information serves principally to shape and give definition to the beholder’s identity as the Other’s strangeness brings the European ‘normalness’ into sharp relief.

Summary

This text primarily works to re-orient New Zealand so that it is rendered knowable by Europeans, first by discovery and then by possession. Instantiating the land with notions of European voyaging exploits works at the level of ideology to domesticate the unknown, and to render it possible for acquisition. These mythologies of conquest further invent, for the Victorian audience, ways of sharing values, expectations, heroics and morals. New Zealand is thus appropriated on twin levels, firstly as a geographical space, and secondly as a mythical space in which Europeans might revel in their superiority.

Article Two

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 18 April 1840, p.2

The Council therefore proceeded to consider the situation of the Colonists, in relation to the question of Sovereignty. Although willing to admit in the fullest extent the power and the right of the English Government to exercise Sovereignty within the Islands of New Zealand, whenever it may please the Legislature of England to assert that right, yet it appeared to the Council, that under the recent proclamations of the Governor of New South Wales, the English Government had formally disclaimed the existence of any right of Sovereignty in the Crown of England, and had in the amplest manner recognised the independent Sovereignty of the native Chiefs of the Island. As that proclamation contains a reference to the acquisition by purchase of the sovereign rights of the Chiefs, the Council believe and hope, that, ere long, the authority of the English Crown will be established in this place. That authority does not, however, exist at the present moment. On the contrary, the Government of England has recognised every petty tribe in New Zealand as an independent foreign power, and has by implication asserted the right of the Chiefs to exercise authority over every person residing within their territories, according to the laws, or rather customs, of the tribe. Every act of Government therefore within the Colony, whether legislative or executive, must derive its validity from the assent, express or implied, of the principal Chiefs of the district. And every act of government thus sanctioned, must be recognised as valid by the Government of England and every civilized Government. The Council being satisfied of the correctness of this view, deemed it their first duty to obtain from the Chiefs of this district, a ratification of the contract of government, signed in England by the Colonists. And as that contract was of necessity incomplete, inasmuch as its framers were unable to foresee the precise circumstances in which the Colonists would be placed in New Zealand, it was needful that the ratification should enlarge and modify the powers conferred by the original instrument. It further appeared incumbent upon the Council to secure to the Colonists the enjoyment of the laws of England, and that self-government by means of representatives chosen by the people, which is the birthright of every Englishman. So that whenever Great Britain shall acknowledge this Colony as one of its dependencies, there may be nothing which requires alteration; and in the mean time the Colonists may enjoy the laws to which they have been accustomed, and the liberties to which as Englishmen they are entitled, and may provide by their representatives for the peace, order, and prosperity of the community. In the modifications introduced into the original contract of government, the Council have endeavoured to secure the responsibility of the Government to the body of the Colonists, by making the Council subject to re-election at an early period ; to secure to the natives fair and equal treatment, by investing them with the same rights as the other inhabitants with the single exception of the right of voting at elections, which has been deferred for a period sufficiently long to fit them for its exercise, to guard against any improper use of the Sovereignty recognised by the English Government as existing in the Chiefs, either from ignorance or from the incitement of designing or turbulent Europeans, by providing that they shall not perform any act of Sovereignty except through the instrumentality of the Council ; and to obtain for the Colonists the amplest powers of administering their own affairs, by investing the President and the Council with full legislative and executive powers. To the proposed ratification, the principal Chiefs of the district have given their fullest assent, and it now consequently forms the law of the colony. It will remain such at least until this Colony shall be united with the British Empire and the Council trust that even then it will continue to exist, subject only to the necessary alterations which such an union would involve. The

Council, therefore, in submitting it to the Colony, confidently rely upon the concurrence and support of the Colonists. It has always been, the boast of Englishmen, that their habits of obedience to the law, and respect for the rights of others, qualify them for the enjoyment of free institutions. Those habits -have been, with very few exceptions,- signally displayed in the short period that has elapsed since the foundation of the Colony, and the Council doubt not that they will continue to be manifested. By order of the Council, SAMUEL REVANS, Secretary

Surface Renderings

As was mentioned above the central concern of this article is one of Sovereignty. Revan's argues that the "recent proclamations of the Governor of New South Wales" does nothing other than disclaim "the existence of any right of sovereignty in the Crown of England". Rather his proclamations "had in the amplest manner recognised the independent Sovereignty of the native Chiefs of the Islands".⁷

He argues that all governments have a legal obligation to recognise the independence of the Chiefs of the tribes and that the tribes should, as a result, be considered as independent foreign powers. Furthermore, according to the logic of these proclamations the authority of the chiefs may be exercised over all, including Her Majesty's subjects. In response to this legal ambiguity the Council of the New Zealand Company announce in this article that they have had their own private 'contract of government' (or constitution), which was signed by the colonists before their arrival in New Zealand, ratified by the local chiefs (notwithstanding that this so-called constitution had been rendered illegal by the colonial office (Burns, 1980 p. 152)). Thus they imagine themselves in a position to exert authority in the colony inasmuch as the colony has been afforded this by the agreement of the Sovereign chiefs. In addition this article announces here that, inasmuch as the Chiefs have ratified a system of self-government in the colony, this now puts the New Zealand Company above the authority of the Crown. The authors of this 'constitution' further symbolically throw down the gauntlet at the English government by suggesting that, should the English government have any concerns with this state of affairs it is only because they have clumsily recognised sovereignty as 'existing in the chiefs' and the New Zealand Company Committee are doing what they, as a result, are legally entitled to do.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting 'Sovereign' Authority

Of particular interest in the article is the presumption that declarations, debates and discussions regarding sovereignty may take place in the absence of a native voice. Thus, the Council takes it upon itself to consider “the situation of the Colonists in relation to the question of Sovereignty”. The Council places the colonists at centre of this debate and considers its own interests pre-eminent in the question. Thus according to this author, the question of sovereignty does not admit or recognise the possibility that the consent of the Chiefs is critical to this debate. Rather, the article works to position this dispute out of native reach so that the question of sovereignty is configured around only two parties, the Company and the Crown. The native is therefore rendered invisible in this transaction. The important political questions that this argument appears to address thus disavow the presence of an interest outside of the white combatants. The impertinence of the article is evident in the exclusions and boundaries that are placed around who may be admitted and engaged in the act of speech. The author symbolically reproduces a distal relationship with the Other through this omission. Thus the inequality of the native group is discursively reproduced through this act of disavowal, lending the dominant white group advantage in future political discussions. As the discourse of one debate is threaded into the next, so too is the silence of the Other, so that the organizational politics of this colonial incursion may proceed under the affectation of native non-existence.

While the native Chiefs are represented in this article as those in whom has been “recognised the independent Sovereignty” of the islands, their presence in the editorial is more to demonstrate the improbability of this notion than its material reality. The author writes the native Chiefs into this debate as if their right to sovereignty is both implausible, and the outcome of an ill-considered legal blunder. Rather than a working as declaration of support for native authority, when he states that “the Government of England has recognised every petty tribe in New Zealand as an independent foreign power” the writer’s intention appears to be aimed at undermining the presence and the

authority of the Crown by positioning this not as a political expedience but rather as a political irony. The intention appears to highlight dramatically the incompetence of the Crown Colony Governors in unwittingly placing England and her subjects in a position where they are, by an act of English political authority, brought under subjection to native Chiefs. If the logic of the author's argument is to be followed, as a result of the Crown statutory bungling, all residing in New Zealand (including the representatives of the Crown) are to be subject to the "customs" of the "petty tribes" and the Crown will be obligated to gain assent and validity from the "principal chiefs of the district". This is anathema to the aspirations of the author who advocates for a situation that "secures to the Colonists the enjoyment of the laws of England" and further that "the Colonists may enjoy the laws to which they have been accustomed". However, while the writer yearns for the "authority of the English Crown (to be) established in this place", he uses the Crown's own declaration of the sovereign rights of the chiefs to suggest that the Port Nicholson colony is not obligated to comply with the Proclamation.

This article works to render the possibility of the exercise of native Sovereignty as almost comedic. That any Englishman should be subject to the political, cultural and legal influence of a native is understood here as inconceivable. Rather, a contemplation of the ramifications of the exercise of native Sovereignty serves as a warning to the Crown that their obligation is to modify the exercise of their authority unequivocally so that it falls squarely in favour of the colonists.

Furthermore this article indicates a profound reluctance for the 'private colonist' to be obligated by Crown law to offer the native equivalency with the European in their rights. Rather the author suggests that the colonists can be entrusted to ensure that the natives will enjoy 'fair and equal treatment' without the necessity of public proclamations. The author assures his audience that the Port Nicholson Council have committed to "investing them with the same rights as the other inhabitants of the colony". Notwithstanding that these rights do not extend to the right to vote at elections and that their sovereignty cannot be exercised "except through the instrumentality of the Council". Thus the humanitarianism of the colonist is both ideologically secured and even materially realised in the "fullest

assent” of the principal Chiefs of the district. The political currency, which comes from a partial recognition of rights, is further augmented by a proposed organizational model that works to institutionalize this coercive relationship between the colonists and the natives. Thus, embedded in this proposed scheme for managing the colony’s ‘race relations’, is the provision of limited native rights. The disproportionate administration of these rights is essential as they function to assure the colonist that their activities are benevolent rather than expropriative. The fragmentary nature of these ‘fair and equal’ rights is necessary inasmuch as the balance of the power must always be in favour of the colonist.

Summary

This article works under the declared presumption that sovereignty is a wholly white concern and preoccupation and does not admit native resistance. Whether the British Crown or the New Zealand Company, the argument is not about wresting sovereign rights away from the native, which has already been assumed. Thus this article works to normalize the power impoverishment of the native, to take it foregranted as a fait accompli and to relocate any power struggles within an intra-group narrative. The discursive formation here is clearly one of sovereignty but it is significant to see the sovereignty question is deftly repositioned to one that involves only the white British colonists.

Article Three

New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Island's Gazette, 6 August 1840,
p.2

Since our last publication we have read Sir George Gipp's speech in answer to Mr. Wentworth, in the Colonist of the 11th July. The Combatants on both sides of the question are giants in legal argument. We certainly admire both speeches opposed as they are to each other, for their tact and research. However, the question debated is of too much importance to allow much opportunity for admiration. We cannot say whether we should have felt inclined to enter on the arena, if one most momentous view of the case had not been nearly overlooked by all parties. The grand defect on the side of Mr. Wentworth is, that he must be regarded as reasoning in protection of his own interests. The mere fact that he assumes to own twenty millions of acres of land in this country neutralizes in the view of the Legislative Council almost the entire effect of his eloquence. We wish that principle may determine the question.

The view of the case which we think has been nearly overlooked is the moral one, and in taking up this we must contend that we have by far the strongest ground. We admit that on the European side actual law if there be any will principally decide the affair, although we still doubt whether a law must not be made in England expressly for the purpose. Everyone will, however, see that the real question which must be determined is whether the natives had and whether they were the only persons who had a proprietary right in the soil prior to the settlement of Europeans here? On the right answer to this question will depend entirely the equitable arrangement of present disputes. But this question is of vast consequence to the interests of moral equity and philanthropy independently of its connexion with European rights. It is then in reference to this view of the case that we have felt it incumbent upon us to take the matter up.

We fully believe that wherever Englishman go they are accountable for their conduct and that the Constitution they acknowledge has a right to exercise authority over them. We most decidedly maintain that they cannot do anything which implies the assumption of sovereignty without places themselves in a state of independence of and opposition to the claims of the British Constitution on them. To possess property however is one thing, to become sovereigns of a territory is another. If to colonize is merely to possess landed property in a foreign state, and to cultivate it we believe there is no principle of the British Constitution violated by their so doing. But it to "Colonize" implies the establishment of laws which inflict personal punishment or exact in any way affect liberty or property – all which can be done legitimately only in the name of sovereign authority – then we fully acknowledge that a decided breach of allegiance has been committed. Now, it appears to us that in the legislative movements on this subject there is a very strong tendency to mingle these two points, which so essentially differ. If Englishmen merely hold land in New Zealand, we cannot see that there has been any breach of English Law in their doing provided the natives had a right to sell, and provided also they have not been defrauded; and an express law must be passed England to condemn or to punish their conduct, before they can be ever legally dispossessed.

Had, then the natives a right to sell? His Excellency Sir George Gipps declares they had not. His words are-"He had always thought it universally acknowledged that until savages had

rendered the soil of their country productive by cultivation for the uses of man, they could not possess any individual property in that country and possessing one themselves, could not of course give such property to others.” – This amounts to syllogism, the conclusion of which we fully admit, if the premises are correct, and these must be carefully examined.

There are two grounds on which the native right in the soil is denied at Sydney – the one, that the country belongs to Great Britain – the other as above, that where there is no cultivation there is no proper and legislative possession.

In examining the former of these grounds, it is to be considered how and where the country came into the hands of Great Britain. At Sydney it appears to be contended, that the whole of the Islands are claimed on the ground of discovery. But they are not so, if we understand the Proclamation in the “Gazette Extraordinary” and in our second Number, aright. The Northern Island is claimed by cession from the natives. This, we apprehend applies chiefly to the sovereignty. The land is to be purchased for the Crown. Now surely, all this necessary implies an acknowledgement on the part of the British Ministers, that the Crown had neither authority nor possession here, which could affect the native right, till the act of cession took place. The gift of a flag to the natives may be regarded altogether as a corroboratory circumstance. The land, then, of this Northern Island, was entirely in the hands of the Aborigines, and to whom else could it belong?

Let it be remembered still, that we are taking the view of this case which morality dictates, and then let us be permitted to say, that we do not conceive the right of discovery (any more than that of conquest –another word for robbery) to rest with regard to the natives, on any equitable foundation. Discovery may give one Nation a priority of claim to another, but it cannot establish an absolute claim where there are aboriginal inhabitants. It belongs to them, and to them only. If by mutual wars, or any cause they become extinct, the first discoverer may equitably take possession but we cannot conceive how it can be done otherwise. In our view it is a case so clear, that it scarcely admits reasoning.

The law of equity makes no difference in the moral rights of civilized and uncivilized men. The capacity of possession, even in English law, the rule of right and everyone is deemed so capable who is not either morally excluded by crime, or physically by insanity. Ignorance is nothing. Why should it not be so in the case of Aborigines? Be it that some of them are debased in every conceivable form. Their right to that which God has given them must not be questioned on this account by any nation more wise, more organized, or more powerful than they.

As to the ground on which this right is denied, we feel not a little surprised that in this day of enlightenment, a politician should even have uttered it. The natives do not cultivate the land – therefore any other Nation may come and take the proprietorship of it away. Might not the midnight robber say precisely the same thing of the hoarded gold of the miser? – We know not where the limit will be, if such a rule as this be adopted. In fact we are too well aware, that it has been under the cover as some such principle as this, that almost wherever European colonization has been extended, the native races have been deprived of subsistence and exterminated.

But who is to decide in what cases the natives have so cultivated as to secure their title? And what is it which constitutes cultivation? If the natives subsist on the natural animal and vegetable productions of the soil, is it not the same thing in effect to all intents and purposes, as if they dug or ploughed? The degree of labor they bestow on their ground is at their own

disposal. If the ground supports them it is necessary to them, and being necessary it constitutes a legitimate article of property which cannot be denied them without injury. These observations apply to the Aborigines of every country; but with regard to the New Zealanders it is to be remarked that they have cultivated land for years back, to an extent, sufficient not only for their personal maintenance, but even for the purposes of commerce. That they have not brought all the capabilities of the soil into requisition is of no consequence to the argument.

On the whole we are fully convinced that this doctrine is utterly incompatible with the natural rights of man. It appears to us too, that the rule of duty between man and man, is the very same which is incumbent on one community in relation to another. As to precedent it is nothing; it has not an atom of right in the moral consideration of the master. We know how European nations have acted, how, even in many ...England has acted heretofore. Alas, if precedent is to be the rule, every species of injustice will be perpetrated afresh. But no, a re-perusal of the Marquis of Normanby's instructions has fully convinced us that her Majesty's ministers have not, in this instance, authorized the adoption of the principles we have combated.

Surface Renderings

Speaking in the first person, as he reflects upon a legal argument between two public figures - George Gipps (Governor of New South Wales) and William Wentworth (businessman, speculator and politician), Quaife considers the debate between the two which reveals conflicting opinions regarding the relationship between European colonizers and native lands. The nature of this argument between the *combatants* (upon which he is cogitating) appears to be highly legalistic and centered around the idea of land title, and how land acquisitions can be made in light of the British Constitution. Quaife initially questions the ethical weight of Wentworth's argument because of his highly publicized pecuniary interests in a purportedly questionable New Zealand land purchase involving twenty million acres. However, Quaife's major interest is with regards to what he considers to be the *moral case*.

He ponders upon the question of whether or not natives had a proprietary right to the soil before the arrival of the Europeans. Quaife, however, reorients this subject to focus on questions of equity and philanthropy. Quaife's argument has two parts. Firstly, he deals with the complex argument surrounding the rights of the British to habitation of land in non-British regions. He gives definition to the argument by differentiating between two points, which he suggests are often confused; one being the question of an Englishman's right to possession of foreign property and the other being the question of an Englishman's

right to sovereignty in a foreign territory. He suggests that there is no constitutional violation in the possession of foreign territory, but that the right to colonize can only be done in the name of a sovereign authority and that that authority can only be established lawfully. This would appear to be a criticism of the New Zealand Company and other schemes which, independent of a sovereign authority, sought to colonize New Zealand and to dispossess the aboriginal inhabitants of land.

The second point to which Quaife addresses himself is in reference to the native right to sell land. Gipps, he indicates, does not give validity to the native sale of land on two premises. Firstly that unless natives cultivate their land and make it productive, they ought to have no recognition of title. Secondly, that the natives have no right to the land because it belongs to Great Britain as substantiated in the treaty of cession signed at Waitangi. Sydney claims the Northern Island as a British colony both by right of discovery and also by cession.

At the heart of this article lie three major concerns. Firstly, how to assert sovereignty, and to achieve legal deference and social agreement for the organization of the fledgling colony; secondly, how to acquire the material resources from Māori with a minimum of effort or expenditure; thirdly, how to win moral and cultural superiority. While Quaife argues from a more liberal platform he introduces (albeit obliquely) the two other positions (no less potent) that are representative of both private interests, and the Crown, respectively. The economic, legal, social, cultural and political orientation - of Church, government and the private sector - collide in this editorial with respect to the appropriation of native lands.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting 'Legal' Authority

In this article the efficacy of English law remains unquestioned. Although Quaife is providing a commentary on a legal argument, he doesn't at any stage afford a criticism of the legal system or any supposition that the legal system might either be flawed or even inappropriate as a colonial export. While Quaife speaks with great empathy on behalf of

the 'Aborigines' and their rights to the soil, he positions his argument within a legalistic agenda which works to reproduce the common sense of universal morality.

Even though Quaife argues that the 'moral case' should have precedence in this argument, he also accepts that "on the European side actual law will principally decide the affair" and that eventually a law should be made "expressly for that purpose". The idea of a moral case, which admits that another party in this legal transaction requires a recognition of rights, is therefore undermined by an appeal to the authority of English law. Notions that another paradigm for understanding the land in an 'aborigine' context, such as native law and customary law, are subordinated to a consideration of the case entirely within a context that reproduces the universal efficacy of British law.

Quaife further accepts that the process of colonization may be legitimated upon the sanction of a sovereign authority. He also admits that a by-product of colonization is the "establishment of laws which inflict personal punishment" which may affect "liberty or property". Thus colonization as both a cultural practice and a legally constituted arrangement belonging, in this case to the British, remains unchallenged. Yet he holds a position on native rights which admits that the right of discovery "cannot establish an absolute claim where there are aboriginal inhabitants, it belongs to them and them alone". Furthermore he argues that the Crown does not have "authority nor possession here which could affect the native right, till the act of cession took place". Thus Quaife speaks for the native right but does so from a position that does not also acknowledge that a claim to the establishment of British sovereignty in places other than the Britain (by whatever means) is, according to his 'moral case', illegitimate. Rather Quaife's argument straddles a breach between a deep criticism of the actions of the British in the colonies where "the native races have been deprived of subsistence and exterminated" and a way of understanding the case as one that must engage questions of legality from an entirely British position. The excesses of British cultural practice must therefore be arrested by an appeal to English law. His argument, however enlightened, does not in any way admit the possibility of the British being subject to native law.

Constituting ‘Othered’ Identities

Quaife’s humanitarianism is thus undermined by his position that the common good be pursued by means of British law. He speaks for natives as if they must be spoken for, as if the efficacy of British law admitting native rights would alleviate their situation. Natives are positioned as voiceless in this legal transaction. They exist as a subject, they are present and are even afforded rights, yet they do not exist as even participants in the argument between Wentworth and Gipps, nor in the missive directed at the latter by Quaife himself. They are positioned by the author as a problematic group who face the elision of their property rights by virtue of the presence of the British. However, the British must decide what should become of this problematic group. How will the law protect them? How will their rights be upheld in law? Once again, even in the giving is the taking. Even as Quaife admits the crisis of colonization he nonetheless understands the natives as a group who must be spoken for and thus deprives them of their rights of participation, their sovereignty, and their place in New Zealand as one deeply entrenched and established with an existing political, economic and social leadership, authority, law and power.

Quaife is furthermore presumptive in deciding the question or problem that needs to be addressed. The question here is one which addresses the issue of native land rights; more specifically, ‘Do natives have rights to the soil? And, can the British be justified in extinguishing those rights?’ In deciding the question Quaife exerts discursive authority by reproducing the idea of a group which is subject to the outcome of legal questions in which it, as the subject, can exert no authority, control or power of decision-making and play no part in the question except as the subject. Thus, the question has been decided for the natives without their being engaged in its construction, in any way whatsoever. In so doing, the native is rendered as merely an aboriginal inhabitant, where a question hangs over the possibility of rights, but these possible rights exist only in relation to the soil and are only considered from the point of view of the colonizer. Alternatively, the question might have been; ‘What right *according to native law* do we, as British, have to deliberate upon the rights of the native?’ However, the presumption of whiteness is evident here in that the question, which includes a description of both the subject and the problem, is framed to evoke possibilities without the prospect of relinquishing any authority.

Constituting Political Relations

At the same time Quaife's argument admits the possibility of 'Europe's' excesses and mistakes in relation to the practice of colonization; "if precedent is to be the rule, every species of injustice will be perpetrated afresh". He discourses from the position that the moral obligation of one nation toward another is to accord Others with the "natural rights of man" because as a commentator he is all too aware of "how European nations have acted, how ... England has acted heretofore". England's political practice in relation to colonization, he concedes, is flawed and a humanitarian approach needs to be considered which admits due recognition as to the law of equity, which, he offers, "makes no difference in the moral rights of civilized and uncivilized men". In terms of the native right to the soil, he questions Gipps' argument that natives be afforded recognition of title only where land has been improved by cultivation. Rather he asks, "Who is to decide in what cases the native have so cultivated as to secure their title?"

Unfortunately, while Quaife argues for a reconsideration of the terms of reference delivered by Normanby, what he does do is to reinforce the thought that the manner in which Britain's relations with the Aborigines should be conducted, must be dictated by a political philosophy originating from the Colonial Office in London. Rather than admit that perhaps this relationship ought to be managed, controlled and dictated upon native terms, Quaife's default position is that Britain's interests abroad, whether philosophical or material, ought to be governed by, unpinned with, and derived from a European epistemology. Although liberal, and 'humanitarian', and even though his position appeared enlightened and equitable, the ideological stream did not run in two directions. Quaife was yet another Briton whose views came from elsewhere, and were designated as an 'approach' which would not so much manage relations between the Europeans and the Other, but rather, would institutionalize an approach by the Europeans toward the Other.

Constituting 'Moral' Authority

In this editorial Quaife differentiates between two discrete and combative forces. Firstly, Gipps is positioned as one who represents a poor colonial administration, whose public policy in the colonies have created havoc among the Aborigines, and whose philosophical position is wanting by virtue of its lack of equity and humanitarianism. He appears to

argue that the representatives of the Crown in the colonies do not epitomize the standards set by the more progressive public servants and officials (“we feel not a little surprised that in this day of enlightenment, a politician should even have uttered it”) - even in the Colonial Office itself. Secondly, he mentions, albeit briefly, W.C. Wenworth, an entrepreneur and speculator whose opinions are not considered valuable inasmuch his pecuniary interests in New Zealand render his political position too full of self-interest. Quaife’s argument is with the former and in his discourse he uses the moral case to underpin his objections to the Sydney legislature.

What he does not question nor explicate exactly is that which actually constitutes morality. How is morality decided? Quaife’s argument is that morality is constituted in the act of allowing all beings the same rights of land ownership. He argues that no one has the right to extinguish those rights and that Britain’s dealings in the colonies must be underscored with a more charitable orientation. The article therefore takes as its base a position which is indicative of one who works from a place of moral authority. In the article morality is not explained as it is universal and once enlightened requires little in the way of explanation. However enlightened, the idea of one nation, culture or person presupposing that they possess a monopoly on universal principles is problematic so that while he proposes that the English recognize that Other humans have rights, he does so from a position of supremacy. The world has been hefted and weighed and found wanting. While his position admits the possibility of equity, at the same time Quaife is at pains to point out the flaws of the native. He prefaces each of these evaluations with an implied ‘just because they are...’, ‘even though they might be...’ they must still be given rights and no one is justified in extinguishing those rights. According to Quaife the aborigine is uncivilized while the English are civilized and while “some of them are debased in every conceivable form” the English are “more wise, more organized or more powerful than they”. Once again it appears that Quaife, despite his more equitable ideological position and his advancing a less destructive approach to the native, is at the same time negating the possibility of an even exchange between colonized and colonizer because he already has the answers. Thus, once again he takes, even in the giving. Whiteness is seen here as determining ownership and deciding rights without deference to the aspirations of the

native. This transaction regarding natives appears to be a moment of intra group communication, where white folk speak to themselves and assure themselves of their righteous predilections, where their only concern is in reassuring themselves, or giving voice to an intrinsic need to practise their truly Christian orientation. However, this sense of racial or even national superiority does not appear to admit New Testament Christianity, where notions of political superiority are subordinated to the interests of a common humanity. Rather this kind of charity is soft charity that will possibly offset the greater excesses of colonization, but in a monolithic and condescending way.

Summary

While at the surface, the article appears to consider deeply the larger questions regarding the efficacy of colonisation and to criticise its excesses, it does, at the same time, work from a paradigm which assumes the universality of a British Administration and its unquestioned application to the question of New Zealand. Solutions for the outcomes of the cultural, political, social and economic collision between colonizer and colonized are at the same time addressed but considered from a position that does not admit the possibility of anything but a wholly European approach to the legal difficulties in their political conceptualising. Thus, this article will be categorized as sovereignty discourse. However, it works at the same time with the discourse of paternalism (which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six) to assure the reader that the author is working within the best interests of the native. Quaipe's affectations of benevolence work to camouflage his presumptions - that the only ideological position from which these sovereignty debates might be considered is the imperial position.

Article Four

New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Island's Gazette, 12 November 1840, p. 3

We are continually hearing, and that from quarters the most respectable that the Natives are expressing their determination to sell no land to the Government, in the event of the present Act being persisted in, and of restoring themselves all lands taken from European possessors who have purchased the same from them. This is the direct consequence of the proceeding of the Sydney Legislature, and thus they have endangered the very existence of a British Colony here. How will they answer for it to the Home Government?

Surface Renderings

This editorial expresses indignation at the Land Claims Ordinance passed in the Sydney Legislature in August that same year. The Editor (Barzillai Quaipe) reports that, according to his sources, the natives are expressing their resistance to the sale of Land to the Government. He also reports that the natives are claiming back land previously sold to Europeans and appropriated by the Government under their newly formed Lands Commission. He blames the passing of the Act for the outrage and, no fan of George Gipps anyway, suggests that the Home Government will be similarly outraged and as a result the continued existence of a Colony in New Zealand is threatened.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Economic Relations

While at the surface this article suggests that the natives and the settlers are similarly incensed that their sales and purchasing activities have been curtailed, the central concern of the editor, in criticizing the actions of the Colonial legislature, is the effect that this has upon the settler community in New Zealand. Thus, the apparent veto on the sale of native land to the government is of particular concern, not because of the political interests of the natives, but because of the impact this has upon the European population. Indeed the political interests of the natives are effaced in this report as the effects of the Act upon the colonists' property aspirations are given central consideration. Of central interest here is the way in which the native is reported as a subject whose actions are of particular interest to the European inasmuch as they can be interpreted as either agreeing with, or being oppositional to, the interests of the colonists. Native action is thus given a context and

offered a meaning only inasmuch as it comes out of a context of concern generated by the settler population.

Constituting Political Authority

All the while, native political assertions that have resulted in this apparent intransigence have been rendered silent. The native has no politics outside of the interests and concerns of the settler. In this moment of apparent collaboration, the native is appropriated and inserted into this narrative only in an effort to demonstrate colonial political aspirations. Thus, the European is placed at the centre of this native concern, and the native is made knowable only through this collocation with the interests of the colonists. It would appear then that the conclusion of the author is that White political authorities are primarily responsible for the difficulties of settlers in obtaining land. Given that the actions of the legislature have created difficulties for the colonists, the expectation of the author is that Legislative actions need to reflect the ambitions and aspirations of the settler. Because the native is given scant consideration, it would appear that the author expects the default position of any political authority be in favour of white interests. In this calculation it would appear that the assumption of the author is that, regardless of native political aspirations (which are not given adequate explication in the article), the native would need to be subject to the authority of the colonial governmental authority as long as this agrees with aspirations of white folk.

Summary

The central concern of the above article is with orienting the political situation in New Zealand around the aspirations of the white population. Native politics are effaced and the authority of the colonists takes precedence. Here is expressed outrage that in this instance the legislature got it wrong by trying to marry up their fiscal requirements and the interests of the natives, because in this calculation the interests of the settlers are not represented. Because this is primarily about the preferred orientation of the legislative authorities, this article will be classed as a sovereignty discourse. Once again however, we see the intertwining of paternalistic and humanitarian ideologies with the pursuit of sovereignty.

Article Five

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 27 February 1841, p.2

The committee appointed to superintend the various modes of preparing flax for export, which might be submitted to their examination, have, we understand, had one machine under consideration from which the most satisfactory results are anticipated. It is stated to be a machine which is in use in the manufacturing districts of England. The credit due to the gentleman who has submitted it to the committee, consists in having rendered the machine far less complex than that which is used at home. The machine can be made at from twelve to fifteen pounds — is easily transferable, and can be worked by manual, steam, water, or animal power. The article it can produce is estimated to be worth forty pounds per ton ; and the tow, or refuse flax, will pay the whole expense of the machine and its application. This is just the machine required, and will, when brought into use, immediately combine the labour of the native and the European. Its application is as important to the one as to the other race. The native works hard and willingly when engaged in pursuits to which he is not opposed. The services required from the natives in the application of this machine are such as he will yield readily for wages. They will consist of cutting and carrying the flax to the mill; to this rude and fatiguing labour the native is habituated, and performs readily and cheerfully. The labour connected with flax they dislike, is dressing it by their slow tedious process; and since the settlement of a large number of Europeans, they have been enabled to gratify their wants' by expending their labour in a less objectionable mode, the consequence of which has been found to be that they will no longer prepare flax — that it is impossible to induce them to produce a twentieth part of the quantity they used to prepare for export.

Surface Renderings

It appears that a Wellington committee had been investigating the possible acquisition of a machine, used in England for the purpose of flax preparation. The writer anticipates that the procurement of such technology will relieve both the native and the European of the greater burden of work involved in the traditional methods of scraping. He anticipates that the native will be favourably induced to labour in the flax industry because the work will require cutting and carrying without the arduous task of scraping. He also indicates that the natives have recently been more reticent about being contracted for such tasks due to the fact that they are able to secure, if desired, more acceptable employment elsewhere.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Economic Relations

In the early literature of New Zealand some concern as to the New Zealand native's suitability for European work was discussed. "Like all savages, in climates where, by little labour of cultivation, they can obtain food, they are naturally indolent" (Terry, 1842, p. 251).

However, the overriding concern during this early period was in considering the possibilities of the native as participants in the white British colonial economic endeavours as simply 'native labour'. The native, as a specifically identified racial group, is understood in this article only in relation to their willingness and skill in a particular kind of labour. The lack of specificity as to what kind of natives are, or might be, inclined to labour in the flax industry suggests that the native in general, or all working natives are considered by the author as fit for, and appropriate to work in this industry. Indeed Hursthouse (1857), in considering the economic prospects of New Zealand flax as an export product, remarked that:

It should be borne in mind that, of all branches of industry, this would probably be the one in which "native labour" would be the easiest obtainable, and the most effective; for the natives already understand the cultivation of the plant. Moreover, it would be grown on bush land, in the clearing of which they excel Europeans. (p. 134)

Thus, the native identity is constructed in relation to a particular occupation ascribed by the observer – that of a labourer. While elsewhere in the text the white men are variously described here as 'the committee' who superintend, and 'the gentleman' who is due credit for his suggestion, the native on the other hand is understood as an homogenous group, with little definition other than to understand that they (as a group known as the natives) are suitable employees for colonial economic endeavours. In fact Martin (1845) proclaimed the benefits of colonization because:

New Zealand has in its native population an advantage over any of the other Australian Colonies; for while all the Colonies are obliged to expend such vast

sums of money in the importation of labour, we are saved in a great measure from such expense, because of our native labour. (p.319)

Having been defined as merely 'labourers', the native is denied a place in the business hierarchy as anything other than a worker. The native is squarely situated in the economic pecking order with no admission of his/her presence at any other level. The native – as in the class or race of people, is written into the dialogue as a monolithic, one-dimensional entity offering a specific service for the white industrialists.

The author further assumes that the 'application' of the 'machine' is of great importance to the native. Furthermore, he imagines that the machine is equally significant to native and European alike and that, with its employ, the happy combination of the labour of both races will be engaged. In constituting both as equally benefiting from the use of the 'machine' the author constructs the native as mirroring the pleasure of the white British colonists as if its efficiencies will relieve him/her of a willing burden and will release both 'races' to participate in the more pleasurable aspects of flax working such as cutting and carrying. However, this observation is contradicted by the latter musing that the natives have already absented themselves from the preparatory phase of flax working and cannot be induced to this occupation, resulting in a significant downturn in export material. While blithely observing that the native has exercised his/her rights in a period of full employment, the author imagines that the native has a vested interest in labouring in the flax industry and will welcome the use of the machine so that they can be relieved of the more arduous aspects of the trade. While it might be that certain natives will welcome employment in the industry, if it doesn't involve preparation and the wages are sufficient, the author takes this a step further by imagining that the native has an emotional investment in working for white British colonists in the flax industry. He imagines that the native will take up the interests of the white British colonists and will match their enthusiasm. The idea that the native is emotionally wedded to white financial interests works to void indigenes of their economic self-determination. It constructs native labour as comfortably, happily, and without contradiction situated within the realm of white economic activity as if a natural and best fit. In this article the author imagines this to be a moment of benevolence - that the application of the machine will relieve the native of a laborious task and having been so

relieved will bound back to the industry with eagerness. Thus, native labour is constituted as dependant, willing and a natural appendage to colonial endeavours.

Summary

In this article native labour, work habits and proclivities are assessed in relation to the needs of the colonial flax industry. The author sees native labour as integral to the industry, yet dovetails the relationship by constructing this association in such a way that the native appears to be dependent upon the paternalistic performance of the white 'master', rather than acknowledging that the success of the industry is deeply dependant upon the exploitation of native employment. Native labour is constructed here as capricious but the author, an expert on native proclivities, reassures his white audience that through some partial accommodations on the part of the white British colonists, enthusiastic native labour is assured. However, the underlying work of this article is to subsume the ideological work of rationalising labour costs under the discursive work of ordering and naturalising labour relations in the hopes of a successful economic venture. Here the profit yield from those natural resources appropriated by the colonists belongs to the white British colonists, while the white generosity extends exclusively to offering labour opportunities to the natives. Once again, this article has paternalistic overtones, situating native involvement in the white British colonial economic endeavour as an advantage of civilization. However, its inclusion in this chapter as opposed to Chapter Six signals an overriding interest by the author in constituting a class and racial hierarchy through which the fiscal benefits of the white capitalist venture might be realised.

Article Six

***New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser, 5 August 1842,*
p. 2**

One thing, however, is certain, that the fate which has attended other races brought into contact with the English race, destruction or degradation, cannot be avoided without strenuous and persevering efforts, proportional to the nature of the case, and adapted to the varying occasions which may arise to require interference. No scheme, however sagacious, and apparently complete, can be trusted to work itself. No plan can be devised capable of universal and permanent application. There must be continuous agency and supervision, and ample power to modify the details of any measure, so as to adapt them to all the modified relations to which they will be applied. One great step has been made in this Colony—the practical recognition of the title of the natives to the soil. We say, the practical recognition, because, although in terms this right has been often, recognized in other places, this has been a mere barren and fruitless acknowledgment, mocking the aborigines with the forms of justice in order that they might be more securely and easily deprived of this property. But it will be equally needful here to make them understand that this property, which the law has, if not conferred, at least recognized in an ample extent, and with a far wider meaning than any of which they had a previous conception, is not an absolute and unqualified ownership, but that it must be held subject to the general interests of the Colony.

Surface Renderings

The author offers the reader some reassurance that in an effort to prevent the degradations suffered by natives of other colonies the colonial government has offset the possibility of such extremities by the “practical recognition of the title of the natives to the soil”. This, the author suggests, is a ‘great step’. Without explaining the difference, the author assures the audience that while the recognition of native title in other places has been motivated by the easy appropriation of native land, this is not the case in New Zealand. He is also clear that the recognition of native title does equate to “unqualified ownership” but rather, is subordinated to the “general interests of the Colony”.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Moral Authority

Eugene Garver (2004) argues that: “The goal of rhetorical argument is to make discourse ethical, making it civilized, not just methodical” (p. 111). In this article the author follows a rhetorical argument by delivering a judgement without the advantage of assurance or irrefutable proof (Tindale, 1999, p. 1). He imbues his dialogue with civility in order to assure his readers that the New Zealand colonial project will not be as previous English

imperial endeavours, which he notes have been the cause of notable losses and deficits for native peoples throughout the Empire. The New Zealand natives might not be alleviated from all perils, but the author advises that in order to ‘medify’ the situation, particular remedies need to be actioned in order to acclimate the natives to their changed circumstances. The colonist is constituted here as one whom, cognisant of the possible extremities facing the native and with careful consideration for all that the native must suffer, can consider himself innocent of the responsibilities for a potentially deleterious situation and is thus behaving ethically. The New Zealand colonial project, according to the author, must be humanely carried out with “strenuous and persevering efforts”. However, the author suggests few specific alterations in the affairs of the colonists beyond an explicit admission that colonisation has historically delivered awful consequences upon indigenous peoples, where they have been ‘destroyed and degraded’. In addition the author praises a recent move to recognise native title to the land. While he admits that this has been done elsewhere, he makes it clear that this was so in order to more easily alienate indigenous land. This, he suggests, is not the purpose in the New Zealand situation. Thus, by this admission the native is positioned here as the beneficiary of an institutional move to acquire native land. The native is to be initiated to the idea of native title and its benefits by first assuring the native that this recognition of title is not as it has been in previous colonial ventures and that it is not a move to “more securely and easily deprive of this property”. Yet, while at the same time shot through with a consciousness of the potential for disaster, the recognition of native title falls short of offering “unqualified ownership”. Rather, native title is offered “subject to the general interests of the Colony”.

The appearance in this article of two contradictory ideas suggests that the author is grappling with two incongruous aspirations which he is trying to reconcile, not through a cessation of the colonists’ marginalizing activities, but through a simple confession that alleviates the burden of guilt without adjusting the course of action. Thus, the colonists will continue with their course, but in admitting that colonization has heretofore delivered deeply problematic consequences for the native, the colonist enjoys a reprieve of conscience. In order to complete this most salient moment of remorse, the native must be apprised, according to the author, of the fact that this move to recognise native title, has a

“far wider meaning than any of which they had previous conception”. Simon and Smith (2001) argue that the appearance of this contradiction is no mistake, for in “bestowing benefits upon Māori” they were at the same time “concerned to establish British law and through that law secure social control and gain access to the land” (p. 251).

Yet in the same breath the author divests the native of any power and authority that might be assumed in the offer of native title. His appeal here is to the audience, who, anxious about their ability to acquire title for themselves, is assured that native title will be held without impeding the ambitions of the colonist.

The nature of this article would suggest that, early on in the New Zealand colonial venture, the media and its publics were grappling with some contradictory and ambiguous notions. On the one hand there is an admission of guilt, on the other a need to admit this guilt to the native and to convince the native of the innocence of this particular undertaking - but then, to continue the course. While the colonists in New Zealand may have arrived at a level of consciousness about their historically repressive activities elsewhere, this connection to their present activities is only partially made. This suggests that the New Zealand colonial endeavour would be one liberated from patterns of past exploitation not by a withdrawal of interest or by a significant alteration to the institutional and legal environment but rather the New Zealand colonial endeavour was to be distinguished from past projects by a simple declaration of difference.

Summary

At work in this article are two discursive formations - sovereignty and paternalism. Thus we see that the discourse of sovereignty in the New Zealand situation piggybacks on notions of humanitarianism by positioning the acquisitive activities of colonial government as within the interests of the indigenous peoples. This article links back to articles three, and five where the discourse of sovereignty is lubricated with overtones of paternalism. The proclivity for ensuring that the discourse of sovereignty is infused with civility works to footnote the discursive appropriation of indigenous resources with the pretext of munificence. While it could be argued that these articles might have a home in Chapter Six, the larger picture would be lost. These articles are foremost about the desire to assert

authority and to acquire native resources. Affirmations of goodwill hang on to these overriding concerns in order to make them more palatable in a climate ripe with humanitarian notions.

Article Seven

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 23 November 1842, p. 3

In a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Stanley, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, by S. M. D. Martin, M.D., President of the New Zealand Aborigines Protection Association, and LATELY A MAGISTRATE OF THE Colony.

The case of the immigrants was peculiarly distressing. After expending a great amount, of money in coming to New Zealand, they discovered on their arrival that they were not only prohibited from buying land from the natives of the country but also from European settlers whose titles were at this time declared to be invalid. They were moreover unable to procure lands from the Government inasmuch as the Government had none to sell, having not only neglected to make timely purchases from the native but having also the Surveyor-General and his staff travelling over the length and breadth of the country, seeking in every unlikely place, a site for the projected capital, as if this had been the most important object of their mission, and for the accomplishment of which the comfort of the poor immigrant was a thing of minor consideration. The immigrants had in this manner no alternative but either to abandon the Colony, or to content themselves with living in their tents until it should suit the convenience or caprice of their rulers (who spent their time comfortably at Russell) to take upon them, by selling to them such lands as they might deem proper for the purpose of enabling them to erect houses to live in. After a delay of eighteen months an opportunity was at last given to the poor immigrants of spending their money on the Auckland Town Allotments, in the purchase of which they had powerful competitors in the Government officers themselves, whose successful speculations in land jobbing have been so frequently and so justly, made matter of complaint to the Home Government, and ultimately disapproved of by your Lordship to the infinite joy and satisfaction of all the settlers in the Colony, who from this fact are led to hope that they are not altogether forsaken or abandoned to the men who now rule over them, and to entertain with confidence the belief that their grievances only require to be made known at Home, in order to be redressed. That you may not be induced through the representations of the Government officers to continue to them the possession of lands, which they have obtained at such a sacrifice of the best interests of the Colony and in so disreputable a manner.

Surface Renderings

At the surface this article is an expression of annoyance that immigrants, particularly in Wellington, are struggling for lack of land. The criticism is that the Government Officers are responsible for contributing both to the reduced circumstances of the immigrants and to the onward movement of would be settlers out of New Zealand because of their inability to obtain land. The expectation is obviously that the Government has the responsibility for providing the settlers with the opportunity to buy land which had been obtained, in the first instance, from the natives by the Government. The implication is that the Government is

squandering its time in the Bay of Islands when it ought to be about the business of buying land from the natives. What the Government appears to have been doing is prioritizing the search for *a site for the projected capital* rather than attending to the settlement needs of the immigrants.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Economic Relations

The acquisition of native land is positioned in text as the right of the European settlers regardless of how it is to be obtained. Wrangling over the lack of available land for settlement, and arguing with each other over the way in which this might best be achieved, works to reduce native land to a commodity to be argued over, acquired, apportioned and managed. Thus, here again a particular way of understanding the colonial relationship is reproduced which renders the land as a resource inherently belonging to a particular people who have both the will and the aptitude to 'settle' the land, to 'tame' it and to bring it into human subjection. Byrnes (2001) argues that: "Pakeha society has expressed a strong urge to transform the land. The colonial utilitarian attitude towards land has been celebrated...where the remodeling of the land was seen as part of the progressive pioneer tradition" (p. 2).

However, while they are agreed on how the land must be transformed, they appear, at the commencement of the colonial project, to be unsure as to how best to acquire the land. Thus, this missive, while criticizing competing interests in the form of the colonial administration, works to silence a legitimate native interest in the land. The native appears here only as one from whom land must be acquired.

Summary

This article works to position the native as the group from whom land for colonial settlement must be retrieved. That this article suggests that there is an argument amongst the various colonial parties around how this might best be achieved obfuscates questions around the efficacy of appropriating indigenous lands. Thus, the frustration which attends the officials in Wellington, who are obliged to offer land for settlement to the ever growing immigrant population - but cannot, shouts down the larger issue of land acquisition from

the indigenous peoples. Questions, decisions and actions that will secure a future for white immigrants in New Zealand are therefore informed and shaped by arguments among the settlers themselves about how land might be efficiently removed from the possession of the native population. What is missing in this wrangle is, once again, the presence of the native voice, or at least a consideration of the implications that this has for the native population. The native exists in these discourses as one who casts a shadow but lacks substance enough for reasonable consideration. This article therefore demonstrates a pressing concern with how to organize a colony so that it is able to supply enough land to accommodate the incoming settler population.

Article Eight

***New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser, 17 March 1843,
p. 2***

In England, every person has been brought up not merely to a certain extent in the knowledge of the general principles and rules of law, but what is of far more importance, is those habits which the constant and universal operation of the law impresses upon the whole community; yet even there it is felt that the effect of many legal maxims strictly interpreted does work injustice. And although there the importance, above all things, of maintaining inviolate the law, generally prevails, yet these cases are felt to be oppressive, and the suffering party is sure to receive the benefit of any doubt in his favor. But in New Zealand, where the law itself has existed only for three years, and where with scarcely an exception, the whole native race is entirely ignorant of its nature; to bring them at once under its rule in the same manner as the English population would have all the hardships of an *ex post facto* law. There are certain offences which the feelings of all men agree in condemning — with regard to these no difficulty can exist. But with regard to those cases in which our mode of procedure has been recognized among the New Zealanders — very similar in many instances to practices sanctioned by the early English law, the injustice of which we speak would be committed, if the rules applicable to a community where centuries of progressive civilization have built up a highly artificial system, were to be applied without reserve or qualification. This is a subject which we can now only hint at we shall at intervals return to it, and develop more fully the principles which we imagine ought to prevail.

Surface Renderings

The author reminds the audience that while English law is predicated upon a certain level of community agreement and acquiescence, the British legal system is also encumbered with excess so much so that it can be at times burdensome to its subjects. He suggests that in cases where certain ‘legal maxims’ are applied and oppressions result, the subject should and could be given the benefit of the doubt and relieved of this legal overload. He associates this observation with the experience of the New Zealand natives, suggesting that the full force of British law is not appropriate for the natives as it will result in significant hardships for them. This, he argues, is due in large part to the fact that they have not progressed to the same degree as the British and are therefore unable to adapt to an entirely altered system.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Legal Authority

The author here renders inviolate the universality of English law. His assumption is that while ‘every person’ is acquainted with the rules of law, there develops within communities a consensus over the particularities of the law which are not questioned. In relating this to the New Zealand native situation, the author positions the native as ignorant of the finer points of the law, and therefore unable to adapt to the requirements of an alien legal system. This failure to make the necessary cultural accommodations for British law is ascribed to a lack of progress on the part of the natives. However, at the centre of this discourse is an assumption that British law can be universally applied (notwithstanding the local adaptations) because it has evolved out of a foundation of cumulative general morality. Thus, while the author suggests some patience with the natives in respect of the law, his position is that native appropriation of the law is expected, and requisite because of its universal suitability. British law is therefore given precedence as the central organising philosophy for the colony, with a slight addendum attached to urge the colonists to give the native time to adapt. The fact that tribes were working within an existing complex native legal system is disavowed in this commentary and is rendered a nullity by the certainty of a British legal presence. Thus, conversations around the applicability of a British legal framework in New Zealand are punctuated with an absolute conviction that the future of the state will be one which is shaped by the entrenchment of the British ‘rule of law’. While the author might not advocate explicitly for the imposition of the British legal system immediately, the discourse of universal applicability is still present but is tempered by the caution not to “bring them *at once* under its rule...”.

Constituting Moral Authority

Positioning the ‘native race’ as beneficiaries of white benevolence works in concert with similar paternalistic discourses of the time. The native is described covertly as one who must rely, for their own good, upon the good will of the colonists who correspondingly make concessions and mitigate for the natives’ lack of knowledge. In doing so the colonists (from whom consensus is sought) might understand themselves as humanitarian and variously possessed of a tolerant disposition towards the lesser races. While extending

a modicum of space in which the natives might acquaint themselves with the legal system, the colonists can also be assured that these allowances will lubricate their relationship with the natives, ensuring, at least for the foreseeable future, some protection from a potential quarrel.

Summary

While the author advocates for leniency toward the natives as they acclimate themselves to the adjusted legal geography of the territory, the concession is by no means a wholesale dismissal of the British legal system. The author's position is intransigent as to the superiority of the rule of law, but suggests that it is within the parameters of said law to mitigate (in the interests of justice) for a period of adaptation. Thus, ideals of sovereignty are twinned in this article with expressions of benevolence, to diminish the appearance of tyranny and to assure the readers that the British legal system remains unassailable, notwithstanding the necessary adaptations.

Chapter Four Conclusions

An analysis of the above eight articles reveals a number of threads and symmetries within the patterns of meanings. These thematically repeat in different guises across time, and in different contexts. Yet they yield a particular way of comprehending New Zealand, unearthing a consensus across texts as to how the colony could be organized and understood. Across time the texts attend to the business of inscribing a British identity upon New Zealand. Time, space and geography are reconfigured so that the islands acquire a beginning, a purpose, a name and a terrain predicated upon a sighting, and a landfall, which the readership can recognize and emulate. Thus, the islands are discursively situated, ready, and in preparation for legitimate acquisition. The business of taking possession and accumulating assets commences with endless arguments over how this might be achieved. Yet what remains consistent across the texts is that the acquisition of resources from Māori is unquestioningly intended. Intertwining with these concerns is the problematic of constituting authority, entrenching and upholding the law, centering a political system and applying a legal framework universally. While disagreement and antagonisms abound, what remains consistent is the institution of a recognizable system based upon British political, economic and social customs, which the colonists can apply, endorse and operate within. In order to better accomplish this, these texts work to position

subjects within this order. Hierarchies are defined, subjectivities normalized and morality described. Māori are consistently identified in these texts as those who possess the land, yet this acknowledgement serves as a functional precursor to the larger question, 'How can we get it from them?' Thus, while human subjects are ordered in the texts, and while arguments ensue as to their position within the order, the game remains consistently one of strategy and zero sum. Lubricating these machinations are tropes of paternalism intended to manage the relationship between native and colonist. An emphasis is placed upon the need to convince each other that the natives are in agreement with the aspirations of the colonists or that tolerance of native eccentricities is required in order to bridge the rockier places along the road to white hegemony. This imagined consent works to assuage guilt and convince the colonial public that their place in their acquired home has possibility and a secure future despite the difficult presence of prior inhabitants. Sovereignty is therefore neither declared, surrendered nor achieved upon its 'official' legitimation. Sovereignty is worked out, over time, and through streams of discourse, and discursive repertoires. What is clear therefore is the resilient, dogged and consistent drive towards the imposition of a white hegemony despite the petty quarrels along the way.

chapter five

the discourse of discipline

The discourse of discipline works to elicit from the audience an emotional response, one that is usually arranged so as to create outrage, panic and at times a sense of imminent victory. This panic induces particular behaviours which incline the audience to rely upon those in power for increased social control. These increased social controls include particular public policies that might not have found justification or cause in circumstances where fear hadn't been engendered. Tighter social controls might also include an increase in military and security measures and, in a climate of fear, there is usually more public support for, and increase in, the armed forces (McRobbie, 1995). In Krebs' (1999) study of *Public Discourse and the Boer War* she makes the point that a number of literary genres coalesce during times of conflict and that:

Public debate about the war relies on a host of discourses militarism, morality, gender roles, patriotism and racial categories – discourses that are in use in imperial ideology but that also exist beyond its borders. (p. 157)

Even now there has been much scholarly interest in the deployment and social work of such war and terrorism rhetoric Hodges & Nilep (2007), argue that the post 9/11 'war on terror' discourse:

Constrains and shapes public discussion and debate within the U.S. and around the world as social actors in Europe, Asia and the Middle East and elsewhere evoke its language to explain, react to, justify or understand a broad range of political, economic and social phenomena. (p. 3)

The discourse of discipline is also useful in powerfully distracting public attention away from chronic social difficulties that fall under the responsibility of the domestic government. In the colonial context this might have included difficulties with settling land titles, the need for labour, housing standards, alcohol abuse, and the lack of women for a disproportionate population of men (Marais, 1968). The discourse of discipline also works to socially organise or to create social separateness. These lines of separation might be

made across any group difference depending upon the social objectives of the ruling elite. In the case of this study, the lines of separation across racial lines are made between Māori and European. The discourse of discipline works to create social distance between Māori and European. The Māori are Otherised using the discourse of discipline which places the Europeans on high alert, suspicious and anxious about the activities of the Other. It also creates social homogeneity amongst the 'in' group. They are addressed in the texts as 'we', and 'us' whose motives and aspirations are set at odds with those of 'the natives'. The mobilising effects of war discourse are however not unique to New Zealand's colonial history.

The discourse of discipline is often characterised by the heavy use of adjectives, the emphasis being placed upon the qualities and characteristics of the various parties concerned, whilst at the same time there is a significant neglect of the particulars regarding the situation in question. Descriptions might also be evocative and include descriptive language that draws upon the memory of other crises for its horror. In other situations fear discourse deploys its message scientifically, giving the assessment an air of objectivity and impassive calculation that is nevertheless saturated with shades and echoes of a past or anticipated calamity.

This chapter presents another series of news articles which were published in the period 1841-1849, and address the question of discipline. The more pressing concerns of security, encapsulated in this discursive formation, work harder for the attention of the audience. These texts work together to identify enemies, create contexts, anticipate aggression, build justifications, control information and valorise leadership. Like those included in the previous chapters, the work of this discursive formation is to orient the settlers through the thorny places of their colonial venture, particularly as it relates to concerns around defence and military capacity. More specifically however these texts make sense of the conflict by discursively positioning the settlers within a framework that has clear boundaries, exclusions, differences and expectations. The articles settle the audience and ease them into conflict, pronouncing order, theory, and strategy. Thus, the discourse of discipline

manages social extremities, demarcates the parameters of the social conscience, stimulates with warnings, engages with updates and narcotises with the sure signs of resolution.

The Newspapers

Three newspapers are represented in this chapter: The *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, the *New Zealander* and the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian*. After the demise of the *Gazette*, a few Wellington business men established the *Spectator* to fill the void. The *Spectator* began in October 1844 only one month after the *Gazette* closed its doors. The intention was to establish a paper that was less critical of the government. Revans had doggedly criticized the colonial administration to what some settlers thought was the detriment of their own interests. Such was their conviction that when the *Spectator* printers published an advertisement by Revans, the printers were dismissed by the proprietors. These printers (see Day 1990, p. 40) went on to establish *The Independent* in 1845, in opposition to the *Spectator*. The *Spectator* under Stokes was an ardent supporter of the colonial administration under George Grey. Both the *Spectator* and the *Independent* served the Wellington public for the next twenty years.

Notes on the Chapter Background

In the following texts national leadership and its associated military resources were demanded, criticised and endorsed. Land questions, while vested with notions of sovereignty, were considered in light of the potential for conflict, while the eye of the press, which was drawn close to scenes of social disturbance, was also blind to the entire picture. The press worked to organise sentiments at fraught junctures, directing the harrowed energies of the settler public to unleash their confusion in concert with their own agendas. The following analyses draw out the particularities of this discursive formation and consider the nuances within the discourse that work together to create patterns of understanding that can be mobilized under difficult social exigencies.

Article One

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 24 April 1841, p.2

Robberies are now constantly committed by the natives. It is no longer safe to trust them in the shops, for they have on several occasions been detected in the act of stealing, and various articles offered for sale by them, far below the market price, have, doubtless been obtained in a dishonest manner. They have got rid of the fear of going out at night, and successfully rob even tolerably well watched gardens. We know of one garden, from which in their nightly visits they have recently taken nearly a quarter of an acre of potatoes, besides many other vegetables, all of which were being preserved for seed. Taking these things by night is sufficient proof that they know they are doing that for which they would be punished. If the robberies are mentioned to a native known here, the ready reply is, the maori who committed the act comes from Wanganui, or some other place on the coast. The same replies, on similar occasions, we understand, are given at Wanganui; but it is poor satisfaction to the injured party. We fear if these acts do not receive some check that a bad feeling will arise between the native and the European, It is impossible for the latter to know whether it is the resident or visiting natives who injure them. But the resident native might inform some authority of the strangers who have arrived, and whether they were supplied by their countrymen with food. If they are not, they must steal. It would be well for persons having influence with the natives, to tell them that if they do not seek to make an example of the bad men among them, the whole race may suffer from the injuries done the Europeans.

Surface Renderings

This article is in response to a series of thefts that have taken place in the Wellington settler community. The author declares that natives can no longer be trusted in shops because of their tendency to thievery. He further suggests that the natives are profiting from their offences by reselling stolen European goods at below market prices. He alleges that they habitually raid European gardens under the cover of night, extracting produce. The author further claims that the natives are doing this intentionally but in order to evade blame, are apportioning the responsibility to visitors from other areas. He advocates for some resolution in case the relationship between native and European is damaged. Because the author is unsure whether the culprits are local or visitors he suggests that the local natives get into the practice of reporting arriving visitors to the Europeans, indicating whether or not that visitor has any food, so that the Europeans will be able to ascertain if that visitor has stolen the food from the local European community. Furthermore, the author suggests that the Europeans with some influence and connection in the native community should inform the natives that if they are unwilling to identify the thieves among them, all natives will suffer at the hands of the Europeans.

Background

Article one addresses a matter of particular concern amongst the settler population - theft committed by the natives. Upon the arrival of the first New Zealand Company immigrants to Port Nicholson, various incidents of plunder by the local natives caused a stir among the settlers. In 1843 a meeting of the Justices of the Peace was called in Wellington to discuss, among other things, some recent difficulty pertaining to a native who been “guilty of theft from a white man’s house” (Ward, 1928, p. 123). The Journal of James Watkins, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary resident in Waikouaiti from 1840, records in July 1842 that:

The state of things here becomes more alarming, property is insecure and life not much more so; robberies have been rather numerous lately and on two nights Mr. Jones's store has been broken open and robbed. I have dwelt among people called savages and amidst ‘war's alarms’ but never felt such a sense of insecurity as I do at this place. Things are nearly as bad as they can be. Let us hope they will begin to amend.... Love of strong drink appears to be the source of much of the evil here. (Pybus, 1954, p. 27)

In 1842 the Governor ordered the printing and dissemination of the first Māori language newspaper, Te Karere o Nui Tireni (*The Messenger of New Zealand*). Ostensibly the stated purpose was:

..kia mohio ai te tangata Māori ki ngā tikanga me ngā ritenga o te Pākehā, kia mōhio ai anō hoki te Pākehā ki ngā ritenga o te tangata Māori (Hanurere 1, 1842, 1)

...so that the Maori people would come to know the ways and customs of the Pakeha and the Pakeha would also come to know the customs of the Maori people (January 1, 1842, 1)

One of the central themes, repeated over the four years of its publication, was that of theft. The colonial administration used the paper to provide the natives with explanations as to how the Governor viewed theft, various activities which were understood by the white British colonists to be thievery, and the laws that existed to criminalize the practice.

However straightforwardly criminal these incidents appeared to the settlers to be, the occurrences of native robberies needs to be understood as informed by the cultural

practices of muru. Muru was the legal plunder of goods seized by groups who had been variously disadvantaged in some way by the intentional and/or unintentional carelessness, wantonness or foolishness of another group or individual. Muru functioned according to the process of reciprocity and was rooted in the idea of compensation and restoration. (Buck, 1929, p. 371) Early missionaries found the practice repugnant, as they were often the recipients of a plundering party and understandably deemed it an unsuitable practice for new native proselytes. Thus the highly structured and deeply context bound process of exacting muru was worn away by the religious indoctrination of the missionaries and replaced by a looser and less organised approach. While the habit of plunder continued, the institutional management of it was undermined. However, while it would be a stretch to suggest that all native thefts and robberies were muru derivatives, it is nonetheless instructive to accept the possibility that Māori had a significant cultural context and rationale for their acquisitions.

Furthermore, it is rare to find, in white colonial newspapers, the admission of culpability for any thefts committed by the settlers. The above article was published in Wellington where, from the arrival of the Europeans, the wholesale appropriation of village lands and important sites by the immigrants would have merited any number of reciprocal plunderings, retributions and acquisitions (Miller, 1958). However, not only were the settlers responding to what they saw as petty thievery and robbery; they also found reason to object to the regulations placed upon them by restrictions imposed by the natives. They were largely unaccustomed to having their ‘freedoms’ curtailed because of an incomprehensible cultural practice, and they were certainly horrified when their business enterprise was obstructed by the demands of local chiefs.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Othered Identities

The European is positioned here as the blameless casualty of native transgression. When the author suggests that “it is no longer safe to trust them” he is reproducing the idea that there are two distinct human categories, one trustworthy and the other dishonest, thereby creating a moral division between them both. The European is understood in the text as the victim of shop-lifting, garden raids, and dishonesty. The possibility of European

culpability in any fiscal transaction is denied. Rather ‘the native’ as a racially constituted group, distinct from the European, is accused of all moral vice. However, what is of interest is the admission by the author that the Europeans are not in a position to identify the specific culprits. The author, speaking for the white community, admits to seeing all natives as a homogenous group when he concedes that “it is impossible to tell whether it is the resident or visiting natives who injure them”. Thus, the author’s ignorance of the natives as specific personalities with individual identities is counted by him as an innocent disadvantage. Not only are the Europeans materially victimised by a homogenous racially constituted group, they are moreover suffering because of their incapacity to see anything but physical uniformity in the natives. This disadvantage is further compounded by the natives’ tendency to take advantage of their ignorance by apportioning culpability to “some Mauri from Wanganui”.

Furthermore, the author implicates ‘the natives’ as a group of culprits or potential culprits whom the European is justified in suspecting of some misdeed. The author reproduces a racial exclusion by positioning the native as the object of mistrust. In the constitution of this social exclusion the author at the same time creates a moral dichotomy. He vests the European with the authority to determine the parameters of trust and mistrust, thus constituting the European as the purveyor and arbiter of morality while the native is positioned as the recipient of European moral arbitration. Thus the author reworks a paternalistic relationship wherein the native as a group is subject to the moral judgement of the European. The author takes it upon himself to complete a cycle of arbitration. He implicates the whole race in the thefts, provides his albeit dubious evidence, and then threatens some disciplinary consequence.

Constituting Martial Authority

The author appears to intimidate the natives by warning that the Europeans are willing and capable of bringing down upon the whole race of natives an offensive that will have consequences for the entire race should they refuse to “make an example of the bad men among them”. Though the author doesn’t specify the means by which “the whole race may suffer” his message is one of foreboding. The affiliation between the whole native race and the European hangs capriciously in the balance should the natives be disinclined to

reorient their intragroup relationships to take account of the demands of the Europeans. While a fullscale defensive assault upon the hapless natives would, in the context of the time, have been out of the question, it is worth considering how the author envisions the process that will eventually lead to the suffering of the whole race. In 1841 the settlers were greatly outnumbered by the native, and while they managed a small constabulary they had no established military force which could manage an onslaught against a well armed native force, who were accustomed to warfare and who could call upon reinforcements from allied groups. Thus far, the native and the Europeans had not come to physical blows in a deliberate and largescale encounter. This reticence on the part of the natives might have been mistaken for incapability. Nevertheless, the author speaks to a sense of inflated superiority on the part of the European in their being able in some way to cause wholesale distress. It is well documented that European goods, and their manner of trade, was of interest to the natives, who appeared to enjoy the commercial benefits of the European capitalist enterprise (Petrie, 2006). They also took advantage of the opportunities for literacy and religious education offered by the missionaries and this seemed to be generally accepted as a boon among the tribes (Simon & Smith, 2001). Thus, the relationship seemed to hang in an uneasy balance inasmuch as the natives had not thus far threatened their association with the Europeans by an assault upon an organised group of Europeans. While it is a distinct possibility that the author imagines a European military force superior to a native force, it is more likely that the author speaks to the possibility of natives suffering a more discursive and ideological assault. In his implication that the European has the means to cause wholesale distress, it would appear that he is aware of the Europeans' power to affect difficulty for the native through the power of discourse. The best offence for the European is to resort to a model of native treatment that relies upon reproducing colonial racisms that work to undermine, marginalise, exclude and denigrate the native so that the native is unable to easily access the advantages that he has thus far enjoyed through his association with the European community. Suspicion, epithets, rumours, and gossip will do more to demoralize and emasculate the natives than isolated physical campaigns. Thus the author alludes to a pseudo generosity on the part of the Europeans in not thus far subjecting the native to the full force of a white verbal onslaught.

He does however appear to be fully apprised of the impact that this will have upon the whole race in securing their material and moral disadvantage.

Conclusion

While this extract has been identified as being primarily about discipline, on another level the text is also about the constitution of moral authority. This theme appeared in Chapter Four and involves the discursive effort to wrest social management from the native and assign it to the European. These two discursive formations work complementarily. While the attention of the audience is directed to an imminent threat, a rationale is created for the Europeans to assume political and social authority. Thus we see the discourse of discipline works alongside the discourse of sovereignty in order to justify the acquisition of authority and control.

Article Two

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 10 July 1841, p.3

CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE "TABOOED" GROUND.

Wellington, July 1, 1841. Sir, — We, the undersigned, appeal to you as the representative of Government in this district, on behalf of ourselves and others wishing to proceed to Wanganui and Taranaki. All communications between these places and Port Nicholson is at present entirely stopped, by a "taboo" laid on the road by the natives of Otaki. We trust that you, as Chief Magistrate, will not allow this proceeding on the part of the natives.

E. Dorskt,

H. Chorton,

H. Mayers,

William Bannister.

To Michael Murphy, Esq. [Reply.] No. 41—58. Police Office, Port Nicholson, July 2, 1841.

Gentlemen, — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st July, complaining that all communication by land between this place and Wanganui and Taranaki is at present stopped, by a "taboo" laid on the beach by the natives of Otaki, and requesting that, as Chief Magistrate, I would not allow this proceeding on the part of the natives. In reply, I beg to inform you, that although I deeply regret the inconvenience to which you and others are subjected in consequence of this interruption of communication with Wanganui and Taranaki, I have no power to interfere with what is an immemorial and recognized usage amongst the natives. It is probable that this and similar customs may become the subject of acts by the Legislative Council of the Colony, but until this is done, I can discover no grounds that would justify my interference. From the information I have collected on the subject, I gather, that the "taboo" has been laid on the beach in consequence simply of the death of a chief, and not from any desire to injure the English settlers in the country; to attempt violently to break through it therefore would probably excite feelings of hostility to the settlers, which would involve greater eventual inconvenience than any that can be experienced from a temporary interruption of communication, and might therefore be inexpedient, even if it were strictly legal. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant, Michael Murphy, Chief Police Magistrate. To Messrs. Dorset, Churton, Mayers, &c. &c, Port Nicholson

Surface Renderings

A letter was received at the office of the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* expressing a grievance against Otaki natives for a tapu that was laid down prohibiting the overland passage between Wellington and Wanganui. The authors of the correspondence were petitioning the Chief Magistrate to stop the proceedings in order to clear the road and ensure safe passage for the settlers.

Michael Murphy of the Port Nicholson Police Office assured the complainants that his sympathies were with them but that he was powerless to interfere, arguing that the tapu is a regular native custom in the event of a death and he has no jurisdiction to obstruct the practice. He further assures the petitioners that he anticipates that such customs might in the future be regulated by the Legislative Council, but until that time he is not justified in taking action against the natives. He adds some background information that the tapu is in relation to the drowning of a chief and not a deliberate annoyance to the settlers. He also warns that any action against the natives would excite unnecessary aggression between the settlers and natives and urges them to err on the side of caution.

Background

By 1841 the New Zealand Company had established settlements at Port Nicholson, Wanganui and Taranaki. An important correspondence was established between the settlements, with the principal business of land acquisitions administered from Wellington. While a domestic shipping passage would soon become a regular service between the towns, should a vessel be unavailable the only alternative was overland. The route between Wellington and Wanganui passed through two important native village, Otaki and Waikanae. Wakefield (1987) estimated that the larger of the two pah was Otaki, boasting a population, at the time, of about 1000. Otaki had been, from time to time, the residence of Te Rauparaha and was occupied principally by Ngati Raukawa. Between 1840 and 1843 Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata were busily and determinedly attempting to thwart European settlement in the area, but until the Wairau incident in 1843 there had been no significant confrontation between natives and settlers. There was, however, an uneasy association between the two groups, which, given the contested land politics of the time seemed destined to ignite. In the previous month for instance, the natives at Porirua had “destroyed several of the bridges and otherwise injured the new road”(New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 12 June 1841, p.2). However, the laying down of a tapu in Otaki was coincidental and had only come about because of the drowning of a chief. While outraged over the Porirua demolitions, the inconvenience of a tapu seemed to have been considered by the settlers as a related incident.

Intersecting with this period of heightened vigilance among the settlers is this expression of exasperation that the natives had created a nuisance for the settlers by obstructing their means of access to and from Wanganui. Three of the authors of the letter to the Chief Magistrate (Article 2) were connected with the New Zealand Company. Dorset arrived on the *Tory* with Wakefield and was the Committee secretary and treasurer. Churton ran the Wanganui Land Agency and advertised his services in the *Wellington Spectator* as an agent for the ‘selection, sale, purchase and lease of property in Wanganui’. William Bannister, a former coal-pit owner in Wolverhampton, arrived in Wellington in 1840 and drafted the first town plan of Wellington under the direction of Mein-Smith, the first surveyor general of the New Zealand Company (Ward 1928, p. 72). While no information has been found on Mayers it does appear that the complainants were all occupationally preoccupied with the idea of securing for the company and its immigrants, land for settlement. It would have been particularly irksome for these men, and those they represented, to have their acquisitorial ambitions forestalled.

The length of this particular tapu is unknown but it must have been several weeks because in the previous month it was reported in the same newspapers that a company of settlers from Wellington had had to cross to Kapiti to await a ship to carry them the distance to Wanganui⁸. The same article reports that a settler, attempting to disregard the tapu, was stripped of his clothes and forced “to walk a distance of ten miles in that condition” (ibid). The Wellington settlers were further discomfited by the growing presence of certain characters and local figures (mainly chiefs) that were manifesting their displeasure at the presence of so many white men. Upon seeing yet more immigrants arrive in the Hutt Valley, one chief was to question: “Are all your tribe coming to live here?” (Miller, 1858, p.47). This Māori resistance was largely villainised in the press with folk devils and moral panics obfuscating the more salient points of their often legitimate protest.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Legal Authority

The petition to the Chief Police Magistrate that he “not allow this proceeding” on the part of the natives suggests an assumption that the machinery of the settler institutions ought to favour the aspirations of the settlers alone. Their expectation is that public authorities

serve settler interests at the expense of native interests. Thus from the outset of this colonial venture, it was assumed that the disciplinary institutions of the colonists were installed as an advocate for white interests and that, in the event that a clash of values or traditions be encountered, the police would exercise their powers in order to meet the perceived needs of the new arrivals. While the Police Magistrate refrains from intervening at Otaki, the larger political implications of these assumptions need to be considered. In the event that the public authorities are popularly elected or appointed, it would stand to reason that the aspirations and expectations of the colonists would take public precedence above those of the natives, and that should the desires of the settlers and natives be at odds, the weight of consideration would be given, by the authorities, to their own.

While travel accounts, personal records, books and diaries document white critical and often crude observations of native customs and habits, this article stands apart inasmuch as it is one of the first where the settlers had been specifically interested in the authorities intervening in a native practice. On 23 May 1840 the police charged one Maurice Fox for being drunken and disorderly and “disturbing the natives in their pah”⁹. Other police reports indicate that there were, from time to time, interventions on the part of the police where pakeha and settler were involved in a disagreement or a ‘crime’. Missionaries often shared crude observations regarding the degraded state of the natives, and native customs, calling for zeal in bringing to pass their ‘civilization/salvation’. However, this appears to be the first recorded incident where public correspondence to the media called for the colonial authorities to halt a customary proceeding on the basis that it was an inconvenience to them. This indicates, at least in this situation, that there was an expectation that native practices and traditions ought to be monitored and regulated for certain excesses. The response of the Chief Magistrate indicates that the management of said customs is indeed a legislative possibility but, “until this done, I can discover no grounds that would justify my interference”.

Discontent with merely appropriating land, decreeing British sovereignty and exploiting native labour, white hegemony also works to undermine, regulate, and manage indigenous practices to agree with the colonial expedencies. Even though the response of the police

was cautious, this article indicates the tendency upon the part of the colonists to use the media to shift native grievances into a public forum where through this media exposure they were able to exert symbolic authority over the indigenes. This suggests that the colonists entertained the idea that they enjoyed a presumptive right over even the most innocuous and private of native customs.

While the response of the Magistrate was to exercise caution, he by no means discounted the possibility that, under a more established legislative corpus, native customs and usages might be justifiably disciplined in order to make them more palatable and convenient for the colonists. However, aware of his financial, legal and operational limitations, the Magistrate presaged caution only inasmuch as native aggression would be potentially injurious to the colonists. The integrity and sovereignty of native customary practices are neither assured nor protected, rather the explanation that the “taboo” is “an immemorial and recognized usage amongst the natives” is destabilized by the anticipation that these customs will in all probability become “subject to acts by the legislative council”. Thus, the tolerance for ‘inconvenient’ native customs is recognized here as subject to the financial resources of the colony rather than a recognition of these customs as integral to the social and spiritual life of the indigenes.

Summary

This article suggests that the colonists had an expectation that the authorities would take disciplinary action in their favour and that the native ought to be subject to this disciplinary action should it inconvenience the settlers. In addition the article points out that a notable public authority anticipates that they will intervene where there are tensions between native and settler and make decisions that will advantage settlers upon the passing of the requisite legislative act. While this text is primarily about discipline, it is interesting to note how the discourse of paternalism is also at work, suggesting a degree of tolerance only as a provisional expediency, while the colonists can be heartened by the anticipation of white cultural sovereignty which will potentially police problematic native cultural behaviours.

Article Three

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 22 November 1842,
p.2

Some workmen employed in clearing land rented by Mr. Mathieson of Mr. Tod at Okiwee, discovered beneath the surface of the ground, which was thickly covered with trees, a great quantity of human bones. Some years back the district of Port Nicholson was inhabited by a tribe called the Ngatikahuna. The present possessors the Ngatiawa's, on being expelled from their native soil Taranaki, came down here and drove the others from this place into the Wyderop valley, where they finally settled. Taringa Kuri, (dog's ear) the chief of Kai Warra, was one of the principal invaders, and it was he who led the attack on a small settlement not far from Okiwee, killing and eating the inhabitants. He then visited Okiwee, set fire to a large dwelling-house full of Maories, cleaving the skull of the inmates as they issued, and finished with a feast off their enemies. The bones which have thus singularly come to light are the remains of the unfortunate Ngatikahuna's.

Surface Renderings

Since colonisation New Zealand has enjoyed a rich history of white accounts of the feared native savage. During the 1840's Hone Heke, Hongi Hika, Kawiti, Te Rauparaha, and Rangihaeata enjoyed notoriety in the settler press and were respectively designated as: "an intriguing treacherous chief" (*Daily Southern Cross*, 6 December 1845); "a blood thirsty savage" (*The New Zealander*, 20 July 1855); "a plunder thirsting bandit" (*Daily Southern Cross*, 26 April 1845) and "a wily savage in his career of guilt" (*Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 8 July 1843). Thus the press of the time included in many of its narratives the native desperado and rogue who were variously constructed in order to excite the fear and attention of the readership. This article was written in response to the discovery of human skeletons in Okiwi, in the Eastern Bays of Wellington Harbour. The author here attempts to make sense of the unearthing by associating the skeletons with an historical incident supposedly involving the brutal slaying and burning of the native inhabitants of a 'dwelling-house'. The responsibility for the incident is assigned to Taringa Kuri, a local chief, who began this particular rampage with a cannibalistic feast of the inhabitants of a nearby village, followed by the attack on Okiwi (mentioned above). According to the author, both sackings concluded with a feast of human flesh.

Background

Taringa Kuri a Ngati Tama chief at Kaiwharawhara, Port Nicholson, enjoyed some public notoriety between 1841 and 1846. He was a reluctant signatory in 1839 to a New Zealand Company Land Purchase Deed but was, in the ensuing years, to resist and oppose further colonial settlements. In evidence given by George Clarke in a Land Court hearing, Taringa Kuri was said to have complained bitterly that the white man's livestock was over-running his cultivations, and that they had proceeded to settle more land than was actually given.¹⁰ As an invading tribe associated with the Ngati Toa, and an ally of Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, Taringa Kuri appears in the media and literature of the time as a nuisance and a hindrance to the welfare of the settlers. In 1841, Taringa Kuri gained notoriety by demonstrating his obstinacy towards Swainson in the Hutt Valley, both because of his purposeful and proximate settlement to the Swainson's farm, but also because of his felling and burning timber in dangerous proximity to Swainson. In 1846 William Spain, the then Lands Commissioner, reported upon the character of Taringa Kuri in the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian*,¹¹ accusing him of being "crafty and troublesome", of playing "a false game", of being of "inferior rank" and of "little consequence". These renderings were largely in consequence of the fact that earlier on in 1846 Taringa Kuri excited the attention of the colonists by refusing to allow European settlement of the Hutt, requiring the intervention of a militia to come to the support of the settlers (Wards, 1968, pp. 226-229). In 1842, however, Taringa Kuri was largely known as one whose growing opposition to the colonists was gaining momentum. His earlier concerns as to the extent and duplicity of the New Zealand Company's activities in Wellington were being realised and Taringa Kuri was involved in active resistance through the early part of the 1840s. However, it wasn't until June 1843, that the ever-threatening shadow of conflict, so far held back, made its mark upon the lives of both Māori and colonist. The Wairau Affair (Trotter, 2007) was a precursor to a bloody period in New Zealand's history and was to be followed by another 30 years of sporadic, armed conflict between Māori and British.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Othered Identities

While Taringa Kuri was a minor 'folk devil' compared with his compatriots, the media nonetheless attempts here to ascribe an equally terrifying countenance to the chief by imagining what appears to be a tenuous and speculative link to a grisly discovery. Thus, this article moves evidence of death beyond its immediate appearance to a narrative of murder and cannibalism where this particular chief is constructed, at least temporarily, at the centre of a larger moral panic (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994) where the native occupies the fearful attention of a vigilant white audience.

The presence of the native draws upon a larger narrative that positions chiefs, in particular, as terrifying, threatening and revolting. These narratives construct, out of ostensibly disconnected and disparate moments, a way of understanding one's place in the world. In this situation the white audience is called upon to understand their place in the colony as one surrounded by a particular kind of threat, one that strikes at the heart of civilized sensibilities and seeks to undermine one's settler presence. Taringa Kuri is thus positioned as one who might, with intractable irrationality, feast upon the innocent who dwell quietly in a village community. The fact that he is both spuriously and speculatively constructed here would suggest that the larger interest of the media is to reproduce a particular brand of native infamy.

Of particular interest in this construction of the dark savage is a recurring theme in settler texts, that of cannibalism. Pilditch and Staveley (2005) argue that the idea of cannibalism was far more pervasive than the reality, and that rather than responding to legitimate and immediate concerns as to the practice of anthropophagi the settlers, more particularly missionaries, inflated the incidence of cannibalism in order to justify their civilizing mission. According to Pilditch and Staveley, (ibid) cannibalism was considered by the British to be a marker of social difference and an exotic social problem requiring a spiritual

intervention in the form of a marked reorganisation of native society, thus effectively justifying their antipodean missionary activities. Paul Moon (2008), in his controversial book *This Horrid Practice*, makes the opposite assertion suggesting that the practice of cannibalism was widespread and institutional in Māori society. While the extent of the practice of cannibalism is debatable, it certainly excited the imagination of the white British colonists and its inclusion in this newspaper indicates a broader concern with the mythology of cannibalism which, at the time, occupied the interest of numerous colonial writers (Hursthouse, 1857; Martin, 1845).

Summary

The appearance of such a reference in the Press reproduces the idea of cannibalism as a settler concern. It is made proximate and relevant by its collocation with known geographical markers. Though in all likelihood it is improbable that many settlers actually witnessed incidents of cannibalism, the press here uses its social potency to add intensity to the alarm which the author intends to create around the chief Taringa Kuri. In so doing the political activities of Taringa Kuri are obscured and voided of reason. Overshadowing Taringa Kuri's resistance to the colonial incursion, the author works to subsume what might be considered a justifiable stance underneath the glaze of horror, thereby thwarting any sympathetic engagements with an understandably irate chief.

Article Four

***New Zealander*, 7 June 1845. p.2**

In this Colony, at the present time, has arrived a most momentous crisis. This state of affairs has been brought about by conjoint causes: on the one hand, — by the restless, insubordinate, lawless, and, in some cases, treacherous conduct of the natives, on various occasions, — more flagrantly at Tauranga, Wairau, and, more especially, at the Bay of Islands; — on the other — by the neglect and apathy of the Home Government, in not sending sufficient military and naval force to protect the settlers, as well as to enable the Local Government to enforce obedience to the Laws, — to prevent outrage, — and to punish rebellion by the natives. To this latter cause, may be ascribed the existence and action of that mistaken philanthropy hitherto evinced towards the natives by the Colonial Executive; which, we conceive, can only have had weight on those very serious important occasions, either — from consciousness of inefficiency of physical force to punish crime; — from strong prepossession towards the Aborigines, combined with imperfect knowledge and slight experience of their character; — or, from the undue influence of the erroneous opinions and blind prejudices of others. Wise and humane, — the former from absence of sufficient power to act offensively; and the latter, from forbearance and clemency towards first offences, and infractions of the law by the Aborigines; — as it may have been, to have acted so leniently towards those native aggressors and rebels; yet past events, so fraught with undeniable proofs of the real character of the Aborigines, most plainly indicate to the Local Government that a very different system and policy should henceforth be adopted.

The future measures of the Local Government towards the natives, therefore, we shall most narrowly and carefully watch, — "British Authority must be Vindicated;" and although earthly power never, more truly, or beautifully displays its sacred heavenly character than "when mercy seasons justice :"— yet,

"We must not make a scarecrow of the law,
Setting it up to fear the birds of prey,
And let it keep one shape,
till custom make it
Their perch, and not their terror."

Surface Meanings

This text describes what the author sees to be the reasons for a social crisis in the new colony involving violent clashes between natives and settler. The author suggests the cause of the violence to be twofold. On the one hand the natives' disposition toward lawlessness and on the other hand the home government's apathy in "not sending sufficient military and naval force to protect the settlers". The author suggests that an armed presence, dispatched by the local government might "enforce obedience to the laws, prevent outrage and punish rebellion by the natives".

Background

On 11 March 1845 a battle occurred between Nga Puhi hapu and British troops at Kororareka. The incident, which involved heavy casualties on both sides and the sacking of the town, followed a number of confrontations involving the Nga Puhi rangatira Hone Heke, and his close ally Kawiti. From 1844 onwards Heke flouted British rule and was instrumental in felling the British ensign on Maika Hill on four occasions. His anger and the ire of a number of fellow chiefs was piqued following the reduction of revenue he was collecting on customs duties after the Government removed the capital city removed from Kororareka to Auckland. Cowan (1983, p. 26) suggests that this indignation was compounded by the fact that word had come back from a resolution of the House of Common's committee on New Zealand Affairs from the previous year. Reports had been circulating among the local iwi and hapu that the Treaty of Waitangi was deemed by the colonial administration as deficient, in that it did not allow for the wholesale seizure of unoccupied native lands. According to Cowan (ibid) Heke had also been consulting with the United States Consul, James Mayhew, who pointed out to Heke that the British had been defeated during the War of Independence and that Māori, unhappy with the incursion of the British, might be justified and able to obstruct the impending domination of New Zealand by the British.

Naval forces were scarce in New Zealand and the sacking of Kororareka in 1845 was expedited by troops being seconded from Sydney at the request of the colonial administration under Governor Fitzroy. Fitzroy had few resources to protect the white settlers and a growing unease in light of an increasing number of confrontations between settler and iwi had led to the demand for a more permanent military force to be established in the colony. Typically however, the colonial administration was called into question in the press over their inability to stem a rising tide of native rebellion. Notwithstanding the lack of resources, effective leadership, it was thought, would secure the colonists' interests. So it was that New Zealand's second Governor General suffered the ignominy of a call back to England over his supposedly poor handling of New Zealand's racial tensions.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Othered Identities

The author of this report reproduces here a particular way of understanding settler status in relation to the 'natives'. While on the surface it would appear that criticisms are made regarding the apathy of the home government, the article is not a self-reflexive moment of political introspection. The natives here are represented as a homogenous group. They are not identified by tribe, leader, political cause, or organisation. No certain group or groups of 'natives' are specifically identified (except a vague reference to "some cases" where natives are blamed for three assaults on Tauranga, Wairau and the Bay of Islands). Not only are the natives represented here collectively, but their conduct is summarily described using the following terms: restless, insubordinate, lawless, treacherous, disobedient, outrageous and rebellious. The function of these adjectives is stand-in for a *raison d'être*. This text does not indicate that the natives have suffered deprivation or might be experiencing moral and political outrage themselves. The text is silent on their desire to resist a colonial incursion. Native politics are effaced and what stands in its place, as seen by the author, is a mass of unnamed abusers who need to be put down.

According to the author, where the natives do not value acquiescence, subservience, loyalty and deference to British law, it is not because they do not value these attributes but because they are wholly, inextricably and unalterably in error. Thus, the author does not expect obedience and compliance to the statutes, ordinances, laws and future plans of the colonists. Neither, does he require the natives to willingly choose to be lawful, subservient, deferential and loyal to the white settler government. Rather he requires the presence of a "sufficient military and naval force". This would suggest that an expectation of native acquiescence by the settlers is unreasonable. Disavowing human potential in the natives effaces 'native' cognition, and suggests that they cannot be negotiated with, nor that the course taken by the colonists is alterable. Such a one-dimensional representation elides intellect, motivation, direction, personality and humanity. They are depoliticized, and dehistoricized. Their conduct or behaviour comes from an inherent disposition toward insurrection rather than an acute political motivation for emancipation from this colonial incursion. The text is silent on the particulars pertaining to the characteristics and

complexities of the people, personalities, tribes and causes of conflict when referring to the natives. Furthermore, the possibility that native conduct could be anything other than “restless”, “insubordinate”, “lawless”, and “treacherous” is absent in the text.

Constituting Social Relations

The white colonists on the other hand are represented as belonging to one of three groups. Firstly, there is the local government which has control over defence policy but is not exercising this control to the satisfaction of the author. Secondly there are the settlers who require protection from the natives. This group is seen as vulnerable, suffering victims who have no support in their afflictions. Thirdly, a military and naval force which seems to be under the command of the government and is equipped with the capacity to “enforce obedience to the laws, to prevent outrage, - and to punish rebellion by the native”. Unlike the natives these three groups are given complexity and humanity. While the local government is criticised here, it is dignified with an expectation for its improved performance on this matter of policy. The settlers, although suffering, are offered compassion and support, while the military, although under the command of the government, is also valorized by the suggestion that its prowess and might can solve the problems of a society in crisis.

Furthermore the author proposes that the local government enact policy that favours pakeha interests. The settlers should be able to rely upon the presence of a military force to support and defend their continued peaceful occupation on disputed land. The author is therefore advocating for a settler colony where the social aspirations of the colonists are paramount. He sees the mechanism for this to be in form of an active military presence which functions for and on behalf of the settlers. This suggests that he sees a natural, scientific, cultural, and political division between settler and native. He does not see that there is potential for a peaceful union of two groups of people where power, force and control is shared or even that the colonists might be dominated by native law. The author assumes that the colony must be dominated by the British, and advocates for the speedy installation of what he sees to be the necessary physical mechanisms for rule by the settlers.

Summary

While both parties here are represented as lacking and deficient to some degree, their lack is not equal. The natives' conduct is inherently deficient and without redemption, while the government's commitment to a particular policy merely requires adjustments. It would seem therefore that the natives are in error by virtue of their being natives while the colonists with their intelligence, complexity and humanity might be reasonably expected to change and improve. However, improvement on the part of the settlers and their government does not extend to a course that might lead to native relief or a withdrawal of settler interests. The texts suggest that compulsion and coercion are required for peace to be achieved on behalf of the settlers rather than a reassessment of the settlers' own position. This suggests that there is no question in the author's mind as to the validity or efficacy of the British settlement of the colony.

Article Five

***New Zealander*, October 11, 1845, p.2.**

BAY OF ISLANDS.

We understand, that notwithstanding the reinforcements arrived no active hostile measures will be re-commenced before the arrival of the new Governor. In the latest English newspapers received, there is no intimation, whatever, of his name, although common rumour here, has assigned the dignity to more than one. We cannot but avow that a fearful crisis for the Colony is approaching, the results of which will solely depend on the ability and character of the individual appointed to adjust the present distracted state of affairs. As regards the European settlers, and matters and policy connected with them, we deem not the difficulty to be arduous; but it is as to the measures towards the natives that we look forward with deep and anxious interest. It will require a Metcalfe or a Pottinger to settle, skillfully and peacefully, without sacrificing British honour and interests, our relations with the natives. We, ourselves, know full well that, already, among some of the most powerful and influential chiefs, the recall of the Governor is subject of much discussion and deliberation. They understand that the death of Captain Hobson, who was a great favourite among them, obliged the Queen to send another Governor, but that his present Excellency, who is likewise much esteemed, by them, should go away so soon after his arrival, excites their natural inquisitiveness; and it has been unwisely and mischievously circulated among them, that the Queen of England is not pleased because Capt. Fitzroy has not punished John Heki, and that he is too kind and considerate to all the natives. To those who are well acquainted with the general character, natural feelings and innate suspicion of the Māori, we need not remark what effect this prevalent impression will have. They, we doubt not, will remain quiescent, until the new Governor arrives; but when he does come, every act, proclamation, and measure towards themselves will be viewed and received with the greatest distrust. We would therefore earnestly and most seriously invoke our fellow colonists to be cautiously circumspect not only in action, but in all oral communication, with the natives at the present time; for we assert, calmly, that in our opinion, the settlers are on a Volcano, which may, unless providentially averted, in a few short months, burst forth, desolating the whole colony with war and bloodshed.

Surface Renderings

This article was written in anticipation of the arrival of a new Governor General. At the same time the author forecasts a “fearful crisis” for the colony. The death of Hobson, the recall of Fitzroy to England and the uprising of Hone Heke have left the settlers vulnerable to the capriciousness of the Māori. Without the buffer of diplomacy that the Governor General has historically provided, the author advises circumspection among the settlers in the dealings with the natives. The author hopes the appointee will be able to emulate the abilities and characteristics of some of the more illustrious among the Queen’s colonial representatives.

Background

Robert Fitzroy, the second Governor General of New Zealand had, sometime during 1845, received a notice of dismissal from his post as Governor General. It appears that on the 11th of October he was either in England, or on his way back to England, leaving a gap in the administration and leadership of the colony. Fitzroy, in his short term of office in the colony, was not popular with the settlers. His mandate for governance was threefold. Firstly, he was instructed by the Queen to bring the colony into some order as settlers had been pouring in (largely under the auspices of the New Zealand Company), and land jobbing was rife. Fitzroy's appointment was nominated by the Church Missionary Society and thus his second role was to ensure the protection of the natives from the deficiencies of what appeared to be a state of lawlessness among the colonists. Thirdly, he was also responsible for facilitating the purchase of land for settlement. His was a precarious position. Besides the fact that it was an enormously complicated task to balance the interests of two competing groups, he was not furnished with the resources to support his measures. He had little money, and an ineffective military. As a result of his finding that Te Rauparaha was not to blame for the Wairau massacre and rather, that settler impropriety had led to the unhappy event, he had become hugely unpopular among the settlers. Fitzroy himself reflected that:

...sound policy dictated a pacific and conciliatory course, as plainly as right principle, cannot now be denied; but it was controverted at that time, and not a small number of the settlers were then so eager for hostile movements, that they scarcely seemed to have patience with the governor for refraining to adopt their suggestions. (Fitzroy, 1846, p. 17)

Fitzroy also took a severe attitude towards the indiscretions of the settlers toward Māori for which he was bitterly rejected by the colonists. In 1844 he reversed the pre-emption clause in the Treaty of Waitangi allowing direct sales between settler and Māori. In order to raise money he required a duty on all land sales and when that didn't work out as anticipated he imposed a land tax. These measures failed to raise revenue for the government and New Zealand was soon in bankruptcy. The New Zealand Company in particular was agitating back in England for his discharge. No doubt it would have been a relief for Fitzroy to receive a recall and in 1846 he reflected:

Indeed, one of the most melancholy features of the growing society in New Zealand is a disregard for honorable and virtuous conduct. Truthfulness and sincerity are not cherished. The very few persons who are not (to use the current expression) "colonial" in their ideas and conduct, are neither understood, nor estimated as they deserve to be, and as they would be in old countries. (Fitzroy, 1846, p. 29)

However, the temporary absence of a Governing Officer in the colony had only exacerbated the chaotic situation. At this stage it appears that settlers were unaware as to who their next Governor would be. Military reinforcements had been deployed but were held at abeyance until the Governor's arrival. This article represents one author's concern for the present situation which was seen as dire. His hope is that the new Governor would be able to alleviate tensions through the control and censure of the natives. The diplomatic feats of two 'successful' Governors, Baron Charles Metcalf and Henry Pottinger, are held up as admirable examples of public servants he deems to be accomplished ambassadors of the Crown. Further provoking this interest in finding adequate leadership, during this time of tension, was the commencement of a series of assaults and skirmishes between the British and the Northern tribes. The press would quickly turn its attention to the nature of the conflict, and seek to draw its audience into the details of armed combat.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting 'Martial' Authority

The expected appointment of a replacement Governor General brings with it the hope that in him the colonists would find a champion and a protector. Upon the arrival of the Governor General the military reinforcements would be dispatched. Should the new Governor General have the required "ability" and "character", the "fearful crisis" would be alleviated, and he would inevitably "adjust the present state of affairs". This text works to subordinate the future of New Zealand to the anticipated expertise of a colonial chief. While valorising the rule of the Governor General, the text works at the same time to subordinate the 'natives' to the might of the military who will act on behalf of the settlers and under the rule of a Governor. The Governor is represented here as one with the power to deploy his military in order to avert a crisis for the colonists and the British rather than one who acts in the interests of all of the parties.

The state of the colony is further subordinated to “the ability and character” of the new Governor General. This phrase works to establish the authority of British governance in the colony by vesting in him the hopes for relief from the impending crisis. The Governor’s imminent arrival spells hope for the colonists and they do not see him as acting outside of their interests. An individual is pitted against a “fearful crisis” and a “distracted state of affairs” and it will be his virtuousness and worthiness that will redeem the colonist.

The author advocates here a particular approach to averting the potential calamity. He expresses his hope for a particular kind of Governor General, similar to Henry Pottinger, Governor of Hong Kong who successfully negotiated a treaty between the British and the Chinese, thus bringing to a close the First Opium War. Charles Metcalfe is also cited. He was a successful public servant who secured a treaty of independence in 1809 for the Sikh states of India and, as the Governor of Jamaica, was called upon to handle with great tact and tenacity some complications associated with the passing of the Negro Emancipation Act (Hoiberg & Ramchandani, 2000, p. 383). The suggestion that a resolution to an anxious situation lies with an incoming diplomat has the effect of repudiating native participation, partnership and resolutions. The solutions belong to the Europeans alone. It would seem that what he is suggesting is a resolve that will be led by the Europeans, negotiated by Europeans and that will benefit the Europeans. The author vests in the incoming European leadership the absolute confidence that right and might can be intertwined in order to achieve the perfect outcome for the settlers. He further expresses a desire that the interests of the British are not sacrificed here. In other words, in these forthcoming negotiations between the new Governor and the natives there is no suggestion that the settlers surrender their aspirations. To back down on any points of contention would be akin to the forfeit of British honour. In expressing a desire that the matter can be resolved peacefully the author contradicts his earlier statement that expects the deployment of “active hostile measures”. It would seem that his hopes for peace are not for universal peace, as military operations can hardly be considered ‘peaceful’.

It appears at the time that the Crown’s military presence, which was much hoped for during the Fitzroy term, had at last arrived. However, what is interesting here is that they are

referred to as “reinforcements”. The author is addressing the interests of the white readership alone as the idea of reinforcements suggests a strengthening and support of a particularly weak or ailing group who are at odds with another group and require some assistance. This implies that the white settler group, to whom this article is addressed, has accepted that they were in conflict with the natives. The article therefore reproduces the idea of an aggressive opposition to the settlers, requiring active hostilities. What is of particular interest here is that the settlers seem to be more than aware that their position in the colony is under threat. However, they are intractable upon the subject of their rights of settlement and demand military reinforcements rather than a diplomatic or a collaborative relationship with the natives, whom they see as threatening their rights of habitation. To ‘reinforce’ naturally suggests the use of ‘force’ in order to achieve their desired end - the habitation of their settlements - no matter how questionable their appropriation of those lands might be. However, the required reinforcements will not be deployed until the arrival of the Governor, suggesting that military and political order will be established around the authority of the Governor. The social organization of the colony is thus to be arranged so that the Governor General will assume ultimate control and will deploy his military in favour of the interests of the settlers.

The first paragraph thus works to establish a group ‘we’ to whom the article is addressed. The reinforcements (which will be deployed to take “active hostile measures”) belong to this group. ‘We’ anticipate the appointment of the Governor who ‘we’ hope will inevitably deploy the reinforcements, and take command of the situation on ‘our’ behalf. In establishing a group to whom the article is addressed, there is inevitably a group who are situated as the binary opposition to the ‘in’ group. The ‘out’ group on this occasion are the ‘natives’. The ‘natives’ are excluded from the same protection anticipated by the settlers because the reinforcements are to be used against them. Neither are they offered advocacy, leadership or the commanding presence of a Governor who will act on their behalf to secure their rights.

While there is some acknowledgement here that matters regarding the European settler are not altogether unproblematic (“we deem not the difficulty too arduous”), the author

explicitly identifies Māori as the source of settler concerns and requires the Governor General to deal with Māori specifically. “But it is as to the measures towards the natives that we look forward with deep and anxious interest”. The native position in this crisis is outside of the settler’s power to resolve. Resolution is not seen as something that might require an adjustment of settler behaviour, but rather their peaceful occupancy of the colony. The implication here is that only the subjugation of the natives to the right and might of the Governor will achieve this state of affairs.

Furthermore, the text associates the “deep and anxious interest” of the settlers with the ‘native’ situation. This augments other collocations which directly correlate settler concerns with the native’s state of affairs. Natives are framed as responsible for a “fearful crisis, a distracted state of affairs”, and are made accountable for the settler’s deep and anxious interest. This works to imply that the settlers have no accountability for the strained relations. Neither are the specific behaviours, which have caused so much concern, identified in the article. By obscuring the particular details regarding the cause and nature of the crisis, the natives can be represented in isolation from causality. This has a dual effect of making them appear to be irrational, incomprehensible, suspicious, and menacing while the settlers appear as the innocent, blameless and inoffensive party.

Summary

This text therefore contributes to the broader discourse of discipline. It constructs an ideal for the social organization of the colony. An able Governor General will take the helm, deploy his troops on behalf of the settlers, and the natives will be repelled so that good relations between the races will ensue. The settlers should understand that any native opposition to colonial activities is a threat to the entire colony. Natives are to be seen as a cohesive group with similar intentions. They must be understood as a group, they must be treated as a group and the concerns and difficulties present with one community of natives should be understood as belonging to all natives.

Article Six

***New Zealander*, 13 December 1845, p.2.**

We are obliged for want of space to postpone the insertion, until our next number, of a ground plan engraving of Kawiti's present fortified position, at Ruapekapeka. The plan was drawn on the spot by a friendly native — a distant relative of Kawiti's, — and is thought to be pretty correct by some who have visited the pah since its occupation by Kawiti. This pah is situated about twenty-five miles from Kororarika. The route is by the Kawakawa, up to Otuihu — the pah occupied, until lately, by Pomare — which is situated at the confluence of the rivers Kawa-kawa and Karetu. After passing Otuihu, the Kawa-kawa is navigable by boats, only at high water, up to the head, where the landing place is at the pah of Tamati Puku Tutu — a loyal chief. From this place to Kawiti's pah, the distance is about ten miles, by a most difficult road for wagons. — The pah can be approached, without discovery, as near as five miles; but within that distance, the only approach is perfectly open and visible from the pah. — This only access to the pah is on the south-eastern angle of it. The pah is situated on an eminence and has been constructed with posts and timbers, much thicker and heavier than those of the former one, evacuated by Heke and Kawiti on the 11th July. Around the outward defences the ground is cleared and cultivated. On the southern side, below the pah, is a large swamp; and on the west, north, and north-east, a dense forest surrounds the pah. Kawiti can muster about 800 fighting men: six hundred being of his own and Hekes tribe— the remainder consisting of the tribes of Morenga, and Papahia, and stragglers from various other tribes. The natives have cut intersecting lines of road through the woods, leading to the pah at Ruapekapeka and from very good source of information we learn, it is their intention, on the approach of the troops, to post themselves in separate bodies, on the different roads, near the principal point of intersection, and from their ambushes to pour in a destructive cross fire from all sides. Pomare has gone to a pah at the head of the Karetu, about ten miles to the westward of Kawiti's pah. The fortification of Pomare is described as more inaccessible, and much stronger than that of Kawiti — having steep, perpendicular sides, excepting one part, and that has deep embankments and ditches, with large strong stockades.

Surface Renderings

On the surface, this news item addresses the discovery, location, description and evaluation of a new pa built and occupied by Kawiti in the Bay of Islands. It describes the source of the plans, its position and the preferred method of transport to its locale. The author also mentions a relative of Kawiti who was the informant, along with a friendly chief, Tamati Pukututu. The author also points out their allegiance to the Crown by referring to them respectively as “a friendly native” and “a loyal chief”. Heke and the tribes associated with Morenga and Papahia are also referred to as being in league with Kawiti.

Background

Nga Puhī chief, Te Ruki Kawiti had achieved notoriety through his involvement with Hone Heke during the Flagstaff War (or First Māori War), beginning on 11 March 1845 with the

sacking of Kororareka. At the time of this article, skirmishes, sieges and battles were continuing, as a result of the initial clash with the British, and would do so until the siege of Ruapekapeka on January 11th 1846. Up until this time Heke, Kawiti and their forces had been involved in the defence of Puketutu (Omapere) and Ohaeawai, where British forces had sustained a number of casualties (Cowan, 1983, p. 465). Both Heke and Kawiti, now known as insurgents, had the full attention of the Governor General who demanded that they accept the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, replace the flagstaff, return their plunder and give up some of their lands. Kawiti and Heke were both defiant and in his correspondence with the previous Governor General Fitzroy, Kawiti proclaimed: “You shall not have my land—no, never! Sir, if you are very desirous to get my land, I shall be equally desirous to retain it for myself” (Cowan, 1983, p. 73).

Local intelligence had informed the Government of Kawiti’s at Ruapekapeka, resulting in the concentrated pursuit of Kawiti. Under the direction of the Governor and armed regiments a flotilla of war-ships, including the frigate *H.M.S Castor*, were deployed in order to lay siege to Ruapekapeka. Under the command of Despard, the British forces had, by the 8th of December, begun their advance proper. Kawiti’s forces, estimated to be in the region of 800 soldiers, faced a battery of over 1100 red and blue jackets. The siege itself was to last for over two weeks with the pah receiving regular shelling throughout. However, the siege was not to result in the anticipated defeat of Nga Puhi by the British. Rather Kawiti managed to lure a good number of their enemy through the pah, out the other side and into an ambush where both sides sustained casualties. However, while the press were deeply concerned with the more pragmatic aspects of armed conflict, in the following year after tensions had abated, a more considered analysis of the state of the colony was considered. Both Wellington and Auckland had now endured a bloody conflict. With some space to consider where the fault lay, the Auckland press began to criticise more openly the activities of the New Zealand Company, assigning the blame for the state of affairs to its somewhat dubious operations.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Political Authority

This news item appears to address the issue of Ruapekapeka both descriptively and clinically. On the surface it appears to satisfy the reader's potential interest in an account of the Pah's location and appearance. However, it works at the same time to reproduce relations of power by positioning the reader in sympathy with the political views held by the author. While the author installs the pronoun 'we' (to suggest that there is a company of people with similar notions and interests), he also addresses the audience with the assumption that they are correspondingly inclined to sympathise with the settler stance. There is, therefore, no option in the text for the reader but to be interested in Kawiti's Pah as anything but a fortification that functions as a refuge for insurgents and rebels. In other words, the text works to create an enemy for the reader by closing down the option to view the conflict in any way other than the position taken by the author.

The quantification of those in support of Kawiti, "800 fighting men", serves to give, at the same time, both a clinical assessment of what the British forces were up against and to offer the reader the opportunity to envisage a legion of aggressive natives who serve mutinous and defiant tyrants on a brutal and menacing campaign.

Constituting Social Relations

A number of people are also mentioned in the text including the chief Kawiti, his distant relative Tamati Pukututu, along with Heke's, Te Morenga's and Papahia's tribes. The way in which these individuals are mentioned, and their relationship to the text, serves both to create friends and to identify enemies. Kawiti is explicitly considered to be a threat. By mentioning Tamati Pukututu and Kawiti's distant relative, the British campaign is given credibility and integrity, because it appears that it has also attracted native sympathies. By singling out particular natives of consequence, who are lending assistance to the British campaign, Kawiti's position as a credible 'native' position is undermined. Kawiti's desire to maintain possession and sovereignty of his territories lacks credibility because he is not supported by his family, nor is he backed up by another chief of repute (Tamati Pukututu)

who lives in the vicinity. Thus, the enemy (Kawiti) can be made to appear a renegade in pursuit of an end that is not supported and is not in the wider public (or native) good. The text also works to undermine the credibility of the native campaign by establishing relationships between the various subjects in the commentary. Friendliness and loyalty are associated with the British campaign while the native position is linked with known aggressors and antagonists. Pointing out that there are natives loyal to the British disintegrates notions of native solidarity and assures the colonists that this resistance is an isolated affair and that their incursion is not wholly denigrated by ‘their own’.

Disavowing Context

While the text is written primarily to reveal the site and the characteristics of Kawiti’s pah, there are a number of silences that indicate that the text is working to engender the sympathies of the audience by positioning the chief menacingly and threateningly to the settler population, thereby provoking the readers to war vigilance. Firstly, while appearing on the surface to be an impartial and distanced record of the physical attributes of an organization, it most glaringly omits to suggest why there is such interest in the location of Kawiti’s pah. By omitting the *raison d’être* for what appears to be an intense interest in its location, the text sidesteps an examination of the rationale for going to war against these people. The audience is not given the opportunity to accept and approve the war based upon evidence. A close examination of the evidence might suggest other possibilities for resolving the conflict. However, a declaration of war, as the ultimate deed for attempting to secure the domination of one group over another, must resist scrutiny if it is to receive the absolute support of the people. This war, between coloniser and colonized, was not launched by the Crown in self-defence. Rather it was commenced legislatively and then moved into the military sphere to enforce acquiescence to the sovereignty of the British and to compel obedience to the command of the Governor General. This was done so that the fiscal advantages of colonisation might accrue solely to the British and the liabilities incurred for the colonial project might be assumed by the natives. In silencing all other possibilities for dealing with the differences between the Crown and a number of Nga Puhī chiefs, the audience is excluded and denied from taking up any position other than one that is sympathetic to the Crown. This wide-angled explanatory account of an enemy distances the audience from the adversary. The adversary is put at arm’s length while the audience is

obstructed from a close inspection of the situation. The potential for the audience to give careful deliberation to the enemy's ideological position is therefore undermined by excluding the audience from all possibility of commiserating with Kawiti.

Conclusion

The essential argument to be made out of this text is in its work of denial and exclusion. The text itself denies the reader the possibility of seeing the conflict in any way other than from the position of the Crown. This descriptive account of Kawiti's Pah works at a number of levels to draw out of the audience sympathy for the adversarial position of the Crown toward Māori. Firstly, it seeks to reproduce the author's ideal group relations by constructing an imagined relationship between the audience and the text. The audience is drawn into this relationship as the author deploys the pronoun's 'we' and 'our', suggesting that 'we' the newspaper are going to share some important information with 'you' the audience. Kawiti and his followers are addressed in the third person thus excluding them from this communication. In other words Kawiti and others are spoken *about*; they are not spoken *to* thus establishing the division between *us* and *them*. This text contributes to the discourse of discipline, for in constructing this division (between native and settler), boundaries of difference and disparity can be more effortlessly imagined. As the enemy disappears behind the front, anything may be said of them to mobilise social condemnation and rally the troops. Finally the author does not explain in any way, nor does he even hint at, his interest in the location and appearance of Kawiti's pah. The effect of this is to suggest to the audience that the significance of Ruapekapeka is self-explanatory and does not require discussion or revision. In deploying such an approach, explanation and evidence is rendered insignificant. The audience is therefore denied even a cursory review of the rationale for colonial aggressions against these tribes. In denying the audience the chance to evaluate the evidence for this decision to go to war, the course can be set without interrogation and protest.

Article Seven

***New Zealander*, 11 July 1846, p.3**

THE DECEPTIVE CHARACTER OF THE COMPANY'S SYSTEM.— RANGIHAETA'S WAR CONTRASTED WITH HEKES REBELLION.

“Had the true principles of colonisation, and the just claims of free communities of natives been understood by the Home Government, and by the people of England; the evils adverted to would long ago have been checked. Shall we profit by past experience? Or is it true, that while individuals sometimes learn wisdom from experience, yet nations never? Recent schemes of colonisation, which have found some favor in the eyes of the British public, afford reason to fear, that the thing that hath been, is the thing that shall be. Let this question fairly be met. Considering the mixed character of the population of a new Colony, -the weakness of a Colonial administration,—the peculiar difficulties naturally arising from the juxtaposition of European and native, mutually ignorant of each others modes of thought and action;— is it possible for colonies to be formed in the vicinity of powerful tribes of Aborigines without the almost certainty of an eventual collision, which must end in the subjugation of the weaker party? In such a case, it is impossible but that offences will come; and should the proposed colony be established in New Zealand, we may fully anticipate, that before the next generation, the New Zealand war, like the Kaffer war, will occupy the attention of the Legislature and the Public.”

Such was the language of an intelligent writer when commenting upon the affairs of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1839; and such the prophetic warning which he gave, of the almost certain consequence of the colonising scheme of the New Zealand Company. How truly have these predictions been fulfilled! The crisis has been more rapidly developed than the author we have quoted anticipated. The "next generation" is even now only merging into life, and yet a New Zealand rebellion has occupied, and a war on behalf of the New Zealand Company is now occupying, the attention of the Legislature and the Public.

... It is a melancholy fact that the result of colonisation in this country, has verified the predictions of the author whose words we quoted at the commencement of our remarks. Blood has been shed; but it remains to be shown, that the warfare occasioned by the rebellion in the North, was not the consequence of a system of positive and direct aggression; and, therefore, widely different in character from the present conflict in the South. .. our object now, is to point out the distinct characteristics of the two contests, and lead the people of England to make a just discrimination, between Hekes rebellion and Rangiheta's war. The insurrection at the Bay of Islands was a struggle for independence. It was the futile, though desperate attempt of a haughty and ambitious Chief to cast off the yoke of British authority. It was as the restive struggles of the fiery steed when galled and fretted by the unaccustomed harness. The Colonists were the objects of neither enmity nor hostility; for although their occupations were in many instances suspended, and their properties destroyed to a lamentable extent, yet they themselves were comparatively secure. But the contest in the South is of a very different character, and is marked by very different feelings... We agree with the writer of the article in the Times, when he says that the first settlers to Wellington found in the Aborigines who occupied the shores of Cook's Straits, a body of willing laborers and intelligent servants" and we would even go further, and admit that the natives at that time

entertained most friendly and affectionate feelings towards the newly arrived colonists. But we cannot coincide with him in imputing to Lord Stanley and his policy, the painful alteration that has taken place. The Company, and they alone, are accountable for the change; the arbitrary and aggressive character of their early proceedings gave birth to the bitter feelings of the present day; As long as they occupied the land which was fairly purchased, all was well: but when the site originally selected for the Town of Britannia was inundated by the winter floods, and it was determined to select a more eligible spot, then it became evident that Colonel Wakefield's purchases were not quite so extensive as he had represented them to be. A suitable place having been found, preparations were made for a removal, but the native owners protested against the occupation of unbought land, and resorted to almost every measure, short of actual violence, in resisting this act of aggression. The surveyors who laid out the present Town of Wellington went armed to their work, in order to intimidate the recusant natives! Here we have the true explanation of the origin of those feelings of alienation and distrust which eventually ripened into bitter hatred. So far from the Settlers being predisposed against the natives on their first arrival, we believe them to have been actuated by the most, generous sentiments: but the noxious system with which they were connected, operated like a canker-worm, destroying all that was kind and conciliating in the character of their early intercourse with the Aborigines. Allured from England by the flattering prospect of obtaining speedy and unmolested possession of those lands which they purchased upon the presumption that the title of the Company was unimpeachable; many of them discovered when too late, that they had parted with their substance for an inheritance of shadows! Doomed to disappointment, their hopes blasted, their capital wasted, their spirits chafed and harassed by a thousand annoyances,— can we wonder that they should gradually, though perhaps unconsciously, imbibe bitter feelings against the natives whom they were taught to regard as the authors of all their troubles? If, instead of taking; their cue from the Company, and crying out against the injustice and incapacity of the Government, and the duplicity and treachery of the natives, the misguided Settlers had united to demand the restitution of their money, and compensation for their losses, the baneful system, would in all probability have been crushed in its infancy, and the accumulated evils of their present position wholly avoided.

Surface Renderings

On the surface this extract works as a condemnation of the New Zealand Company's system for colonisation. The author criticises the Home Government, the people of England, the British public and the colonial administration for their naivety and ignorance in trusting in this scheme and censures the New Zealand Company for their 'deceptive character' and the British for their lack of good judgment. He further explains the potential difficulties in any colonial project where indigenous peoples are present, and predicts an impending calamity between colonist and native as a result of the errors, blunders and faults of those responsible for, and supportive of, the New Zealand Company.

The author further describes the inherent difficulties in situating two different groups of people who live in proximity to each other and who are in competition with each other for the same resources. He suggests that not a few difficulties will naturally arise when

“mixed characters” occupy the same colonial environment. The author proposes that out of this “juxta-position” of dissimilar inhabitants “peculiar difficulties” will naturally arise, particularly when the groups are “mutually ignorant of each other’s modes of thought and action”. On the surface this appears to be a concession that the European mode of thought and action ought not to be thrust upon other peoples and that the natives are entitled to think and act as they wish.

Finally the author suggests that it will be because of these errors that New Zealand is plunged into a state of crisis. He predicts a number of calamities that will befall the Europeans that arise directly out of the failings of the New Zealand Company’s Colonisation scheme. He envisages an “eventual collision” between native and European and fully anticipates that the Colonial Administration will, in the future, be wholly engaged in attending to the difficulties allied with a “New Zealand War”. Upon these grounds the author rigorously notes that the settlers should have “reason to fear” because in his opinion “offences will come”¹².

Article Seven Background

The Hutt Valley Campaign theoretically began in June 1843 at Wairau, just outside of Nelson. A skirmish had taken place between New Zealand Company representatives and settlers, and the Ngati Toa chiefs -Te Rauparaha and his nephew Te Rangihaeata, - resulting in an estimated 22 European and four native deaths. Although an enquiry had been made into the affray by the colonial administration, by 1846 there had still been no effective resolution to the conflict leaving Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata without regret and the New Zealand Company settlers fearful and aggravated. In the interval between the incidents at Wairau and in the Hutt Valley the New Zealand Company had not ceased entering into questionable land purchases in the area and local Māori chiefs (including Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata) had not ceased their protests and challenges to the unauthorized acquisition of their lands. The Hutt Valley was a particularly attractive area for the settlers in consequence of its agricultural potential, and tensions had been high over the occupancy of the area since 1842. In a previous tribal clash, Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata had dispossessed the area from the Rangitane, Ngati Apa and Muaupoko and as a consequence they had moved the incumbents off the land allowing Nga Rangatahi to

move in. Even though the New Zealand Company was aware of this change of hands it had nonetheless approached one of the evictees (Rangitane) and paid money for the valley even when, by custom, it did not belong to them. The settlers demanded the removal of Māori from the area but Nga Rangatahi stringently refused. In defence of their occupancy rights they amassed a ope taua¹³ of about 200 warriors under the leadership of Rangihaeata. The British then responded by moving over 1000 troops into the area and by February 1846 both sides were pilfering and destroying each other's property. No casualties were sustained until the 2nd April 1846 when two settlers were killed by Te Rangihaeata's forces. At this point Grey sent reinforcements, effectively escalating the conflict which ended on the 16th May 1846 at Boulcotts Farm. At the conclusion of the combat:

Six whites lay dead, and four were severely wounded....The losses of the Māoris were not accurately known, for all who fell were carried off, but two were seen shot dead, and ten or more were wounded, some of them severely. (Cowan, 1983, p. 104)

The passage being analysed was quoted in a one-page editorial on Saturday, 11 July 1846 in *The New Zealander* which launched some severe criticism at The New Zealand Company for their unscrupulous conduct. The author of the editorial opened his column with the above piece and then went on to say...

Such was the language of an intelligent writer when commenting upon the affairs of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope in 1839; and such prophets warning he gave of the almost certain consequences of the colonising scheme of the New Zealand Company. (*New Zealander*, 11 July 1846, p.2)

However, the author appears to be writing this editorial in response to concerns over the actions of the New Zealand Company casting a shadow over the colonial activities of all new settlers, in particular those to the North of Cook Strait. He is very much concerned with the public image of the colonists among the natives, in light of the conduct of the New Zealand Company, and this column works to create distance between the 'good colonists' and the 'bad colonists'. His is an expression of hope that all colonial activities are not tainted by the dubious conduct of the New Zealand Company. He makes a comparison between the Hutt Valley Affair and the Northern Wars. The Wellington conflict he suggests to be as a result of the underhanded and fraudulent activities of the Company,

while the Northern insurrections he puts down to the pride of a number of fiercely independent chiefs. The former he sees as unsavoury, the latter as almost noble and somewhat justified. The problem remained however, and that was the accommodation of an increasingly large body of immigrants with land that the natives were refusing to relinquish. Intertwining with these seemingly pragmatic concerns were portents of danger to follow. Questions of land appropriation could not now be seen as isolated from the expectation of violence, as Wairau and the Northern wars attested.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Moral Authority

The idea of colonization is treated critically in the article. However it would appear that colonisation as a rule is not denigrated, only the particular scheme of colonisation associated with the New Zealand Company. The author suggests that there is indeed a specific form of colonisation which actually enjoys “true principles”. He warns that there are a number of schemes of colonisation which, when coupled with a weak colonial administration, are destined to be so inflammatory that they will “occupy the attention of the legislature”. He proposes that New Zealand will be afflicted with a conflict similar to the Kaffir Wars which occupied the attention of the Cape Colony Legislature for 64 years. This, he suggests, will be because of the lack of wisdom and understanding among those responsible for, supportive of and involved with the New Zealand Company.

The New Zealand Company colonists are described disapprovingly in the text. They are rendered responsible for evils, and lacking in the kind of wisdom that might have been learned from past experience. Their want of knowledge has disposed them to find favour in dubious schemes of colonisation when they should have known better. He warns that in this condition, the Europeans have “cause to fear” because they are indeed the “weaker party”.

On the other hand the text works to frame natives sympathetically. The author concedes that the New Zealand natives are free, and that the home government should have understood this freedom and acknowledged the “just claims” of these “communities of natives”. For the time, this is a liberal recognition that the coloured races do not exist to be

in bondage to the white races, and that their rights of sovereignty over their land and possessions ought to be upheld. In his question, “is it possible for colonies to be formed in the vicinity of powerful tribes of Aborigines without the almost certainty of an eventual collision, which must end in the subjugation of the weaker party?”, the author suggests that they ought to tread carefully because the natives, both hold the moral high ground (“the just claims of free communities of natives”) and would most likely prevail in a conflict because they are the stronger party.

As was mentioned above, it should be noted that colonisation in and of itself is not criticised, merely a particular scheme of colonisation. The right to colonise remains uncontested. While the author does not expound upon what these “true principles” of colonisation might be, he nonetheless implies that there exists an approach to colonisation which is perhaps good and righteous. The true principles of colonisation might even be based upon certain ideals which in this case seem to be beyond explication, but which are commonly understood as having a firm basis in truth and integrity. It must be remembered that the author’s audience are white settlers and in order to persuade his audience to his point of view he must display empathy for their position. To condemn the practice of colonisation would be to undermine the readers with whom he is establishing a rapport, because they are all colonists themselves. Colonisation as a practice with principles is therefore held inviolate. The Europeans may, if they wish, occupy another territory at will, only upon the condition that they adhere to those precise standards that have underwritten this system of European extra-territorial acquisition and settlement.

The author constructs the problem facing the Europeans as a difficulty for the Europeans alone. This is not to say that the natives do not acknowledge the present difficulty, but the native course is uncomplicated and straightforward. The natives will inevitably resort to aggression and therefore the present difficulty will be responded to simply, effectively and according to custom. Thus, for the natives, this situation was never a problem requiring a solution. It is merely a conflict necessitating a natural and clear-cut response. For the natives, only the logistics and strategies need to be planned. The natives effectively have no problem that requires a solution because they merely have a course to

follow. On the other hand the Europeans have a complex problem to clarify and resolve. Thus, the text throws up a convoluted and multifaceted predicament for the Europeans to work through single-handedly. For the Europeans this is a difficulty which involves: true principles; just claims; evils; wisdom; experience; history; fear; mixed populations; a weak Colonial Administration; collision; subjugation and the prospect of a New Zealand war. While the immediate effect of this is to essentialize and limit the native response, more importantly it works to privilege the European capacities for a particular and superior kind of intellect that favours complexity, reason, judgment and argument. It is for this reason that the planning, organising and development of social arrangements for the new colony must be vested in the Europeans. In excluding the native account and denying its possibility, the European can take the cognitive reins and spur on the fledgling nation albeit at this fraught and difficult time for them.

However, it is within the text's silences that the most compelling political work is done. This article is suffused with biblical allusion. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss at length the literature surrounding Christian discourse and colonisation, it is clear that the writer draws upon scriptural references when he refers to truth ('true principles'), justice ('just claims'), evil ('the evils adverted to'), fear ('reason to fear'), weakness ('subjugation of the weaker party'), and offences ('offences will come'). What is of interest here is the totalising discourse which elides contest by an appeal to a Victorian social morality. The above signs are deployed strategically throughout the text in order to persuade the audience that there was potentially a course of virtue and right which has lately been dispelled by the iniquity of a group of offenders. In questioning truth, justice and evil, one is essentially questioning a universalized morality. Thus, in deploying these linguistic strategies there is little need for clarification on what exactly constitutes true principles, just claims, evils, fear and weakness because there is a dominant Christian discourse that has constructed these meanings discursively for the audience. This article therefore works to persuade the audience by intertwining a commonly held theological position with the author's political assertions. The author's position is therefore affirmed by what he does not explicate.

However, what is of primary interest here is the way in which whiteness constitutes itself in this article even as it works to construct the native. As was mentioned above, while criticisms are levied at the New Zealand Company, the system of colonisation still has possibilities and there is an intrinsic worth in the plan for the Europeans when executed truthfully. Thus, colonisation is made virtuous even in its worse moment. The average and honest settler is therefore exonerated and should have no cause for self-condemnation. In the scenario, the author positions the subjects in relation to each other so that the European settler is constituted as the innocent party in the fiasco. The New Zealand Company is cast as the villain, native fury is the consequence, and the settlers' well-being and future stability is the cost.

Furthermore, in making concessions to the moral high ground of the natives, the author constitutes himself as both liberal, but, more importantly, as one who understands acutely the local situation and has some historical knowledge of the same. In conceding that there is some justification for both Rangihaeata's and Heke's campaign, the author does more than commiserates with the chiefs as 'noble savages'. He positions himself as one with the competence to measure the "true principles of colonisation and the just claims of free communities of natives". The same virtues he sees in himself, he finds wanting in the Home Government, the Colonial Administration, the people of England and the British Public. Thus, the political insight and clarity that he enjoys, he does not afford to nations, suggesting that some individuals occasionally "learn wisdom from experience" but "nations never". The merits of wisdom experience and understanding, so glaringly absent in everyone else, are therefore enjoyed by the author. However, even as he concedes that native ire is somewhat warranted, he still denies them the qualities he values in himself. All of this works to give the author's predictions credibility. In arguing for his own abilities (albeit covertly), his forecast of impending conflict is conferred with authority. As someone possessing the required astuteness and clarity to calculate the impact of the New Zealand Company debacle, he can credibly prophecy that an "eventual collision" and "offences will come". Thus, this article works to create of its author an expert whose impartiality, logic and objectivity offer reliability to his predictions of an imminent struggle between native and European. The effect of this is to take the future course out

the hands and control of the natives. As the Europeans respond to this prediction, the course is set, not by native intransigence or aggression, but by European readiness for war. The text does not offer the supposed conflict any resolution, outside of war preparation, for all of the settlers. While the author may explain the factors contributing to this impending crisis, he does not construct the situation as one that can be settled in any way other than collision and conflict.

Constituting Othered Identities

In addition, the article works to reproduce racial division by framing natives as Other to the Europeans. The natives are situated outside of the group being addressed (white settlers). They are variously described as “communities of natives” and “tribes of aborigines” and are positioned at a distance from the audience. The natives are held apart from the Europeans and can be found only in the ominous assertion and predictions of the writer. They are shadow figures casting a gloom upon the Europeans who anticipate impending collision. Fear of settler subjugation by “powerful tribes of aborigines” motivates this writer, who, though he blames the blunders of the New Zealand Company for this state of affairs, forecasts an alarming future where one European incursion is met with a reciprocal and portentous native incursion into the European hinterland. Although the natives are not held responsible for the present state of affairs, they are framed in the text as a menace and a shadow to the future well-being and stability of those white settlers who have sought to colonise New Zealand, innocent and clear of any wrong doing.

In addition, Māori are framed as an ominous force and are not afforded the possibility for redemption that the Europeans are afforded. In other words, having taken up an opposite position, the natives will see this course through as a matter of instinct. In the text the eventual collision between Pākeha and native can be accurately predicted because the essential character and nature of the natives has been observed and scientifically proven. They will, without question, respond violently, aggressively and uncompromisingly. On the other hand, even though the author condemns the support that the New Zealand Company scheme has received, the text implies that, while the New Zealand Company and their clients haven't chosen the correct path, it was well within their power to do so. The 'evils' spoken of could have been averted, and they could have profited from past

experience. The option to make an informed choice, and perhaps alter their course in some way, is provided to the Europeans and denied the natives. The Europeans are free agents who can be held accountable for their mistakes, while the natives, once provoked toward a certain course, will inevitably respond in such a way that suggests that the particularly violent reaction that is anticipated is both instinctive and inherent. Moreover, the natives will continue this way into the “next generation”. Hence, even though this editorial serves as a denunciation of the New Zealand Company’s scheme of colonisation, the Europeans are nonetheless constructed with complexity, volition, reason, accountability and thus human potential. The natives, on the other hand are constructed one dimensionally. Once prodded in a specific direction the native will see the course out and there will be only one course of action – violence.

The natives are also denied the power of discernment. In suggesting that the entire colonial project (including all settlers and the whole colony) is at risk because of one dubious scheme, the author seems to suggest that Europeans have no confidence or faith in the native’s power to discriminate between a dubious scheme and a reasonable scheme of settlement. The natives are therefore summarily denied the capacity for fair judgment. While this text appears at the surface to endorse and justify the indignation of the natives by chastising the Europeans who are responsible for the Wellington crises, it constructs for the audience a native who exists separately from, and has little connection to, the Europeans except when in competition for the same resources. Natives exist in the white settler’s racial annexe threateningly, portentously and ominously. Largely acting out of instinct, the native shows little in the way of cognitive skills and reason. Without discrimination the natives cannot be trusted to exercise judgment in conflict and will associate and eliminate all Europeans regardless of their responsibility for the present crisis.

While on the surface, this article appears to be sympathetic to the position of the natives by casting doubt upon the efficacy of the New Zealand Company’s scheme of colonisation and proposing it as provocative and offensive, it still positions Māori as a threat to the undisturbed habitation of the white settlers. The author supposes that while the Company

is in error, it will still lead to a confrontation with the natives which will lead to the settlers' ruin in one way or another. Thus the colonists are made to appear variously foolish, ambitious, and ill advised, while the natives are framed as justified on the one hand, but on the other are seen wholly as powerful, aggressive automatons who, in exacting revenge, will undermine the peace of all settlers whether at fault or not.

Constituting Political Relations

Although the text appears to be critical of the Pākeha and sympathetic toward Māori, this passage reproduces particular ideal power relationships for the future of New Zealand. While it works on the surface to rebuke and criticise the actions of the New Zealand Company, its primary sympathies lie not with the natives but with those settlers who are not associated with the New Zealand Company. These innocents – as a result of the nefarious activities of the above – are subject to the ire of the natives and anticipate an eventual conflict. Thus, the ideal power relationship is seen here as one in which those Europeans who are not associated with the New Zealand Company determine the future of New Zealand, because they are the ones who can be trusted to tread carefully and sympathetically and will not prove an irritation to the natives. The potential for the natives to take political leadership and control in the colony is therefore undermined, even in this supposed act of generosity. It will not be the natives who get to decide the future course of the colony. The natives will simply respond in a predictable way when aggravated. It will be to those settlers who possess wisdom, experience and an appreciation for the “true principles of colonisation” that the lot of leadership will fall.

Conclusion

While the above article does not offer excuses to the New Zealand Company for their deceitfulness, or for the ignorant complicity of the other supportive parties, it does offer Europeans possibility, complexity, morality and depth. Even as the author alone assumes the role of critic, scientist and prophet, he gathers all Europeans under his expert wings and mobilises them for a future calamity. The above article has therefore been included in this section under ‘discourse of discipline’ because it works as a warning to the settlers and works for the purpose of preparing them for future violence with the natives. Even though the author demonstrates some supposed objectivity regarding the aggressions of Te Rangihaeata and Heke, he does not propose acquiescence or propitiation to the demands of

the natives. Rather it is clarion call to his own to garrison themselves and make preparations for the eventual battle with their now avowed native enemies.

Article Eight

***New Zealander*, 29 January 1848, p.2**

Thus then does the colony enter upon the ninth year of its existence. The only dark cloud upon our prospect is the extreme precariousness of our relations with the native people. We have struggled long against the conviction, but it is daily and hourly forced upon us that mischief is brewing near us. The gross violation of honor, truth, justice, and the faith of treaties so flippantly recommended by the noble Earl, now Secretary for the Colonies, in his execrable instructions, is well known to them, and has not failed to produce its effect. Their confidence is grievously shaken; no measures have been taken to restore it. Instead of coming forward as the Governor should, we think, have done, and declaring his purpose, at all risks, to preserve inviolate the rights guaranteed to the natives by a solemn treaty, ratified, evil influences have been permitted to work amongst them, without antidote or remedy, [and a state of feeling has been produced, which, if it do not eventuate in violence on their part, will certainly take many years of good government and upright conduct towards them effectually to eradicate. We cannot avoid repeating what we have before said on this subject, that much blame rests with the people for their supineness in not having at once come forward and demanded that the purposes of this Government in the matter should be at once and publicly declared. It was not sufficient as it has proven that the Europeans knew that these instructions would not, and could not be acted on. We owed a duty alike to ourselves, to our country, and to the natives, to declare publicly that we would resist by every constitutional means, any, and every attempt to do them wrong.

Surface Renderings

On the surface, the author vilifies Earl Grey for putting at risk the peace of the colony by what appears to be a provocative policy that effectively undermines the Treaty. He forecasts a collision between the settlers and the natives which will come directly out of native awareness of the Terra Nullius doctrine of Grey and his associates. He further castigates the Governor for not taking a stronger position on the treaty and preserving native rights inviolate. He forecasts continued troubles coming from the natives for which the colonial government would be burdened with for “many years” to come.

Background

Henry Grey, the 3rd Earl Grey (otherwise known as Viscount Howick), was appointed in 1844 to the Chair of the House of Common’s Select Committee on New Zealand. It was here that he investigated a New Zealand Company grievance against the colonial

government of New Zealand. After the Wairau affray the then Governor General, Robert Fitzroy had refused to issue arrest warrants for Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata and instead publicly censured the settlers for their provocation of the affair. Fitzroy's intransigence outraged the New Zealand Company which considered it an unforgivable example of cowardice and took up the matter with the House of Common's Select Committee on New Zealand. Fortunately for Wakefield, Howick (Earl Grey) shared a particular empathy with the views of the company on the question of the acquisition of what was determined by the colonists to be Waste Lands (Ward, 1960, pp. 244-262). It was felt, by Wakefield and Howick, that any lands not 'in use' by the native inhabitants of a colony should be made free for appropriation by the settlers and/or their representatives (such as the New Zealand Company)¹⁴.

Furthermore, Howick argued for the annulment of the Treaty of Waitangi and was vociferous in his condemnation of the Crown's right of pre-emption. He criticised the Colonial Office and its administration of New Zealand affairs, and stood firmly behind the claims of the New Zealand Company. For Wakefield, this public support of The New Zealand Company was a boon in a time of depreciating finances and declining immigration. Wakefield had always claimed that, as a major player in the colonisation process of New Zealand, the company and its representatives had some rights to the government of the colony. Now with some support in England in the form of Howick, they felt vindicated and used their influence in London to cast doubt upon the credibility of Fitzroy in particular, and to lobby Howick and Stanley for both land and cash loans to settle their increasingly precarious financial affairs. It looked as though, through Howick, the New Zealand Company had had a windfall. The New Zealand Company's denunciation of Fitzroy in England, coupled with the vociferous opposition in the colony, led by an influential public figure Alfred Domett, resulted in Fitzroy's recall and the appointment of his replacement, George Grey, in 1847. However, in contradiction to Howick's repudiation of the Treaty, Lord Stanley, the Colonial secretary made it clear that he condemned "with the utmost possible earnestness the doctrine maintained by some, that the treaties which we have entered into with [the Maori] are to be considered a mere blind

to amuse and deceive ignorant savages". Stanley charged Grey to "honourably and scrupulously fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Waitangi."¹⁵

New Zealand affairs were therefore characterised at the time by an ideological war. On the one hand, the New Zealand Company was still influential in London with some politicians and their Waste Lands Doctrine had been endorsed by Earl Grey (formerly known and Viscount Howick) the now Secretary for the Colonies. On the other hand, Governor Grey was directed to execute an administrative program in sympathy with the Treaty. To complicate the situation, at the time of this article the settlers were dealing with the implications of the increasing agitation of the natives. They had lived through the Flagstaff Wars and were daily aware of the prospect of further clashes, as the natives began to express their antagonism toward the Colonial government for its lack of interest in preserving the terms of the Treaty and securing native rights to the sovereignty of the island. Where, in previous decades, the colonial government would take care to consult with local rangatira, they were finding now that, with the numbers of settlers increasing and the colonial government solidifying, decision making was becoming more and more complicated. The colonists busied themselves with resolutions regarding the future of the colony and its resources that did not include a native voice - in contravention of the rights of sovereignty afforded them in the Treaty. Antagonism increased as native affairs were being decided outside of the natives on the basis of the best possible outcome for the settlers. Natives had no representation on any governing body, they were not heard in any committee, and they were often the last to know of any political changes that might result in significant disruptions for them. As a corollary to this, there were some colonists who continued to raise an alarm regarding what they perceived to be an impending clash.

Yet, during the period of uncertainty and tension, the Wellington press continued to express some optimism that the Governor offered the colony sound leadership. The Governor was anticipated as one who would bring to the settlements authority and presence and was no doubt well-informed and skilled at managing disputes and tensions as they arose.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Sovereign Authority

For the colonists, New Zealand was established with the arrival and instalment of an official British presence in the form of officers, government and military. That the author recognises this period as commencing in 1840, the year in which the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, does not necessarily indicate that white settlers saw the Treaty as their founding document. There is more evidence to suggest that the Treaty was significant for the colonists inasmuch as it secured the right of sovereignty for Queen Victoria, thereby establishing New Zealand as a colony rather than indicating that the Treaty negotiated for them a way into a complex relationship between two ostensibly dissimilar people. The Treaty was a bureaucratic necessity given the pressures at home for a more humanitarian approach to empire building. Most pre-1840 settlers would have had little knowledge about the signing of the Treaty. In fact, it was not until April of that year that the first reports began to circulate in the newspapers regarding the contents of the Treaty¹⁶. It was greeted by the settlers with some criticism, particularly in Port Nicholson where the New Zealand Company made their first foray into the business of colonisation. The New Zealand Company representatives were most concerned with the Crown's right of pre-emption and questioned the validity and efficacy of the Crown effacing their rights to conduct commerce among the natives in a manner that suited their company objectives. Thus for the British the 'colony' is constituted primarily as a place of settlement for British Europeans. When the contents of the treaty were published among the public it was engaged with primarily in terms of how the colonial government would reorganise affairs and establish itself as a support for those settlers currently in New Zealand and for the immigrants yet to arrive. Thus, the country's commencement begins upon an official presence of the British government more than the agreement of the Chiefs in allowing an official British presence in their lands. Thus, the pre-European history of New Zealand is effaced as the British work to establish a wholly European colony. Time and history are oriented toward acknowledging only a European chronology and whatever has come before has been subsumed in the shadow lands of a people without history.

Constituting Social Relations

The author invokes an image of darkness intruding upon the happy prospects of the settlers. The fact that the “dark cloud” is an intrusion that inhabits the horizon suggests that the writer is establishing a separation between the predicted difficulties and the settlers. In other words, the settlers are not in control of, nor are they responsible for, the “dark cloud”. Clouds emerge as a matter of nature and science, and the human population has no control over their occurrence. Thus, this foreboding is located extrinsically and obfuscates the colonial incursion as the root of these anticipated difficulties. While they may expect the shadows of this looming cloud to cast upon their otherwise bright prospects, this occurrence is out of their control and comes from ‘the skies’ as it were. The author’s concession is to suggest that settler relations do enter into the equation but he constructs a disconnect between the darkened prospects and these precarious relations, so that the proximity of settler and native creates difficulties which just seem to float in from across the way. What he is not suggesting here is culpability, guilt, and fault. One of the difficulties with public journalism is that the writer avoids assigning blame to the audience in order to avoid alienating them and severing their future patronage. The audience for the most part have made irrevocable life decisions and investments in a new future for themselves and their families by immigrating to New Zealand. To suggest that they are in any way the creators of their own possible demise would be too awful for them to contemplate. Thus the journalist embeds a disconnect so that the audience is protected from the horrors of collective guilt.

Without the natives, the settlement of New Zealand would happen in an undisturbed and successful way. Britain could be transplanted in this happy clime replete with wisteria and cabbage patches. However, in light of the unhappy and inconvenient circumstances, arising out of the fact that New Zealand has been formerly inhabited by a native race, the author solemnly suggests to his audience a reluctant caution in celebrating the “founding” of a new colony. It is with this caution that the author looks upon the future of the settlers in New Zealand. Grudgingly, they must live with the reality of native grievances which,

the author concedes, are highly problematic for the settlers. The effect of this is to position natives as difficult and problematic. The honest settler, to whom the column is addressed, is an innocent bystander in an unhappy and precarious situation for which he is not personally responsible. Thus, the fault does not lie with the audience's appropriation of other people's resources, the fault lies with "our relations with the native people". The practicalities and corporal consequences of a large-scale incursion of a foreign people to the islands of New Zealand are therefore subordinated to the difficult relationship the settlers are experiencing with the natives. By deploying the term 'relations' the situation between settler and natives is re-orientated to being one which renders the interactions between the two groups of people as purely social. Native actions are not positioned here as an exertion of sovereignty based upon a failure in a legal relationship on the part of the British. Neither is native aggression positioned as a justified military action taken by the aggrieved incumbents as a valid option to secure their rights. Rather the natives are situated as people with whom the settlers are having relationship difficulties. Thus, the pleasure settlers might take in the opportunities and resources which surround them is muted by the potential aggressions of the native people.

In this clause the author works to produce an air of foreboding for his readers, by collocating natives with mischief. This is not to say that the natives were not resisting the incursions of the settlers, rather it suggests that, in associating their present difficulties with native mischief, their own (settler) culpability is effaced and their fears for the future are vested in the potential difficulties created for them by another party. Furthermore the deployment of the term 'mischief', in association with native political resistance, works to undermine a determination by the natives to achieve some kind of redress or even a re-appropriation of that which they had been unjustly deprived. By infantilising native resistance in this way (by calling it mischief), a justifiable opposition to the commandeering and plundering of native resources and power is reduced to a bullish attempt by some shady and impulsive detractors to disturb the peace. The author is therefore unsympathetic to any rational explanation for this looming crisis. Rather he sees it as divorced from any particular legitimate cause and frames his concerns only in terms of the inconvenience it creates for white British colonists.

However liberal this excerpt might be, it still positions natives as threatening, despite the fact that native concerns might be reasonably justified, economically, politically and legally. Though native aggressions might indeed be defensible, they are nonetheless positioned here primarily as aggressors and antagonists. Reason and rationale are effaced and native resentment is emphasised. Panicked, the author suggests, in using the phrase “daily forced upon us” that settlers will be subject to an attack on their liberties and prospects by native mischief. This phrase also removes audience liability for these strained relations by positioning them as having to take responsibility by force for a situation which is out of their control. The audience stands innocent of the events which are conspiring around them. Rather they must incur the consequences of native hostility, which will be delivered upon them in spite of their blamelessness. Thus, the author resists implicating his audience for the supposed crisis and instead rests the unsteady situation upon native mischief and the inopportune and badly chosen communications of the Earl.

Constituting Othered Identities

As was mentioned above this extract also works to constitute two separate people and to create distinct social, cultural and economic divisions between the two. By deploying the possessive pronoun ‘our’, a social exclusion is immediately made between the people being addressed and those to whom they are referring. In this situation the ‘our’ must invariably connote the audience - a white settler audience. A social exclusion is immediately created when ‘we’ refer to another group in the third person. In this article the native people are referred to as a group who are not included in “our prospects”. In fact, their presence works to defeat “our prospects”, thus they are more than an extra-ethnic group, they are a threatening group of outsiders. Neither can this group be included among those who might enjoy progress, possibilities and prospects. Prospects belong exclusively to the settlers. However, difficult these prospects might be looking at the moment, they are nevertheless assigned to the colonists. By assigning potential to the settlers, the natives assume the potential’s antonyms; traditional, entrenched, un-progressive, uncultivated, and lacking potential. For the natives there is only the incomprehensible and gloomy past. The settlers, on the other hand, enjoy future prospects, expectations and opportunities, however uncertain they might currently be.

This also appears to be the author's appeal for the Crown (or the ministers of the Crown) to observe the terms of the Treaty so that the rights of the natives, as subscribed in the document, are held inviolate. However, this condemnation of the Earl and his recalcitrant discourses is rooted, not so much in the concerns for native welfare as with the safety and well-being of the British settlers in New Zealand. This condemnation of the Earl's lack of attention to the Treaty and its provisions is borne out of more proximate anxieties than an overwhelming care for indigenous rights. Rather, his distress has been engendered by the repercussions which are threatening to compromise the happy visage of the settlers. Once again the author sets up a space for the audience where they accidentally occupy the space between native unrest and political impropriety. They have been drawn into this situation innocently and bear no responsibility for the dire condition. Rather, he positions them as bystanders and blameless victims caught in the crossfire between rhetoric and muskets.

Disavowing Context

The writer assumes it of some significance that the natives have recently become aware of Earl Grey's Waste Lands policy and his intention to open up unsettled land for appropriation. This would suggest that the ideal situation would have been to keep the natives wholly ignorant of the machinations and rhetoric of the Crown and its colonial government. The writer, speaking for the benefit of his audience, naively appears to expect that the colonial government works in such a way so as not to agitate or further irritate the natives. While, on the surface, this statement appears to be empathetic and shows some concern for the shaken confidence of the natives, it at the same time works to set up a social expectation between the races over access to public information. The writer does not explicitly state what constitutes this gross violation of honour. Rather he assumes that his audience is in full possession of the facts and the political context surrounding his condemnation of the Earl. Thus, the settler audience is assumed to understand the background information prefacing this public censure. However, it is at the same time of grave concern to the author that the natives are aware of the Earl's policy. This suggests that while the settlers are expected to be conscious of the machinations of both Crown and Colonial Government, it would be imprudent for the natives to possess the same information to the same degree. The wariness expressed in this copy is born out of a

pressing concern that the natives will behave aggressively and with hostility should they become aware of the discourses and intentions of the Crown and the Colonial Government regarding the settlement of New Zealand. Better to advance this colonial project quietly, incrementally and cautiously, obfuscating the thornier points of the scheme and relying on native ignorance to soften the harder matter to swallow.

The specific reasons for the author's anxiety are not stated. By 1847 Auckland settlers would have lived through four violent clashes and campaigns in three short years. Particular attention was focused in the media of the time upon the Wairau Affray in 1843, the Northern Wars between 1844 and 1846, and recent hostilities toward the South, involving yet more dubious land acquisitions by the New Zealand Company in the Hutt Valley and Wanganui. For those unsympathetic to the New Zealand Company, these latest episodes would have seemed provocative and confrontational and might thereby risk the wellbeing of the entire colony. However, even though the finger is pointed at the Earl and the Governor for their violations of the Treaty, the article does not make clear the rationale for native defiance. The author does not elaborate on the "precarious relations", the "details of mischief", or the "evil influences permitted to work amongst them". Rather he summarises the current climate as a "state of feeling" which he anticipates will "eventuate in violence on their part". Thus, native resistance is ascribed an unruly and aggressive mood without its manifest parts displayed for academic consideration. Even in this moment of comparative generosity, Māori are denied an identity beyond recalcitrant native rebels. While the 'noble Earl' has been censured by the author he has nonetheless held out to him the possibility and expectation of "honor, truth and justice" and a way of thinking through the transacted documents that might have averted a particular course. The natives have no such value ascribed to them. They hang like a dark shadow over the landscape, foreboding, threatening, unwieldy and ominous. Thus we see the native constructed here void of principle and justification. Their anticipated violence is given grounds but is at the same time deprived of validation. In the event that the natives are given validation and credibility for their resistance, the colonial project for all white settlers would be undermined regardless of their affiliations (or not) with the New Zealand Company. Natives must therefore occupy a no-man's land. They can exist, but only as

menace, in order to bring colonial politics and government up short should this be required. A measure of native violence is therefore provided as a yardstick for the colonists to calculate where their checks and balances are required as they pursue their colonial course. What is also disavowed in this extract is the possibility that the natives themselves have called for and petitioned the colonial government and Crown for the Treaty to be honoured. That the author is able to make a connection between native unrest and the violations of the Treaty would suggest that the natives had made petitions for the same and had made clear that their resistance came out of a question over the right of the Crown to dismiss the rights ascribed to them in the Treaty. Even in this article calling for a revision of a course by the Crown, the natives are denied their own politics. It is not the place of the native to ask a White man to redeem himself. A white man might ask this of another white man, but a native should not ask this of a White man. Thus, the power relation between native and Colonist is maintained, even in this moment of political fracture and censure.

Constituting Political Authority

Here the author raises his concerns that the Governor ought to have risked the indignation of the various sectors of the settler community (most likely the New Zealand Company settlers) by holding inviolate the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. According to the author, from the beginning of his term of Governorship (begun the previous year), Grey should have rallied behind the Treaty and made it a pressing concern to preserve the rights guaranteed the native tribes of New Zealand. However, rather than a show of justice and humanitarian concern, the overarching concern of the author is to protect the safety of the settlers. He envisages that the violations of Treaty rights, advocated at higher levels of Government and espoused in the policies of the New Zealand Company, will reap dire consequences for honest colonists. The author therefore positions his humanitarian politics against the politics of the New Zealand Company land jobbing activities which have caused such native unrest. The Governor should have taken steps to advance a local policy that agreed with Lord Stanley's objective to avoid deviations from the course set by the Treaty of Waitangi in the treatment of native Affairs. According to this author the settlers would secure for themselves a sense of safety and security should the natives be guaranteed the rights afforded them in the Treaty of Waitangi. Executing the Treaty with "honor, truth, and justice", will therefore neutralize the potential for violence and abuse, thus

securing for the settlers their contentment in their new found homes and affording them with the possibility of enjoying the colonial anniversary without cause for concern.

Conclusions

This article overtly suggests more integrity and commitment the Treaty of Waitangi. However, it works in a number of ways to reproduce patterns of relations between native and colonist where power and control to determine the course and affairs of the country is wrested away from natives and vested in the colonial powers of the day. The article therefore works to reproduce the need for white social control.

Firstly, it orients the country so that its beginning coincides with the beginning of formal inclusion of New Zealand as part of the British Empire. Thus, New Zealand's authentic beginning, at least in the heart and mind of this journalist, occurs at the signing of the native and Crown accord of 1840. This chronological calculation repositions the history of New Zealand to a time before the treaty and a time after the treaty, therefore rupturing the continuities and consistencies of Māori chronology. The year of the Treaty signing marks the spot where a Nation-State is created and a significant reordering of territorial affairs is now legitimated. Where Māori saw the Treaty as an expedient that would allow them to pursue their economic, political and social interests with protection from the Crown, the colonists saw this as a moment of historical reassignment so that all before the Treaty is repositioned and renegotiated, including native affairs.

Secondly this article works to efface settler responsibility for the state of unease experienced by their community. Settler demand for land and what that has meant in terms of the administration of colonial affairs, however conflicted that might be at the present, is not discussed. Thus the author writes out the very community for whom the arguments regarding methods of land appropriation have transpired. The settler audience's desire for land is overlooked as the writer emphasizes native 'mischief' on the one hand and Government deceit on the other. The settler emerges from this as an innocent party, caught in the crossfire.

Thirdly, the condescension of the author in speaking for the natives and their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi is truncated as it does not speak fully to their ownership rights to the land which are guaranteed them in the Treaty (including the English language version). This would suggest that even while the author speaks about the need for honor, truth and justice in the official execution of the treaty, he falls short of admitting that economic and social power are vested in the natives as a result of the Treaty. Rather, the author subordinates natives to colonial rule as he confesses that it will take “years of good government” to “eradicate” their violent tendencies. Native power is therefore effaced, while the powers of the colonial government are reproduced, even in this moment of supposed generosity.

The writer uses native indignation to further this political agenda. He gives native aggression some airing without speaking to it directly and transparently, and then proceeds to offer the remedy for this state of affairs. This article works to build fear among the settler audience and to remind them that they are surrounded by peril from a native menace. He then proceeds to use this hazardous state of affairs to condemn some actors on the political landscape and to propose a particular course of action that will then alleviate present settler concerns. Thus, the author positions and vests colonial control back into the hands of the colonial powers, such as Earl Grey, to make amends. Because the natives have already been addressed as violent, aggressive and menacing, their inclusion in the political business of the colony has been eliminated. It is proposed that the government act towards them, not with them, and certainly not under them.

While this article is ostensibly directed at correcting an injustice, it does so backhandedly. It sets up the possibility of an engagement with and a dialogue regarding the rights, powers and obligations of the Treaty signatories, both Crown and native, and then pushes the potential for native engagement out of reach. The settlers should enjoy their new abode free of irksome natives, the Colonial office needs to be chastened and corrected and the future colonial government should take a lesson from the disturbances caused as a result of other’s errors. Thus, the native exists in this extract solely as an inflammation.

Article Nine

New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, 28 February 1849.

p.3

His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief and suite will proceed on a tour to the Waikato in the early part of the ensuing week. It is to be hoped that Sir George will be able to disarm the growing animosity which has of late been entertained towards each other by certain tribes of that district, because of a dispute respecting a piece of land. His Excellency on learning that this was becoming a serious matter, dispatched missives by the Rev. Mr. Wallis on his return to Waingaroa from a visit to Auckland, intimating that he would visit that quarter of the country, with the view of mediating between the contending parties.

Surface Renderings

At the surface of this text is one writer's concern for a situation of impending conflict which it is hoped, will be relieved by the involvement of the Governor General, Sir George Grey. It appears to express hope and confidence in the Governor's ability to defuse the hostilities. However, the text also works to construct particular meanings which position white colonists as commanding authorities in this event.

Background

The details regarding the particular tribal land dispute referred to in this article have not been unearthed from historical documents, so it is difficult to ascertain the particular background, parties or outcome. However what we do know is that Grey's mandate upon his investiture as Governor General of New Zealand was to settle the question of 'native Affairs'. According to Gorst (1959), in "performing it he had Englishmen, not Māories, to deal with" (p, 150). This is not to suggest that the author was not correct in there being a conflict involving two tribes. However, it would be unlikely that the dispute *solely* involved the question of an isolated controversy between two 'native' parties. Even at this time, the Governor was responsible for the administration of all Crown lands. Because of lack of controls (or scruples for that matter) during the early colonial period (before 1845) the status of land title, particularly in the North Island, was somewhat confused. Settler demand for land was high. Perhaps this was spearheaded in some way by the New Zealand Company whose appetite for land was voracious. Because of numerous uncertainties regarding the status of various holdings, Grey had, by 1845, restored the Crown's right of pre-emption. This was in order to give the Crown some breathing space as it tried to sort

out the numerous disputes brought about by land transactions between two wildly, culturally, economically, and social disparate people over more than a decade. Thus, as was stated above, it was most improbable that there were no settler interests vested in this dispute. This does not even take into account the fact that the very system in which a dispute might occur was established under white British colonial administrative domination in the colony. The very idea of a dispute at this particular time was understood as a question of title, a concept imported by the settlers as part of their legal cannon.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Political Authority

Firstly, the terms of address when referring to George Grey immediately afford him a position of authority. He is identified using the designations; “His Excellency”, “Governor in Chief” and “Sir” - immediately signalling a high ranking station. ‘His Excellency’ was and continues to serve as a gubnatorial title when addressing particular social leaders such as Governor Generals. The title ‘Governor-in-Chief’ belongs to Britian’s colonial past and refers to a Governor’s office in which he might have jurisdiction over a number of colonies. The title ‘Sir’ similarly indicates rank, status and respect and is often (but not always) conferred upon an appointment to the office of Governor-General.

As is mentioned above, even though on a tour, George Grey is afforded a right (in the text) to intrude upon, and even exert authority over and influence upon, what he presumes he will find there. “His Excellency” is also ascribed, albeit implicitly, with the qualities, characteristics and expertise to defuse an aggressive situation. Even though it appears contradictory, George Grey’s stated intention – “to disarm the growing animosity” and to tour the Waikato with the view of “mediating between the contending parties” - should be considered in the context of the above two points. That is, his right to encroach on conflict and to do so while on a tour, with the presumption that he is endowed with the facility to arbitrate, works together on a number of different levels. His rank affirms not only his right but also presupposes his capabilities in reconciling conflicting parties. His intention to address these problems while on *a tour* works to affirm his innocence and his detachment from the looming affray.

A presumption regarding the relationship between the author and his audience might also be made. Aside from the obvious fact that the article is written in English, suggesting the target audience are also English speakers and therefore most probably (in 1845) white settlers, this article is clearly constructed with the underlying expectation of loyalty and trust in White governance. Grey's authority to undertake an expedition of regional surveillance, and to encroach upon a local dispute with a view to intercede in the affair, is similarly framed with an assumption of consent from the audience. The text works to reproduce White political hegemony in the colony by closing down the possibility of resistance. No reference is made as to the efficacy of the 'tour' or to the validity of the Governor's political status.

Disavowing Context

In order for this assertion of White supremacy to present without contradiction, various possibilities that might otherwise have arisen if the text were written differently have been obfuscated. Firstly, there is the question of a land dispute. What is not elucidated in the article are the details regarding the reputed "dispute respecting a piece of land". Furthermore, there appears a gaping silence regarding the names of the native parties concerned or the location of the disputed land. This has the effect of rendering unknown or even shadowy the objects of the Governor's alleged concern. The author works to push George Grey into the shining, glorious light cast by three titles, while the reference simply to "tribes" renders the natives nonentities. They are constructed as a nameless hostile mass while he emerges as "His Excellence". The effect of this is to subordinate a number of people to the authority, power and acumen of one man. It also has the effect of rendering the relationship between settler and Māori unworkable. Without character, without identity except that which is ascribed by Pakeha and even then heavily laden with political interests, Māori cannot be brought into a relationship with Pakeha, they must be assigned to the murky margins while Pakeha take over and take control. Additionally the tribes are antithetically positioned in the report as nameless subordinates. They are not afforded status, occupation or reason. They are only referred to as "certain tribes" and "contending parties".

Conclusion

While only obliquely referring to a proposed intervention on the part of the Governor in a land dispute, the text nonetheless works to reproduce the need for social control. As has been previously suggested, Grey's authority to governance is not questioned. That he has been endowed and vested by the Queen with particular powers is realised in his title so that in Governor Grey, the Queen of England is present as a presiding authority over the land. White colonists lent on this authority to furnish them with the right to survey, administer, legislate and judge. While allowing the natives to maintain some parochial interests, Pākehā expected advocated and desired universal control of colonial affairs. This text is not so much about a 'native' situation in the Waikato, but about an assertion of authority, while living at the same time with the contradictions and insecurities incumbent upon one group of people who are uninvited, encroaching upon another. Though the attention of the author is directing the readers toward the activities of Māori, what bubbles beneath the surface is an overwhelming concern with the seizure and preservation of dominance and supremacy by white settlers, coupled with a huge sense of apprehension and unease regarding this colonial project.

Chapter Five Summary

The discourse of discipline expresses itself in three primary modes. Firstly the discourse of discipline works to foresee, prepare for and anticipate a crisis. In effect it give shape to a fabric of feeling, pulls all the indicators together and determines what one can reasonably expect, should a particular course be pursued. In any event the discourse of discipline presages impending violence. Thus, the settler public are called upon in the press to imagine and dread their doom, and to see peril and danger. Secondly, the press offers practical solutions for dealing with the imminent threat. Clear boundaries of social conduct are elucidated, rank is pulled, the military is mobilized and leadership is demanded, dispatched, endorsed or dismissed. Enemies are identified, friends are made and hierarchies endorsed. Appended to all of this discursive activity is the third feature of this discursive formation - the evasion of responsibility. This takes a number of forms. In the face of the approaching menace the colonizers are constructed tirelessly as innocent. Their humanity is reinforced; they are defended, sympathized with, emboldened and supported. In addition, the politics of the natives are effaced, denuding them of any rational or acceptable explanation for their resistance. They are rendered too capricious, too transgressive, too menacing, and possibly too justified to be entirely seen or comprehended.

Thus, it would appear that the discourse of discipline must work against itself for itself, playing a balancing game between accepting the reality of conflict, organising for its advent, and assigning blame and responsibility so that colonial acquisitions, resources, powers and assumed authority remain unassailed. Thus, in looking for peril, the press denies resolution. In seeking for the enemy the press refuses to understand them. In suing for peace the press demands reinforcements. These articles therefore attest to a colonial proclivity for identifying tensions and appropriating these extremities in order demand an alteration, a particular kind of leader, a structural change to the political, social and economic without surrendering their own resources.

Overwhelmingly, though, the discourse of discipline attaches itself so urgently to moments of difference that in doing so it allows no space for deliberation, consideration or alteration. In the dogged pursuit of colonization's end there are no prisoners. The native must yield or submit - there are no auxiliary pathways. The deafening silence of this particular discursive formation is found in the very present possibility that if one tiny pronouncement of culpability or guilt is uttered, it might over time grow into something brilliant enough to throw light upon the dark and shadowy places of colonization's underbelly.

chapter six

the discourse of paternalism

The discourse of paternalism is characterized by effusions of charity and compassion towards the native. Expressions of pleasure in the various accomplishments, gains, spectacles and advances of the Other are uttered. However, the ideological work of paternalism is in validating the New Zealand colonist's disavowal of ill-intent by working to appease the colonial conscience of wrong-doing. The discourse of paternalism works to bring colonist and native into peaceful proximity and unity with each other. Texts that deploy this rhetorical strategy are characterised by a particularly fine observation of the desirable behaviours and characteristics of the native. Usually only certain natives or native groups are singled out for special notice, recognition and praise. This works to create scientific examples of 'native made good' and serves to assuage the concerns of the colonist that the colonization process has had a deleterious effect upon the colonized.

Paternalistic discourse, furthermore, works as an expression of hope and pleading for a future of unity and harmony in a racially undivided society where white Western capitalism reigns supreme and natives uncomplainingly assume their rightful place in the 'correct' social order. Paternalistic discourse might also forecast an eventual native demise and suggest how this has come about and what might arrest their probable extinction. The discourse of paternalism is suffused with contradiction and is intertwined with the discourses of discipline and sovereignty, where benefits to the natives are accrued upon their acquiescence to the British law, economies and social rules. It advocates a future devoid of conflict, struggle and complaint about the vagaries, excesses and blunders of New Zealand's colonial incursion - while at the same time encapsulating a longing for a sterile but amusing past. The discourse of paternalism seeks to tell colonisers of the natives' former pleasures and delights, where shining white faces thrill in the dark gesticulating bare bodies, glistening with sweat, and throbbing with exotic sounds and movements. Where the discourse of discipline seeks to describe the present and inculcate

trepidation for an anticipated crisis, the discourse of paternalism marches across time boldly proclaiming what was good then, what is lovely now, and what will be wonderful for the future. As Jackman in Branaman (2001) argues, in the final analysis paternalism works to “preserve an amicable relationship with subordinates ... to pre-empt or subvert conflict” (p. 362).

The following articles have been selected from newspapers between 1839 and 1847 and have been identified as contributing to a discourse of paternalism. These texts work in concert to ascribe to the incursive activities of the Europeans, a mission, a civilizing purpose and a humanitarian fervour. Thus, they are appended to the more overt activities of appropriation, structural change, political reorganisation and the imposition of a capitalist economic base, in order to ease the relationship between coloniser and colonized and to assure the former that the deleterious consequences of their incursion can be subtracted from the overall good their presence affords.

In chapters four and five the background information for each article was condensed, providing some contextual information for the analytical sections. Because of the repeated appearance of articles addressing questions of land title, sovereignty and law, in the early press, it was necessary to pull these backgrounds together to demonstrate how they worked together over time to force the pressing questions for them into the public sphere. The following articles however, while working in concert to carve out, for the settler population, a sense of validity in their antipodean presence, are somewhat less synchronous. While the ‘Sovereignty’ articles agree upon the legitimacy of the colonial project, they do so from different starting points and arrive at a confluence upon the absolute necessity to override existing indigenous political, economic, and cultural systems and resources. The educators, philanthropists, the explorers and the missionaries, on the other hand, posit their rationales and their pursuits without the same level of tension demonstrated by those discussing the thornier questions of institutional power and control. Rather they propose initiatives and optimistically monitor the landscape for glimpses of progress and improvement catalysed through the colonists’ unselfish interest in the future of the natives. This they do without the need for interlocking conversations and debates.

Thus explorers, missionaries, philanthropists and educators disperse across the colony seeking joy, assurance, pleasure, and progress from the natives, pronouncing the intractable righteousness of their endeavours, and the vaulting triumph of the reformed savage. Reports of their exploits, musings or proposed initiatives are then reproduced in the settler press. Each of the articles will therefore be prefaced a background section so that the particularities of the respective contexts will be more easily identified.

The Papers and their Editors

The *Southern Cross* enjoyed the longest publication period (from 1843-1876) of the Auckland newspapers during the Crown Colony period (see Day, 1990, p. 10), while *The New Zealander* ran for 22 years (from 1845-1866). Owned by William Brown, a prominent businessman and political figure, the *Southern Cross* advocated strongly for the formation of a representative government. While antagonistic to the colonial administration on this point, Day (1990) nonetheless suggests that Samuel Martin, (editor of the *Southern Cross*) “and Fitzroy, enjoyed a good personal relationship and, importantly, the Maori policy of the Southern Cross, as advocated by the Wesleyan Martin, was closer than any other New Zealand newspaper to [Governor] Fitzroy’s own position” (p. 36).

Notwithstanding, the *Southern Cross* was later to become a vociferous adversary to the colonial administration, aligning itself squarely with the Radicals or Progress Party against the more conservative *New Zealander*. The *New Zealander*, begun in 1845 under the proprietorship of John Williamson, effectively operated as the mouthpiece for the Crown Colony Government under Governor George Grey (Day 1990, p. 37). Both were squarely in opposition to each other over matters of colonial administration.

Article One

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 6 September 1839, p. 3

LADIES PATRONESSES. The Countess of Durham. Lady Petre, Lady Molesworth. Hon. Mrs. Baring.

A Lady, the wife of one of the earliest members of the first colony intending to settle in New Zealand, has resolved on the establishment of an Infant School for the benefit of the children of the Aborigines, and of the poorer class of settlers. With this intention, she has purchased one of the preliminary sections of land which she gives as a perpetual endowment for this purpose, and has taken upon herself the responsibility of guaranteeing the salary for the first year of a master and mistress with their daughter as an assistant for whom she has likewise provided free passages, and accommodation on arriving in New Zealand. The teacher engaged is Mr Buchanan who during the last twenty years, has superintended the first institution of this kind established in England. It intended to place the contributions in the hands of three trustees leaving the management in the first instance to the lady who is the originator of the plan who subscribes the larger portion of the funds, and who proceeding to the colony with her husband, is willing to give up as much of her time as may be necessary for the personal superintendence of the school. The trustees will make themselves responsible for the due administration of the funds and detailed reports will be forwarded periodically to the subscribers in England.

Background¹⁷

The women listed as patronesses of the Infant School were all associated with the New Zealand Land Company through their husbands or sons and were known by the designation 'The First Colony'. Qualification for membership on the committee of 'The First Colony' was the purchase of 500 acres including a town allotment (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 21 August 1839, p. 6). The committee of The First Colony comprised two men, Henry Petre and Francis Molesworth, whose mothers are published as being patronesses of the New Zealand Infant School. Reference to this Infant School reappeared in the *Gazette* throughout 1839 but appears for the last time in May 1840:

Arrangements are made for Churches, a Museum, and an Infant School, open alike to the native and foreign child. In a few months after the town surveys are completed, all the institutions belonging to a civilized community will, we trust, be in full operation, and in a flourishing condition. (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 2 May 1840, p. 2)

It turns out that the would be 'Master of the Infant School' - James Buchanan - had left the ship at Cape Town having been convinced by family members there to apply his skills with 'infant school work' somewhat short of his original destination (May, 2003, p. 22).

On 21 November 1840 an article appeared in the *Gazette* indicating that The New Zealand Church Society who had formed “for the purpose of obtaining subscriptions to aid the Colonists of New Zealand in building a Church and establishing an Infant School, in which it was proposed to bring together the children of the colonists and of the natives” (New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 21 November 1840, p. 5), had run into difficulties (probably financial) and had to rethink their proposal. It appears also that the patronesses whose names were originally associated with the New Zealand Infant School were no longer involved in the project nor were they offering their sponsorship.

By 1841 the New Zealand Company directors in Port Nicholson and petitioned the Government for a grant for the establishment of a Mechanic’s Institute but this was declined by the Governor on 11 September 1841. On 10 May 1842, however, the Company’s ‘Committee of Management’ established the Port Nicholson Mechanics Institute, Public School and Library on Lambton Quay which was inaugurated with a lecture from Mr. Woodward whose discourse upon the difference between instruction and education:

...was listened to throughout with the most marked attention, the entire assembly "possessed so much" of the character of those we witness in the Mother Country that many, for a time, forgot that they were in New Zealand. (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 14 May, 1842, p. 2)

Membership of the Mechanic’s Institute was by an annual subscription of five shillings per quarter and an entrance fee of two shillings and six pence to all public lectures. It was envisaged that, with the subscriptions to the Mechanics Institute, they might be able to subsidize a public school. By 1842 The Mechanics Institute boasted a membership of 160 and on the 6th June 1842 a school for the children of colonists was opened. By November 1842 the Gazette boasted that:

Viewing knowledge as power and essential to lasting prosperity, your Committee has devoted every energy to the education of the youth of this settlement. They have offered instruction of the most useful character at a price unheard of at home, much more in a new Colony. Youth of both sexes are admitted to receive instruction in reading, writing

arithmetic, and (geography, for sixpence and Latin and the physical sciences, additional for nine pence per week. There are at present in the school 41 boys and 12 girls at 6d. and 10 boys and 5 girls at 9d. per week. Your Committee are happy to state, that no complaints from parents regarding the progress made by their children have come to its knowledge; on the contrary, every one seems to approve and speak highly of the acquirements the children are obtaining. (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 23 November 1842, p. 2)

However, the original aspiration for a school for Aboriginal Children was placed on hold and was not taken up again by the New Zealand Company.

Surface Renderings

This article declares the intention of a number of women, associated through their spouses with the Port Nicholson colonists, to establish a school to educate natives and poor white children. The Countess of Durham appears to have purchased a block of land in Wellington which was to be used as a site for the proposed school. In addition she was to sponsor the salaries of a teaching couple for their first year as well as providing them with free passage to New Zealand. The Infant School's trustees were to be responsible for the fiscal arrangements while 'A Lady' who devised the plan (and who is not specified but is in likelihood one of those mentioned above), will be responsible for the oversight of the school upon her arrival.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Moral Authority

In this article the native is positioned as a recipient of English charity. These ostensibly well-intentioned women resolved to provide for the Aborigine a school that would be benefit "the children of the Aborigines, and ... the poorer class of settlers". Their respective lack of association with New Zealand Aborigines seems not to have been of concern to the patronesses, suggesting that they were taking their cue as to this perceived expediency from elsewhere. In other colonies such as India, Australia and Canada, the British position regarding the education of the natives has haunting similarities. These patronesses do not use, as their reference point, the explicit needs of the native child to determine a course of action, but instead the native child becomes merely a site where their beneficence can be delivered. In an age where consciousness of the plight of the poor was high, culminating in 1835 in the Poor Law Act establishing workhouses for the destitute, the 'humanity' of the wealthy ruling classes was tested. There was also by this stage a

well-developed sense that the capricious and exploitative nature Britain's empire building was responsible for the impecunious circumstances facing almost every indigenous group in every colony. Thus, the admission of such a scheme as part of the New Zealand Company's colonizing project worked to assure all concerned and involved with Wakefield's plan that their actions would have only favorable consequences for the native. Thus the resolution *to establish an Infant School for the benefit of the children of the Aborigines* highlights the relationship between certain members of the British peerage and the New Zealand Company. On the one hand the aristocracy could to be relieved of their 'White Man's Burden' while the New Zealand Company enjoyed the public relations benefits that come from the patronage of these notable women.

Not only is the native effaced in this article by the largesse of the benefactresses, the native is also subordinated to a display of the patron's financial importance and social station. The author valorizes the fiscal advantage of these philanthropists and is specific about expenditures. "A Lady" has not only "purchased one of the preliminary sections of land", she has guaranteed the salary of a master and mistress, and has provided free passage and accommodation for them. Thus, in collocating the site of the native with such financial benevolence, a deficiency in the native is imagined so that the relationship between "the children of the Aborigines" and the patronesses is established as one of economic dependency. This presumptive move works to shape an association between the prosperous White and the one-dimensional native that celebrates white generosity over native need. In addition this discourse works by voiding the natives of a political economy and relocating them into a framework where flexible capital is available to only one color and one class which capriciously dispenses its capital upon projects which, its members are assured, might allow them to be understood as saviors and redeemers.

The natives are also initiated into an educational framework where their presence, while ostensibly central to the project, is at the same time obscured and mostly absent by virtue of the inflated purposes of their institutional leaders. The place of the Aborigine is obscured in deference to the more central place of the institution and the institutional directors. The patroness, the master and mistress, the trustees, superintendent, managers and subscribers are afforded clear designations that position them in terms of their

institutional leadership and their respective roles within the proposed school. Thus, unlike the largely imagined acquiescent and passive native these directors give themselves functionality and activity. They position themselves outside of 'race or ethnicity' where their generosity, institutional roles and leadership render them definition and clarity. The native is thus unseen in this moment of intra-group self-congratulation and is ipso facto subsumed under a heavy layer of white presupposition.

Conclusion

In this text the actions of the Patronesses in bestowing their favors upon the hapless natives would suggest that this text can be most suitably categorized as a discourse of paternalism. What is of note is the way in which paternalism as a primary concern works with the presumption of sovereignty. The writer, and those of whom he speaks, unflinchingly presuppose that they may, without question, institute a system of instruction with little else than an inflated sense of entitlement.

Article Two

***New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 3 September 1840, p.3**

The natives of these islands are a fine, intelligent race of men; I think there also exists in their breasts a degree of noble feeling that would do credit to Europeans. I will give you an instance of it: — A slave of one of the chiefs having committed a misdemeanor, the chief went to ascertain from the white men what would be the English mode of punishment for him. They immediately replied — Oh! give him a dozen lashes. They all, therefore, assembled together, the injured chief being perched on the top of a house crying. The boy was tied but before they would allow him to be touched the chiefs ordered their different tribes to go away for it was not right to see one of their men hurt: he however, got his twelve lashes, and the feeling manner in which some of those present appeared to be affected, induced me to entertain a favorable opinion of them.

Background

The article appeared first in the *Australian Chronicle* and was republished for the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*. Much of the travel writing that appeared in the colonial papers either preceded publication in a book form or would result in a travel book. In England interest was high in ‘uncharted territories’ and according to Wevers (2002) by 1872 hundreds of books about New Zealand had been published. In this case H.F., the author of the article, had proceeded on a journey through Queen Charlotte’s Sound, Cloudy Bay, Port Nicholson and around the Eastern coast to Poverty Bay.

Throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, accounts of European forays into the New Zealand hinterlands were published with regularity in the colonial press. The geographic environment and character of the interior, both human and physical, was of particular interest to colonists. The job of the traveller was to make the unknowable, knowable and to bring into being by the written word that which existed at the periphery. However there was functionality in the European anthropological discourses. Through their command of the narrative they were able to script the world in a way which not only justified the presence of the European in that place, but would also control thereafter how that place ought to be understood. Central to this growing corpus of literature on New Zealand was an interest in the native. In particular there was an interest in making sense of the native which would give the settler reason to hope that their antipodean ambitions were not going to be interrupted by the savagery of their new compatriots. The concern to find

reasons to affirm the native would been a reaction to a large corpus of early 19th-century literature and journalism (particularly that appearing in Sydney and London) which made much of the native New Zealander's practice of cannibalism. This arose largely as a result of the Boyd affair of 1809 where according to Levers: "The destruction of the Boyd became a general referent in the *Sydney Gazette* for any shipping casualty or report of cannibalism in New Zealand, and goes on being mentioned until the 1830s" (Wevers, 2002, p. 19).

Thus in this article is a particular concern to demonstrate that at least on this occasion the traveller enjoyed a heartening experience with 'the natives'. As New Zealand became, in the late 1830s and early 1840s, a destination that might be considered as both a potential domicile for the would-be colonist as well as a space with exploitable resources, there was certainly an interest in revising the 'savage' discourse to reconcile the economic interests of the English with the temperament of the native. These incursions into the 'heart of darkness' meant that the role of the traveller and adventurer was to 'centre the formless landscape' (Spurr, 1993, p. 96) by imagining it as an empty space, and then by encrypting his narrative upon this heretofore spatial nullity. Encounters with the native worked in a similar way in that the native was rendered at the same time both ambiguously and narrowly, so that the discourse associated with the native can be reframed to suit the disposition of the settler.

Surface Renderings

The author of the article (H.F.) describes his travels around New Zealand and takes a particular interest in the behaviours and customs of the natives. In this passage he observes that "the natives of these islands are a fine, intelligent race of noble feeling" and cites an example of this nobility. After consulting with white men about an appropriate punishment for an offence, a Chief delivers a lashing to one of his slaves but does so in such a way as to preserve the dignity of the culprit. This display of reluctance to make a public display of the slave's penalty endeared the Chief to the traveller who afterward was "induced ... to entertain a favourable opinion of them".

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Moral Authority

In this short extract the author bestows upon all of the “natives of these islands” the heady praise of one entirely beguiled by his own rectitude. From this place of moral assurance H.F. offers an indiscriminate commendation of this “fine intelligent race of men”. However, central to this praise is an assumption that his place of observation entitles him to make pronouncements upon the quality of the Other. Thus, the affirmation is both conditional and relational and exists with a reference point that is informed by the observer’s superiority. It is conditional inasmuch as it is only conferred as particular conditions are met which agree with disposition of the beholder. It is relational inasmuch as the observed are seen in comparison with the beholder’s social rules. H.F. thus presumes to be able to make a determination as to the native disposition in relation to what he perceives to be universal qualities of human fineness, intelligence and nobility, but so does only as conditions are met from within his own cultural and moral discourse. He suggests that the noble feelings he witnessed “would do credit to Europeans”. The idea that the European has something to learn from the Other works rhetorically in order to soften the relationship between the observer and observed. It is a display of benevolence serving both as an exclamation point behind the surprised ejaculations of the observer - ‘look what I found’ - and a self-affirmation that this cultural plunder is not purely about satisfying his indulgent curiosities but that he and his fellow Europeans might learn something as well.

Furthermore, H.F.’s high praise of the native is collocated with an instance where he observed a chief consulting with “the white men what would be the English mode of punishment”. H.F.’s observation is made knowable by a transaction that places white practices at the centre of the event. As the chief undertook to punish his slave with the requisite 12 lashes, H.F.’s engagement with the incident took on a more focused and comprehending aspect. A response to the Chief’s possession of a slave, which for the day might have caused some disquiet, was overshadowed by the raptures of the observer as he watched with satisfaction the performance of whiteness by the deferential native.

Thus, the violent nature of the act of lashing a boy was also subordinated to the “feeling manner” in which the punishment was administered. The tyranny of a social order that boasts slaves is of no consequence when sat beside the compassionate and benevolent manner in which that tyranny is managed. This belies a tolerance in the author for an oppressive hierarchy that is both exploitative and violent, upon the express condition that it is at the same time swathed in warmth and feeling. Thus, the observer is beguiled by a moment of cultural synchronicity where he recognises in these native power relations the social rules of his own group.

Conclusions

As a result of the outcome of his cultural tutelage the author heaps praise upon the native. However, while his praises are superficially munificent, at the core there is a palpable violence in his words as he unabashedly imposes himself, and his will, upon the scene, manipulating and managing its constitution for the purpose of his own approval. Thus, this moment of theatrical benevolence is at the same time underscored with presumptions of cultural superiority and sovereignty.

Article Three

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 30 October 1841, p.2

We were present last evening at a rehearsal by the New Zealanders of the war dance and war song of the nation, which by the kind permission of Captain Shuttleworth, are to be given at on Thursday. At the risk of being accused of childishness, we must say that we have never had an idle curiosity more completely satisfied: It was a perfect realization, of all one reads of in the books of, travelers, including Captain Cook and Defoe's imaginary hero and it only wanted a larger body of dancers to be truly fearful. The number of New Zealanders who have accompanied Captain Shuttleworth in the *London* from their native land, is; only seven. They are remarkably fine, intelligent, and powerful set of men, extremely willing to oblige, temperate, and quite alive to the degree of entertainment their exhibition is calculated to impart. The regularity and energy of their movements, the impassioned gesticulation the shriek; the song, and above all the beauty of the pantomime, satisfied us that there had been no exaggeration in any 'of the descriptions-we had read. We can honestly assure 'our readers, at least such as' take a rational view of the manners and customs of other countries,' that the performance of these good , men is really a treat of no ordinary kind. We cannot exactly 'describe the intent and purpose of their every - movement, but a -very slight effort of the imagination will serve to connect the pantomime with some of the most singular usages of a people little known to Europeans.

Background¹⁸

The sharing of newspapers from the around the colonies is nothing unusual. Ships sailing between London and the colonies and would carry copy between their respective ports of call and stories from these papers would be shared with the local papers. The arrival of foreign copy would be announced in the Shipping Intelligence columns and made available for perusal and sale at Post Offices and other public venues. In addition it appears that there existed a certain class of colonist who had both the means and the inclination to quit one colony in favour of another.¹⁹

Thus, of specific interest to those facilitating immigration to New Zealand was the way in which their newly adopted country was perceived by those back in London, primarily for the purpose of attracting settlers, and on another level for the purposes of retaining settlers who had the resources to quit New Zealand for another colony should they be dissatisfied. The New Zealand Company was well aware that a disapproving press story in London and elsewhere would either dissuade likely immigrants from choosing New Zealand as a potential place for settlement. In addition, they were undoubtedly aware that approval from another colony might assure the better class of colonist, with the means to move on,

that New Zealand was indeed a promising choice. The New Zealand Company offices in London, whose advertisements appeared in the London newspapers, were intensely interested in receiving positive publicity from the editors. For example Samuel Revans, editor of the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, indicated his deep interest in reports of the company's first immigrant ship's arrival in Wellington. "The news of the arrival of the "Tory" in Cook's Straits will be quickly followed by accounts of the purchases made here. These accounts should be in London early in March" (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 11 July 1840, p. 2).

Early in 1840 the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* editors proposed the use of the English newspapers to criticise Captain Hobson's attack on the New Zealand Company. Of particular concern was the compulsion to assure all of those with an interest in New Zealand that the natives would pose no difficulty to their aspirations in the colony. "We would urge everybody to write strongly to England. We can promise them hearty co-operation from several leading newspapers" (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 6 February 1840, p. 2).

The above article is of interest on a number of levels. Firstly it is a record of a white audience's enthusiastic response to the war dance of a group of seven New Zealanders and is an example of the way in which colonials received exhibitions of 'nativeness'. Secondly, that it was republished in a Wellington newspaper indicates that communicative trajectories existed across the colonies and raises some interesting questions about homogeneity in accounts of the indigenes across the empire.

The war dance as a public spectacle or performance is not recorded in any New Zealand paper before this time. The *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* published an article where a New Zealand company agent mistook a war dance in his honour for a "hostile demonstration". Reference to a war dance is made in the Edward Jerningham Wakefield's travel articles where, after being hosted by the natives, he witnessed the war dance as part of the departure formalities:

This morning the natives seemed preparing for a start: the pigs and mats were again placed in the canoes, and the masts and sails rigged; but they found out that it was necessary to have some more kai or feasting, and the ovens were filled more than once. This lasted till late in the afternoon; and afterwards a war dance, and speeches between my fellow-travellers and their entertainers the Ngatipas, took up the remainder of the day till twilight. (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 20 June 1840, p. 2)

Later in 1842 the *Nelson Examiner* published an account of a war dance as an indication of the ‘*Depradations of Maories at Wangeri*’.

On Thursday they visited the family of Mr. Thomas Runciman, carpenter; and, after dancing their war-dance, the chiefs entered the house and presented a letter from Mr. Buller, a Wesleyan missionary at Munga Rahia, advising the settlers not to resist them. They stated to Mr. Runciman that they came for payment for a tabooed place. (*Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 14 May 1842, p. 38)

It wasn’t until 1843 that the war dance is recorded in a New Zealand newspaper as a public performance when, at the Wellington Anniversary Fete, the “amusements of the day ended in a native War Dance” (*New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, 24 January 1843, p. 2). That Shuttleworth arranged a public demonstration of the war dance in India is an indication that he had considered it a worthwhile amusement, probably through prior experience. However it does appear that the value of the war dance as either local or international theatre is, at this point, in its very early stages.

Surface Renderings

At the surface this article is an enthusiastic account of what is most likely to be the performance of a war dance by seven New Zealanders to a group of English colonials living in India. The report indicates that Captain Shuttleworth had arranged the concert which would have a repeat recital on the following Thursday in “the theatre”. The article reports that the audience was ecstatic about the spectacle which brought to mind the South Sea adventures of Defoe and Cook. Furthermore the audience enthused intensely in the physical and intellectual facilities of the New Zealanders thrilling in the “regularity and energy of their movements”.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Social Relations

As is mentioned above, the notion of the native as one who offers the white observer the possibility of unleashing their own romantic energies and paternalism is encapsulated in this article. In this uneven exchange the native performance is understood by the white audience as a “rehearsal”, “a curiosity”, “a pantomime” and “a perfect realization of all one reads”. Thus, at the centre of this spectacle are not the New Zealanders but the author, who consumes and beholds, enthusing in this moment where he is, by perception at least, seduced by the war dance of “a people little known to the Europeans”. In this case the author is moved to consider the performance in light of other white men’s encounters with Pacific peoples, such as Cook and Defoe. Enthralled with his consumption of this moment of drama he reflects that it is “like one reads in the books of travellers”. Balme (2000) suggests that far from being a pure form of representation, theatricality is rather, a mode of perception which “merges verbal, visual and corporeal dimensions or forms a bridge between them” (p.68).

The performance of nativeness is therefore primarily about a thrilling encounter with the savage “who turns out to be the human counterparts of a Romantic sublime” (Spurr, 1993, p. 127). Thus, the New Zealander is rendered knowable and made familiar by the white beholder as a product for Western Consumption. The New Zealander is perceived and reported as a sedative or fulfilment for the more esoteric longings and munificence of the West. “The regularity and energy of their movements, their impassioned gesticulation, the shriek, the song and above all the beauty” enlivens the white imagination with the titillation of Otherness and replaces white Western capitalistic domesticity and docility with a momentary flirtation with the feral, the natural and the untamed.

As well as contributing to a more immediate sensory experience for the spectator it offers the West “an image of our own more primitive being” (Spurr, 1993, p. 46). The value of aestheticizing the native is found in its power to neutralize the harsher social exigencies

that colonization foists upon the indigene. Thus, rather than understanding this as a moment of pleasure-taking in relation to a dramatic performance, an important discursive practice by both the audience and the author is being enacted which intersects, informs and gives momentum to the practice of colonialism and expansionism. Spurr (1993) argues that:

It is no accident that the idealization of the savage from the beginning has always accompanied the process of Western imperial expansion, for this idealization simply constitutes one more use that can be made of the savage in the realm of Western cultural production. (p. 128)

Therefore, if the colonized can be loved by the colonizer, albeit for a performative moment, the colonists may be reassured that their intentions are not exploitative. This kind of romancing with the native, according to Jackman (1994), “infuses the inequalities in a relationship with an intricate bond that lubricates the contact points between the participants”.

Thus the colonizer is able to interpret these instances of engagement as liberality toward the native, which in turn serves to enliven this relationship with opportunity, moral legitimacy and possibility.

Consuming the Other is made more palatable by elective ignorance. Far from being a profound cross-cultural engagement, the default position for the white audience is one devoid of contextual awareness. Thus, a heady distance is maintained between what is signified by the war dance on the part of the New Zealanders and what is understood by the audience. Rather the author is content to report:

We cannot exactly describe the intent and purpose of their every movement but a very slight effort of the imagination will serve to connect the pantomime with some of the most singular usages of a people little known to the Europeans.

Thus, the primacy of the white imagination is implied, rendering actual signifying practices inherent in the war dance as superfluous to the ecstasies of the audience. That the stance of

the war dance is one which in all likelihood was to draw attention to the male genitalia and that the actions were most probably indicative of how life might be taken or preserved, is of little consequence. What is of value in this transaction is the space between what is recited and what is understood, so that in the void the audience may allow its desires and longings to dance across the imagination.

Furthermore, the editorial decision to republish this article in a Wellington paper indicates an interest in receiving feedback from fellow colonists in other parts of the empire regarding their appropriated cultural products. Captain Shuttleworth had designated the war dance of the New Zealanders as an item of entertainment, and had arranged for the spectacle to be performed on at least two occasions to his compatriots in India. The success of this performance was initially published in the *Calcutta Englishman* and is then republished in a Wellington newspaper some months later. This indicates a degree of cognisance as to New Zealand's public image overseas. Whether motivated by the competitive practice of the immigration market or merely as an indication of international approval as a reference point for determining the success or not of the decision to make New Zealand their home, the New Zealand colonials were intensely interested in what other colonies, and even London, thought of their antipodean activities.

Conclusion

This article encapsulates a moment where white paternalism, desire and romantic longings collide. The display of nativeness offered the British colonists in India an opportunity to enjoy the thrill and ecstasy of Otherness. The writer gives the audience the assurance that in this performance can be seen the real magic of the native, the authentic and the genuine. The native, in his performance, is thus appropriated, and claimed, as a cultural appendage for the white self. The discourse of paternalism is not, therefore, the provision of an autonomous cultural space for the native, but rather a site of cultural plunder for the white, where performance transcends entertainment and becomes first the embodiment and then the consumption of the mystical and the esoteric.

Article Four

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 7 May 1842, p.3

At the Ourere, Rolfe, known at Nelson as the owner of the Eliza is building two vessels, one of about 12 and the other about 80 tons: The former will soon be completed, and loaded for Port Nelson. He has the assistance of two other white men, and the good-will and support of the natives, who here are anxious for us to settle amongst them, and his enterprise and execution are alike creditable.

Surface Renderings

This article is based upon a communication from Wellington, primarily announcing the construction of two new sailing vessels by a Mr Rolfe. In his endeavours he has the help of two other settlers. The natives, the report affirms, are supportive and are eager to have yet more colonists settle the area.

Background

The Aorere River flows north about 40km from a thickly forested area in the North West of the South Island into an outlet at modern day Collingwood in Massacre Bay/Golden Bay²⁰. Rolfe would have most probably been resident at the inlet. An 1857 account of a journey to the headwaters of the Aorere and Takaka rivers records that there were two discreet tribes formerly resident at Massacre (Golden) Bay - the Ngati Tumatakoriki and the Ngati Apa. (*Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 22 August 1857, p. 3) At the time of this article, however, the most likely native inhabitants were settled Northern tribes who had invaded the area under Te Rauparaha in 1828. The Tasman Bay area seems to have been well settled by Māori at the time with no fewer than four pa sites in the vicinity of Massacre (Golden Bay).²¹

Indications are that the natives expressed some initial enthusiasm for European settlement and were particularly interested in the ship-building technology which the colonists brought with them, embracing both the expertise and the commercial possibilities that this allowed (Scholefield, 1909, p. 363).

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Social Relations

This text suggests that the settlers harboured an interest in enjoying a relationship with the natives where their presence (the settlers) was welcome. The need to communicate a perception that they were welcome in New Zealand by the natives signifies that, on some level, they understood themselves to be interlopers and were aware of the possibility that they might encounter resistance. That a specific statement addressing native enthusiasm for their presence needed to be made, suggests a degree of relief that, thus far, the Nelson settlers had not meet with native opposition. In addition the natives are credited with being supportive, rendering assistance and showing goodwill as well as being anxious for the settlement of the white British colonists.

Therefore, the text signals for the author and the audience a desire to understand themselves as invited to settle and to colonise New Zealand. Thus, a degree of anxiety seems to have attended the author that the colonists' decision to immigrate to New Zealand might be undermined by the presence of indigenes. However, thus, assured by the friendly native disposition, his future in New Zealand was secure and the business of prospering could move on unimpeded.

Furthermore, the article reveals that, in some way, the natives enjoyed the power to satisfy the anxieties of the settlers and to reassure them of their desire to belong. As the relationship developed, the oft repeated designation of 'friendly native' in the face of native resistance from other factions, worked to allow space for the settlers to be reassured that their presence was not entirely rebuffed, but that they were supported and validated by natives who were agreeable.

Conclusion

Paternalism needs to be understood not as a gesture of goodwill on the part of the author. Rather, the author exercises this graciousness toward the native because as yet, his presence has not thus far been resisted. Discourses of paternalism therefore work to assuage white apprehension that all between the races.

Article Five

The Daily Southern Cross, 23 September 1843, p.2

We have advocated the rights of the European and native, frequently and fully. We have treated of the effects of British Government, as far as the present and prospective circumstances of both are concerned, but there is another, and a very important portion of our community whose interests we have always had in view, although we have not had an opportunity until now of bringing their case prominently before the public. A class of persons, who appear to have been entirely overlooked by our wise legislators. The natives and the Europeans, have each been the subjects of treaties and of laws; the privileges of the former have been attempted to be limited and prescribed, and the rights of the latter have been usurped and violated, but there is a class of persons who cannot be affected in their rights, either by the treaty of Waitangi, or the Land Claims Bill. We allude to the descendants of European fathers, and Maorie mothers, commonly called "half casts." These persons are in many instances, the children of misfortune, and as such, are too often neglected and despised; but they are still our fellow-creatures, and entitled, under the laws and dispensations of the God of nature, to an equal interest, and an equal participation in the soil on which he has planted them. Our object in the present article, is to endeavour, as far as possible, to throw some light upon their condition and rights. We have protectors for the Maories, we have oppressors of, and advocates for the white people, but there is not a single voice raised in favour of the poor Euronesian. Is he less deserving of pity and compassion, than his outcast father, or his credulously fond, and demi-savage mother? Is there any protector of his rights, any one to claim, and prove his title to his mother's, or his father's land? No voice is raised in his behalf! The natives have their protectors, and certain rights are acknowledged to belong to them; the Europeans are struggling hard and perseveringly, to obtain the rights and privileges of the citizens, or subjects of the civilized Governments to which they belong; but the coloured children of New Zealand neither assert their own claim, nor does any one assert it for them. Have they then no rights? Are they beyond the influence, and without the benefit of human laws? If they are not, it is surely the duty of this Government to say what their precise position is. At the present moment, they may be perhaps, too poor, too insignificant, or too few in number to render it imperative upon the Government seriously to take up this question; but, if there should be one of this description (and there are scores, even hundreds of them in New Zealand) it is very plain that he must have some rights and privileges, he must be expected to obey the laws, and for such obedience, the laws must confer some benefit upon him; he must have certain privileges, civil and political. What then, are the privileges of the Euronesian? The coloured inhabitants of this country, consist of two distinct classes, the children of persons who have been legally married, according to the customs and ceremonies of England, and the children of persons who have been united according to the laws and customs of New Zealand: who, in consequence, would be in England deemed illegitimate; but who are, according to the customs of the natives, fully entitled to the rights of New Zealanders. The first class are at the present moment, not quite so numerous as the latter, but they are fast increasing, and many of them are respectable; the children of respectable and well behaved European fathers, and high born native mothers. How then, are such children to be regarded? Are they merely natives living under the conditions of the treaty of Waitangi? or, are they British subjects? or, are they both? We are of opinion that they are both entitled by English law, (seeing their parents have been legally married) to inherit the properties of their English fathers, and according to native custom, and to the treaty of Waitangi, they are entitled to all the rights

and privileges of their native ancestors. The first is theoretically true by English law, and the latter is practically true, according to present native usage and custom. If this be the case, how will it affect the claims of the British Government and especially that absurd and assumed right of preemption? Let us suppose a case of the kind, and it is no imaginary one, where a British subject is legally married to a native woman, say the favourite, perhaps the only daughter of a great chief. The son of such persons would be certainly entitled to inherit all his father's property. But how would he stand as the heir of a high, a powerful native family? His mother has, it may be, become possessed of all her father's landed property, and has taken exactly the place and rank which he held in his native tribe, and her people are waiting and looking forward to the time when her son shall be old enough to exercise the power and rights, and to assume the possessions which are fairly his by native law and custom, guaranteed by the treaty of Waitangi itself. — Could such a person be prevented from inheriting, occupying and selling his native possessions? We imagine not. — Such a being, and there are now several of them, would rather perplex the framers of the treaty of Waitangi. It would afford some occupation to the law officers of New Zealand to discover what his anomalous rights were. Many such cases will however, ere long come before them, where the person will on the one hand, claim the rights of an Englishman, and on the other, backed by all the strength of his native connexions, demand and enforce the rights of his native ancestors. A subject of the Crown of England will in fact become a native prince, with his thousands of native subjects, followers and connexions. If he be educated and intelligent, will he submit to the state of demi-slavery in which his countrymen are attempted to be kept by our present system? Will he allow his vast possessions to remain unavailable and useless, because England says that a native has no right to sell his lands? Will he as a British freeborn subject submit to the wrongs of preemption over his property, while his other fellow subjects can dispose of their lands as they will? Will he be a free man in the one sense, and submit to be treated as a slave in the other? The thing is absurd, and gives additional force to the arguments which we have so repeatedly used in favour of the necessity of at once conferring upon the natives of New Zealand the full rights of British subjects. So far we may be supposed to have been forming a case, and people may perhaps think that no hardship can or has at least been sustained by the European, because his rights are unknown or left in abeyance. This however is not the case. Hardships, extreme hardships, and gross and cruel injustice have already been sustained by persons of this class...

Background

The question of the amalgamation of the races (between Europeans and Māori) was topical in the early settler newspapers and other colonial literature. While white European settlers had been forming families with Māori since early contact (Wanhalla, 2007) the complex issue arose in regard to the legitimacy of these unions. Furthermore, the settlers struggled to comprehend the implications of a mixed race particularly in the face of a Victorian race theory (Young, 1995) that proposed superior breeding to be located exclusively within one's own racial group. Indeed Ballara (1986) cites the musings of Baron de Thierry as he contemplated the possibility of 'race mixing' in New Zealand:

To keep each race in its proper sphere is by far the most certain way to raise the character of the New Zealander, for ...I am convinced it can never be done by amalgamation. Indeed amalgamation is but a one-sided question at best, for surely no white man would wish for the retrogradation of his colour, or to see his daughter, or sister, or female relative in any degree, married to Maori man. (1986, p. 52)

While an element of sexual competitiveness (Barrett, 2002, p. 59) and territoriality might pervade this commentary, it nonetheless indicates some of the thinking of the time among colonists. The amalgamation of the races was understood by some as an aberration to be avoided (see above). However, others made accommodation for, and even expressed optimism in, the marital alliance between Pākehā and Māori. The sexual alliance between the 'races' was at the time of this article both historical and inevitable. It was not uncommon for whalers, sealers and traders who made landfall in New Zealand to take a local wife and settle in a Māori community. This trend continued, particularly as single male immigrants found themselves without marriageable prospects from among their own (Wanhalla, 2007).

Caught in the breach, of course, were the children of these alliances. For those deeply entrenched in notions of racial purity, these children were an aberration. While others saw in these offspring hope that, as 'interbreeding' continued, the Māori strain would be eventually eradicated. The anticipation of this prospect was perhaps more wishful thinking intertwined with a dubious race theory. However, the question remained as to how the white British colonists were to understand, theorise and treat children who were - at least in part - their own. The appearance of the half-caste, in and of itself, challenged scientific conjecture that 'civilization' was a function of genetics and that the white race was endowed with a fortunate cocktail of genetic material that predisposed it to 'cultivated' behaviours. For should a half-caste child be produced, what would become of the whiteness within, or rather the pre-disposition toward cultivated behaviour? Should the child be raised in a Māori environment, it was noted that the child's white genetic tendencies would be eclipsed by Māori cultural proclivities and would thoroughly dissipate the more superior tendencies of his, more often than not, white patrimony. The above article is about one white journalist trying to make sense of this half-breed racial entity and

demonstrates the complexities involved in whiteness making sense of itself when it finds itself in Otherness.

In addition, the author uses this problem of social engineering to make sense and even challenge the Crown right of pre-emption by highlighting the legal double-dipping that the Euronesian were theoretically now in a position to do. The author suggests that it is well within the realms of possibility for the Euronesian to accrue fiscal advantage by escaping the constraints of the Land Claims Act 1840. This piece of legislation was enacted in New South Wales initially in order to give the Crown the right to assess pre-annexation European land title. This was done in order to identify and deal with cases of land-jobbing, to establish a system of registering white British colonist land claims, and to ensure that the acquisition of 'native' lands was done in way that the Crown determined both expeditious and according to the Crown's best interests. The paper's editor (Samuel Martin), as with other journalists of the time (particularly writers for the New Zealand Company's *Port Nicholson and Cook Strait Gazette* such as Samuel Revans), had an intense antipathy towards the Crown right of pre-emption and were deeply troubled by the implications for their own holdings which had, since the Treaty, become tenuous. The article thus uses both the plight and right of the 'Euronesian' to undermine the second treaty article (which affords the Crown the right to the sole purchase of native lands) and to highlight what he understands to be its flaws and shortcomings.

Surface renderings

While on the surface, this article appears to highlight the plight of the 'Euronesian', it does so in order to expose the potential complications and contradictions of the Crown right of pre-emption. Martin suggests that 'we' have been outspoken about the rights of both parties to the Treaty. However, he suggests that he is now in a position to articulate his concerns about a particular racial group, whose rights he had always maintained, but had not, until now, been publicly vocal about. He makes the point that the 'half-castes', have slipped through the legislative cracks and that while both the 'native' and the European have been buffeted by the excesses of the Crown, this half-castes are immune to the restrictions of both the Treaty of Waitangi and the Land Claims Ordinance 1841.

Patterns of meaning

Constituting Social Relations

This passage works to position natives as beneficiaries of white British colonist goodwill. It is only upon the colonist's declarations that the 'native' is afforded rights. Any rights they may have declared or understood as a group are effaced as the colonist takes over speaking for them. However it should be pointed out that, without the presence of the colonist, the 'native' needed no 'human rights' to protect him from the excesses of the colonisation process. In advocating 'native' 'rights' the author - in a double move - repositions the 'native' from being a group with sovereign rights and the power to self-govern, to a group which requires the interventions of the Europeans to survive as an entity. Furthermore, in the self-congratulations implicit in this declaration, for their awarding the 'natives' their advocacy, these Europeans reconstitute the 'native' as a group which exists merely as recipient of the favour of an important social institution (i.e. the press). In what might be understood as a moment of frivolous paternalism, the author deftly substitutes indigenous political autonomy with indigenous objectification. Thus, a new people are created out the shadow of the old, a people who require the deft hand of white protection in order to survive a virulent white incursion. This passage works to obfuscate white culpability in this altered situation for the 'natives' that now requires a declaration of 'native' rights.

There are numerous discursual strands at work and intertwined in this question. Firstly, there is recognition that the 'native' has 'vast possessions'. This consciousness is acute in light of a voracious yearning to acquire said possessions (land) from its owners. The other discursual strand to which the author is referring is the waste lands doctrine (see above). The assumption is that land not in productive use is rendered 'useless', and will continue to be so, should it remain 'unavailable' to the colonist. The idea that land should lie dormant and uncultivated by a legislative decree appears untenable to the author. These ideas are further complicated by the author's broadside at 'England', or the Crown, for the practice of the Crown's pre-emptive rights over land sales. In response he creates a separation between the white settler and the Crown over this issue and invokes notions of independence from the Crown. Through his use of 'England' to replace the 'Crown', the

author is positioning the Crown as an entity far removed and distant from the interests and needs of her subjects. These notions sit side by side with the author's racial politics which are, in this instance, given definition and shape by his advocacy of a system of free indigenous land bartering on an open market. He lights upon the attenuated position of the half-caste to give volume to his commercial aspirations.

Once again the question calls upon a negative response. The conclusion here is that the Euronesian, endowed with a genetic predisposition to demonstrations of intelligence inherited from his partial white parentage, would not allow his 'vast possessions' to sit dormant. Thus, the assumption is that the half-caste's white genetic endowments might prevail and provide a philosophical underpinning to his position on land sales.

This passage thus works to conflate seemingly incongruous discourses into one. The complexities of each strand are, however, muted by the rhetorical question which merely requires an outraged and disapproving rejoinder. In order to make a point of the injudiciousness of the pre-emption clause, the author attempts to demonstrate how the Euronesian's situation in relation to the Treaty provision is rendered contradictory. He suggests that as a 'native' through one of his parents he might be compelled to observe the pre-emption policy while at the same time he might also reasonably and expectantly claim immunity from the limitations of pre-emption because of his British parentage. The author forecasts these complications coming to a head when the half-caste observes his countrymen enjoying the benefits of the free disposal of their properties.

However, upon interrogation we find a moment of sense-making which indicates the intertwining of different contexts, one legal and one cultural, to produce a meaning which accommodates and effaces both contexts. In terms of the legal context, it is questionable as to whether or not the author is aware of the third article of the Treaty of Waitangi, which renders the 'native' a British subject regardless of his parentage. It appears that the author understands the rights of British subjects to exist solely with those of direct ancestry. In writing this article it might have been feasible for the author to interrogate the contradictory nature of the pre-emptive clause on the basis that the 'native' is both a British

subject but also (according to him) constrained economically by the exercise of the Crown's right of sole land purchaser. What he chooses to do, however, is to highlight the untenable position of the half-caste who finds himself potentially unable to exercise his inalienable hereditary rights which might find him in an economically inequitable position with his fellow British subjects.

The disavowal of the native's right to be treated as a British subject is demonstrated here even in its silence. The rights of British subjects, he labours to point out, are held exclusively by those of British extraction and there is no acknowledgement of the fact that, under this same treaty to which he refers, the 'full native' has those same rights as well (irrespective of the pre-emption clause). Neither does he engage with the possibility that the pre-emption clause was entered into by the signatories as a protection from a history of questionable land transactions.

The author deploys the term 'subject' but uses it exclusively in the context of his *freeborn* or parental heritage. The assumption appears to be that British subjects are those born to British parents or a single parent. The author proposes that only the half-caste is in a complicated position because, as a subject with mixed parentage, he suffers because he theoretically has no autonomy to vend his property to buyers outside of the Crown. He offers that the pre-emption clause is somehow undermining the half-caste's rights as a British subject and further suggests that this wrong-doing is complicated by the fact that, as a British subject of European extraction, the half-caste might not tolerate such an injustice in the face of the freedoms exercised by his 'own'.

In this extract therefore we find the author discussing a legal question in light of a potentially attenuated social context. However, inasmuch as he does not admit, nor does he cross-examine, the literal complexities of the Treaty, he creates a theoretically flawed but nonetheless one dimensional Eurocentric argument that favours an understanding that renders the 'native' a group without the rights of British subjects because they are not entirely made up of all things British.

Constituting ‘Othered’ Identities

Additionally, the transaction appears to be uneven inasmuch as the author talks of racial configurations without including his own subject position in the discussion. Throughout the course of this article the author alludes to four distinct groups of colonists. Firstly he introduces the article with reference to the collective ‘we’ which the reader would most probably understand to be the author and his colleagues at the press. This ‘we’ are defenders of the ‘native’ underdog and advocates for the colonist. Secondly, he alludes to a group to whom the rights of both the white British colonist and the ‘native’ must be defended. Thirdly, though obfuscated in the passive construction, there are those who appear to hold prejudices towards half-castes when he suggests that the half-caste is a class of people who are “too often neglected and despised”. Although it is unclear exactly who the agent is in this passive sentence construction, given that the audience are European settlers and colonists, it would be in keeping that the identity of the agent belongs to a subset of the settler community. Should the agent have been ‘native’, it is a pattern in the settler media that this identity characteristic would have been elucidated. Lastly, he mentions the colonial government for whom he has some antipathy in regards to their management of ‘native’ affairs. All three colonist groups are given individual status and identities depending upon their ideological proclivities and political positions. In this explicit discussion about race the author does not race his own people. However, the ‘natives’ are only afforded an incorporated racial identity. Everything about the ‘native’ is subsumed under the racial sign. ‘Natives’ are understood by this author as a cohesive group, differentiated only by their shade of colour. The above passage therefore works to formulate a political relationship and exchange where the unraced individuated European is placed in a paternalistic relationship with the racialized ‘native’.

At the time of writing the place of the coloured child in New Zealand was both unstable and contested primarily among the white colonists. There is no indication, in the literature, that the ‘half-caste’ child was viewed, by Māori, as belonging to a peculiar social/racial category requiring special treatment or consideration. The half-caste child threw up a number of new issues for the settler that simply didn’t feature in essentialist musings regarding the ‘native’. The instability (for Pākehā) of both racial signs was present in this

genetic fusion and it was with the half-caste that colour anxiety and consciousness was foremost. Thus, while the 'native' might be rendered and positioned according to particular dispositions in relation to his reaction to the colonial incursion and his socio-cultural differences from his white British colonist neighbours, the half-caste child was largely understood in terms of the scientific difficulties that his presence created for the Pākehā. Thus, the sign of 'race' was most concentrated in this genetic anomaly. The half-caste child or coloured child is the site that most clearly articulates the racializing discourses of the Pākehā. Here the author understands the 'coloured child' in terms of a perception that he or she is apolitical and is incapable by virtue of caste, of the assertion of, or claim to, any rights. Thus the author establishes not only a people apart, he also creates a political gap through which the half-caste must inevitably fall. Not only is a biological category constructed, but a political half-life as well, where space is made for white intervention and liberation.

Constituting Moral Authority

While the author suggests that he has been historically forthright about the rights of both British colonist and 'native', he does suggest that there is one particular group that has not benefited from the kind of intelligent advocacy that has so obviously benefited the aforementioned publics. Turning his attention to the 'half-caste', the author works to position the 'half-caste' as a deeply problematic group of people who have suffered immensely as a result of their systemic neglect and public vilification. He affords them equal advantage under God and suggests that provision be made for public acknowledgement of their right to the physical resources of the land. Once again however, the social function of this passage is to call upon the Christian sympathies of the audience to afford this group of people with equal and just recognition. Deconstruction of the rationale for such insistence reveals the prejudices of the audience that are addressed by the author.

That the author feels it incumbent upon him to insist on an equal recognition of the half-caste's rights and privileges, suggests immediately that he is talking to a socially positioning discourse or ideology within elements of the audience. This social discourse on miscegenation concerns the superiority of the purebred, whether 'native' or European. This

antipathy for hybridity can be traced back to the late 18th century which saw the intersection of science, anthropology and colonial expansionism, breeding such pseudo scientific pursuits such as craniometry. The study of craniometry was a positivist measure concerned with the cranial measurements of ‘racial’ groups which gave an anatomical explanation for theories of racial inferiority and superiority (see Young, 1995). According to this theory, should the races interbreed, it would likely lead to the dilution of the European race, producing physiological and thus intellectual mutations. However, the generosity with which the author addresses his concerns regarding the half-caste suggests a complicating Christian/Paternalistic discourse infused with contemporary racial thinking. Thus, he scientifically positions the half-caste but speaks critically, though not overtly, to the racial politics involved, encouraging his readers to assume a more charitable view of the half-caste than is currently abroad.

The above passage therefore works not to destabilize a racializing discourse regarding the half-caste, but rather to draw upon Christian sympathies on behalf of the unfortunate. In this way the audience’s ideological positioning is only marginally challenged by this exhortation for the exercise of charity toward its fellow-creature. Thus, the passage reproduces a particular view of the half-caste but falls short of undermining this deleterious rendering. Rather, this racial positioning works to draw out the pity of the audience thus opening up spaces where the audience members are able to imagine themselves as Christian devotees.

Having constructed a half-breed, the author turns his attention to a determination of the entity’s legal rendering. In posing the question, “how are such children to be regarded?” the author is silent upon exactly who might indeed be ‘regarding’ the child. In the context of the article, the author is proposing that the audience will be provided with a foundation for regarding the half-caste. Thus, the article suggests to the audience that there is a way of understanding those children of Māori and Pākehā eugenics and that the social identity of the half-caste will be offered in answering the above question.

If he be educated and intelligent, will he submit to the state of demi-slavery in which his countrymen are attempted to be kept by our present system? Will he allow his vast possessions to remain unavailable and useless, because England says that a native has no

right to sell his lands? Will he as a British freeborn subject submit to the wrongs of preemption over his property, while his other fellow subjects can dispose of their lands as they will? Will he be a free man in the one sense, and submit to be treated as a slave in the other?

The effect of the hypothetical question is to limit the possibilities to an array of responses that are bound by the nature of the question. The hypothetical question further calls upon the audience to reach an affirmation that appears to be self-evident. Thus, upon arriving at a conclusion elicited by the question, the audience is unlikely to return to the question itself and examine the politics of the said question (Black, 1992). The question does not itself admit any objection because it calls upon the audience to select a response that agrees with the assumptions that are implicit in the asking.

The inevitable answer to the above question would be in the negative. However, it is much more fruitful to consider the parts of the question rather than the whole. The idea of intelligence and education residing with the half-caste is shot through with doubt as the impossibility of these two characteristics featuring in the presence of a state of 'demi-slavery' is raised. Thus, the author is primarily invoking the white side of the half-caste and calling upon the audience to consider the improbability of the co-existence of intelligence and education (themselves) alongside the 'native' (Other). While he allows that 'demi-slavery' is a systemic challenge for a colonial New Zealand, in the context of the article it would appear that his distress regarding 'demi-slavery' is motivated not by a humanitarian concern over the overall effects of colonisation upon the indigenous people, but by his anxiety over a system that prohibits the sale of land to anybody other than the Crown. Here he suggests that intelligence, a cognitive advantage and inheritance of whiteness, will no doubt prevail and resistance will be demonstrated, by the Euronesian, to the imprudence of the 'present system'.

Conclusion

Although a single article, the above deposition on the Euronesian offers some indication of the thinking of the day. As settlers struggled with the practicalities of carving out a future in their new domicile, they had to, at the same time, grapple with a new and somewhat contested political institution that initially made bold accommodations for the presence of

an indigenous people. While needing to understand themselves as possessing only the best of feelings toward the 'natives', the colonists nonetheless demonstrated an unwillingness to translate these views into a functional advantage for those without an exclusively white pedigree. Rather, the half-caste was a much more complex social problem that this author publicly worked through, balancing and weighing the legal rewards that could possibly accrue to those without an explicit representation and understanding in the colonial law. In the end, his case is one that urges the colonial government to give recognition to this aberrant sexual product, not in the interests or for benefit of the children themselves, but rather to satisfy the colonist that their difficulties with the Treaty of Waitangi are legitimate.

Article Six

***New Zealander*, 14 March 1846, p.3**

The anxiety and desire of the natives to acquire knowledge, and practice of agricultural pursuits are daily becoming more universal, and numbers of them now travel a long distance from the interior, as well as from the eastern and western coasts, to seek employment on the farms in the vicinity of Auckland, and so to obtain practical information in husbandry, in order to cultivate their own lands. They are apt to learn, and are soon initiated in field labour, to which they are much inclined. During the late harvest, their services have been of essential benefit to many farmers, and they have proved themselves to be excellent ploughmen, reapers, bullock drivers, &c. In dealing and breaking up ground, they are laborious and clever, and they can trench ground as well as any European. As might be anticipated, some of the native districts have advanced more than others, in the practice of European agriculture, producing crops of various grain, more especially wheat, for the purposes of food. But with the natives, as with the European Settlers, a productive harvest of wheat is comparatively no benefit to the resident population, unless there are mills on the spot, to convert it into flour. This very circumstance has much retarded the success of farmers in the neighbourhood of Auckland, where grain might be shipped to other ports; but such disadvantage would operate still more powerfully, against the farmer in the interior, and indeed, in districts distant from the coast, and without any roads to the capital, would prevent altogether the cultivation of wheat. For some time past, wheat has been cultivated by the natives, residing in a valley called "Beecham Dale," at Aotea, and during the last two years, they have had, each year, about one hundred acres of wheat. At the harvest of last year, these industrious, intelligent natives, experienced their great want of means to convert their grain into flour, and perceived that, unless the evil was remedied, before the next harvest, their cultivation of wheat was utterly unprofitable and useless. The principal chiefs of the districts, — and whose names are worthy of record, — Paora, Muriwhenua, Hoari Kingi, Te Haratua, and Te Manihera, — about nine months since, determined on the erection of a water mill, and aided by the advice of their pastor, the Rev. Gideon Smales, they have most completely accomplished their object and set almost praiseworthy example to their own countrymen. The natives, themselves, excavated the ground, brought the stones from Kawhia, and cut them, felled the timber, &c, under the direction of an European mill-wright, Mr. Stewart McMullan, by whom the machinery and mill were erected, and to whom the natives paid the sum of Eighty Pounds sterling for his services. The mill performs its work well, at the rate of two bushels per hour, and is considered the property in common, of those chiefs and their natives, who assisted and contributed to its erection. This sensible, laudable act of the natives we mention, with the greatest pleasure. This water corn mill, in the fertile districts of the Waikato and Waipa, amidst a numerous native population, cannot but operate most beneficially; and we sincerely trust, that it will stimulate them to pursue the peaceful occupation of husbandry, so as to secure for themselves wholesome nutritious food, as well as to induce further progress in the habits of social, civilised life.

Background

Petrie (2006) suggests that the early commercial enterprises of the Māori were diverse, adaptable and successful. Prior to a flood of European immigration, not only was the trade

of commodities between settler and Māori commonplace, but a number of off-shore business ventures were taking place which displayed considerable ability and understanding of foreign markets and custom. The domestic market was also dominated by Māori, whose commercial relationship with foreigners was very robust and included the establishment of shops, business partnerships and the collection of custom and duties. With the arrival of new settlers many Māori saw the commercial opportunities in the supply of goods and services to the colonists. They were generally keen to diversify their markets and turned their attention to the possibilities of domestic trade and industry.

Against this background, the Europeans were not captivated by Māori for their business acumen. In fact the business of capitalism was associated almost exclusively with Westerners. The age of Enlightenment had provided the world with a way of understanding the brown skinned races, and seeing them as ‘Captains of Industry’ was not one of them. Exploitation of the labour and trade of the natives belonged to the white middle and upper classes and not the other way around. The thinking of the time saw one means of civilizing the savage races as being the acquisition of habits belonging to the agrarian proletariat where, as Hussain (2006) argues: “The colonized turn out to be the victims of the very use value and exchange value they themselves are able to create and generate” (p. 136).

Surface Renderings

The texts refer to what one writer perceives to be the increasing inclination of the native towards the pursuit of agricultural labour. He suggests that this desire to acquire the particular habits of farming, enjoyed by the European, is being held in common among all natives who venture from far and wide to Auckland to learn the skills of husbandry and to obtain gainful employment. He lauds their particular ability to perform this kind of labour and equates their acumen with the aptitude of the European. He cites an example of a timber-milling project in Kawhia where an operation, owned and operated by “the chiefs and natives”, is functioning successfully under the guidance of a white British colonist mill-wright. He expresses his hope that the continued participation of the native in these valuable activities might continue to incline them to progress and civilisation.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Moral Authority

Where contemporary native proclivities and habits are heralded in the article, the white British colonist is also constituted as the native's binary opposite. Thus, where the native is making progress, the Europeans have already progressed. Where the natives are making advances toward a state of "native Civilization", the white British colonists already enjoy the benefits of their own kind of civilization, a wholly European Civilization, one that affords them the insight and advantages to assess the nature of this utterly aboriginal adaptation. Note that the natives are deprived of civilization per se, but are afforded the benefits, only of a "native Civilization". In collocating the nouns 'native' and 'Civilization', even as it throws open the possibility of native advancement and improvement, it contradicts it by allowing the sign 'native' to drag down the approbation 'Civilization' to a state of being far beneath true European 'Civilization'. Where the natives are anxious to "acquire knowledge and practice of agricultural pursuits", the Europeans already enjoy these qualities and attributes. Where the natives are "apt to learn", the Europeans are at once erudite and educated enough to calculate these native attainments.

The author also works to represent a supposed migration of natives to the settlement of Auckland as an indication that the natives are making progress in their state of civilization and in so doing are seeking out the methods and means whereby they might duplicate the agrarian habits of their white neighbours. Furthermore, the author expresses a hope that the skills acquired from the colonists would lead the natives "to pursue the peaceful occupation of husbandry". While Petrie (2006) suggests that a native interest in the habits of industry and enterprise was widespread among the tribes, rather than suggesting that this indicates a native desire to quietly pursue a gentle farmer's life, she proposes that their interests were as economically aggressive, entrepreneurial and enterprising as their white British colonist counterparts. Māori leaders were by no means ignorant of the fiscal benefits of the capitalist projects of the settlers and they wanted to compete:

From their earliest associations with regular commercial operations in New Zealand they were eager to participate. Maori eagerness to trade was remarked on by a number of observers. Robert Jarman, who reported a great many Maori in Sydney when he visited in 1833, described Maori generally as 'industrious, intelligent, bold, and enterprising'. He predicted that the size of their country, the productiveness of its soil, the spirit of its inhabitants, and its convenient situation for trade with Australia, Tahiti, and Hawaii, would cause it to become 'a place of considerable importance'. (Petrie, 2002, p. 4)

The author of this article reworks these observations of a notable native interest in farming into a frame that first positions the natives as an agrarian proletariat and then shuts down other possibilities or ways of apprehending a Māori interest in the industry.

Constituting Social Relations

This editorial further belies the author's paternalism for a particular style of native. In contrast to the previous illustrations of the cultural work being done to produce a kind of native whose aggression and resistance requires the force of law, this article gives voice to a longing for a native who can be comprehended and with whom the settlers might cohabit peacefully. The article works to construct the pastoral native, one who lives a productive, quiet and peaceful agrarian life. The white British colonist is constituted as the facilitator and benefactor of these ideals and a people whose advanced state of civilization will afford the natives with the advantages of tutoring and instruction. The author also proposes an ideal scenario for the peaceful cohabitation of the white British colonists with the natives which undermines the possibility of any acquiescence to the demands of the natives on the part of the white British colonists, but rather requires a social capitulation by the natives to the manners, social arrangements and cultural habits of their white neighbours.

The above extract also keenly expresses the paternalism with which the colonizers approached their relationship with the colonized. While on the one hand the colonizer would berate, fear and undermine the natives, he was also inclined to imagine moments where the native bearing intertwined with their own. These moments would be recorded, not so much as a compliment to the native but as an endorsement of the colonial project of native civilization. The mantra of 'native civilization' is oft repeated in the colonial texts and works to assure the white British colonist that his exploits among the indigenes is somehow warranted, justified and beneficial.

In this passage the author's ideal relationship between native and the colonial settlement is articulated. The extract works to position the colonial settlement of Auckland as a place of stability, a Mecca, a place which is migrated toward and yearned for. The image is one of eager natives turning their hopeful faces toward the seat of the white British colonists - Auckland - there to be transformed and enlightened. Auckland does not move, it is established, settled and the bedrock of white British colonist attainment in the colony. The natives alone travel, wander and migrate. In this social economy all that is white British colonist is sought after and yearned for. The European city represents the accomplishments of the civilized and, in contrast to native settlements, it does not move. The native village on the other hand is mutable. It might be there one day and the next it has been moved on or re-established elsewhere. Thus when colonial writers speak of native residences the convention was to refer to them as the present location of a particular chief or tribe. For instance, a native settlement is known firstly for its people and not for its location, 'Kawiti's pah at Ruapekapeka', or the Ngati Toa of the Hutt Valley. This tendency to privilege the place when speaking of European settlements and to emphasize the people when referring to native settlements suggests an inclination on the part of the white British colonists to see native land only in terms of its present occupancy. In their quest for land title the valorisation of place that the colonists offer their own residences is not afforded the native. The idea of native lands was understood primarily in terms of who currently had control, or who had to be negotiated with for the purchase of that area. To the white British colonists alone was offered the durability, stability and endurance of an appellation that did not have to explain itself, and was not known by the governance of one particular person. Auckland was thus the place that the white British colonists had built, established and settled and whose demonstrable advances there indicated to all that the endeavour of civilization might be better understood. The pastoral native therefore recognises the endurance and immutability of the European city and journeys to her with hope and anticipation.

Furthermore, the extract imagines a pedagogical relationship between native and white British colonist. Thus, a migratory wave of natives has lately appeared in Auckland to be

tutored by the white British colonist. Natives are here positioned in a subordinate relationship to the settler who willingly assumes the lofty responsibility of instructing the natives in all the proficiencies and arts of the white farmer. The natives have gathered to metaphorically sit at the feet of the white British colonists who graciously take up the role of mentor to the ignorant, in order to push them onward in their path of civilization. The pastoral native is therefore one that willingly congregates at the gates of civilisation to be educated by the all-knowing white British colonist.

In the above passage the author notes and extols the accomplishments of the natives. This significant native relocation to Auckland is thus taken as a sign that there is great benefit in project of colonisation. The author expresses pleasure that, in the pursuit of white British colonist labour, the natives have realised their potential. The natives are only dignified inasmuch as they mimic white British colonial habits. It would appear to the author that the particular attributes of the native work ethic are not notable unless they are intertwined with, and facilitated by, the white British colonist. Furthermore, remembering that this report forms part of a conversation that the settlers are having with one other, it is likely that these compliments serve to commend the virtues of the teacher, more than the abilities of the natives, and to applaud the accomplishments of those who have been involved with the instruction of the natives. The pastoral native is therefore noted for his acquisition of European agricultural arts and has submitted to the instruction and leadership of the white settler.

Constituting Economic Relations

In the above extract the author moves effortlessly from observation to conclusion when he states that the natives are travelling “a long distance from the interior ... so as to gain practical information in husbandry ... in order to cultivate their own land”. This statement works to suggest that, not only does the author assume that he has a keen understanding of the purpose of this migration, but that he is also aware of the natives’ self imposed boundaries and restrictions in their interests in the arts of agricultural production. He specifically suggests that the natives’ objective is to “cultivate their own land”. At a time where the subject of land title and ownership was experiencing controversy, this statement throws up a number of questions – the central one being: What did the author understand

“their own land” to be? The question of ‘waste lands’ (unoccupied land) was debated frequently in the colonial legislature and these arguments often made it into the newspapers²² of the time, suggesting that in 1846 this debate was still not settled. “Their own land” might possibly have either meant the lands fully occupied by the tribes, or it could have referred to the lands claimed to be in possession of the tribe but not occupied by the tribe. However, because there is no qualification on what exactly the expression means it might be more fruitful to consider what the settlers understood “their own land” to mean. In the settler context, it is land to which one has a legal title. It might therefore be understood that the author’s reference to “their own land”, is perhaps informed by a general feeling among the colonists that all, colonists and natives alike, required legal title, where title to those lands deemed ‘waste’ would not be granted to Māori. It works to assure the audience that the native interests in husbandry should be contained and restricted to a particular area, clearly demarcated as native land and in a legal title. It also presupposes that the natives have no interest in a wider capitalist agricultural enterprise, one that is aggressive and profiteering and requires large tracts of land in order to yield surplus produce to generate revenue and profit for the tribe. According to Petrie (2006) there was indeed a significant interest and involvement in largescale business enterprises by the natives who envisioned a New Zealand where the benefits of Pakeha consumption would accrue to themselves. However, this article indicates that this was unthinkable to the settlers. A colonial organization that would see the settlers economically exploited by the natives was not an acceptable arrangement. British colonial practice dictated that the benefits of colonisation would accrue to the settlers while the liabilities for the project in terms of land and labour were to be assigned to the natives. This editorial thus works to shut down other possible explanations for “the anxiety and desire of the natives to acquire knowledge” and interprets this for the audience as nothing more than a quaint and laudable effort in making advances in their state of civilization.

Furthermore, the pastoral native is constructed as one who has made a contribution to the agricultural endeavours of the settlers. This text infers the author’s ideal economic relationship between native and settler. The native who demonstrates a willingness to be employed by, and to undertake paid labour for the benefit of, the settler is a native who will

attract the praise of the white British colonist. The white British colonist's ideal economic relationship with the native and settler is expressed in this text. The native is to be employed by, not the employer of the settlers. Even in the above event where a European mill-wright was clearly employed by the natives, he is dignified with a name, an occupation and a salary, and is furthermore positioned as the facilitator and director of the undertaking. Overall this editorial works to position the natives as students and workers, while the white British colonist takes up the role of teacher and manager.

Civilization during the period under question was most often mentioned in early New Zealand historical records in relation to the establishment of the Church among the natives. In the *Government and General Orders*, 12 November 1814, it was noted by J.T. Campbell, secretary of the civil department at Government House in Sydney, that Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society had lately departed from New South Wales to New Zealand in order to introduce "among those natives the knowledge of the Christian religion and all the arts of civilized society" (McNab, 1908. p. 329).

As well as a turn to Christianity, serving as a sign to the white British colonists that the natives were becoming civilized, success in modelling the behaviour and demeanour of the Europeans was also an indication that the natives were 'progressing'. Frederick Maning (1863) despairs that the natives "are still unlike a civilized people or British subjects" (p. iv).

However, the particular characteristics of a social civilised life are not entirely qualified in the numerous references to 'civilization' in the literature emerging from New Zealand in the 19th-century. It is therefore necessary to draw on the treatises of the time to understand the ideological work such references to social civilization might be working to achieve. Though primarily a treatise in support of the American War of Independence, Thomas Paine in his work *The Rights of Man* (1791) suggests that a civilized society is achieved when all members of a society act responsibly in their various occupations and serve the wider society's interest by performing their labours in concert with others.

The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has upon man, and all the parts of civilised community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together. The landholder, the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the tradesman, and every occupation, prospers by the aid which each receives from the other, and from the whole. Common interest regulates their concerns, and forms their law. (p. 85)

The idea that civilized society is only realized through economic and social interdependence is taken up in the New Zealand case by the government land agent Mr. Mantell who, following a purchase of a Scotland-sized tract of land in 1860 for the sum of 2000 pounds, expressed to the natives that:

One great boon to be gained by their letting the lands of their fathers go on such easy terms would be the education of their children, and their being rendered equal to their European neighbours, by being taught the various arts of civilized life. (Taylor, 1868, p. 90)

The progress toward a social civilized life therefore appears to have meant that the natives had successfully emulated the white British colonist in matters of religion, education and economic endeavour. The civilized native will have also become familiar with the particular arts of civilized life, which will have included those refinements and habits of daily living that can be recognised as wholly European.

The white British colonist is epitomized here as the bedrock of civilization. In fact civilization is not realised outside of a European context. A social civilized life is a thoroughly European life and includes particular habits and arts that will invest the imitating native with superior advantages. However, it is to the white British colonist that the benefits will accrue. In lauding the progress of the natives this author is also assuring his white readers that the advantages of native progress will primarily serve the interests of the colonists. The white British colonists will enjoy the assurance that the natives are too busy cultivating their own land to be troubled by other aggressive pursuits. They will keep to themselves and enjoy the benefits of self-sufficiency. The white British colonists can also be reassured that their superior abilities, coupled with their benevolence, will be exploited by natives clamouring to be guided and tutored by their European betters. The white British colonists will also enjoy the assistance of the native worker whose innate adeptness to matters pastoral can be exploited by the settlers. With natives beholden to the

exceptional facilities of the white British colonist, the Europeans can assume their natural role among the indigenes as leaders, managers, directors and mentors.

Additionally the text works to efface past tribal enterprise by positioning the progress in native civilization alongside a lately-observed interest in securing European employment. That the natives had enjoyed the economic benefits of a substantial interest and enterprise in shipping, flour-milling, excise duties and customs, produce and flax is, from the outset of European migration to New Zealand, wholly elided. This suggests that public acknowledgement of native economic activity is only acceptable where the natives are positioned under the auspices of white British colonist tutelage and direction. A native who is competitive, entrepreneurial and economically dominant does not appear in this author's imagination. While he extols the virtues of some native aptitudes he does so only in association with a European facilitator. The natives might acquire the skills of husbandry but they are also positioned in the text as either worker for the European farmer or as students receiving instruction from their European tutors. Similarly, they are positioned as eager hands benefiting from the direction and management of a European supervisor.

While the above article praises the accomplishments of the native population in acquiring the habits of the white British colonist, it belies the paternalism of the author for a social arrangement where the profit in colonisation is realised almost entirely by the European. The text works to make a place in this fledgling colony for the native but this place is assigned only in relation to the European. The native place in the colony is not to be determined by the natives themselves. In this proposed system the white British colonist should be able to pursue an existence unmolested by the natives. Through the employment of the natives as labourers, the Europeans can expect to enjoy the advantages of their natural aptitude in the agricultural arts. Furthermore, the white British colonist can assume the important social and cultural roles as teachers, employees, and managers of the natives as they "induce further progress in the habits of social civilized life".

Article Seven

***New Zealander*, 15 December 1847, p. 2**

Of all the measures which have been suggested for the civilization of the native race, there is not one which will bear a moment's comparison with the formation of a practical school of agriculture. The more one thinks on the effect of such an institution, the more convinced will he be that an incalculable amount of good will be the result. The suggestion is one so practical, so decidedly applicable to the present condition of the aboriginal population, that it stands in bold relief to devices such as those emanating from parlor theorists, or morbid philanthropists. Let us first explain what is meant by an agricultural college. We simply mean a model farm and garden, where the natives can be instructed in European agriculture and gardening, with the care of dairy and other cattle. Here is a very simple lever; but it is one which would extract the roots of barbarism to give room for those of civilization. How is the good work to be commenced? There are many ways. It may be begun by subscriptions; or by the natives themselves but would the Government ever permit the honor of its foundation to pass into other hands? Could the Government sit so immovably by, without affording the assistance it can so easily grant? We believe it would not run the risk of incurring such a calumny. Suppose then an eligible piece of ground, properly fenced in, with a house for the resident Superintendent, lodgings for the native students, and necessary buildings and yards for cattle. Procure a respectable and industrious farmer, as a resident teacher, with a man of liberal education and scientific acquirements to govern the institution; and the machinery is ready. Once started, — we have no fear of its not going well, A pair or two of each kind of domestic cattle; a few fruit trees, and seeds of plants best suited for cultivation in this colony and the necessary agricultural implements being obtained; no farther expense need be incurred. It will afterwards support itself.

Natives are very fond of acquiring practical knowledge. They are also very fond of gain. We are sure that no New Zealander could withstand a combination of these attractions. It might be sufficient for every native who entered the proposed establishment, to get practical instruction in return for his labour. But we would give him more. He should have a share in the produce also. The model farm would not long remain a small one, nor would the amount of produce from it be insignificant.

And now, before we examine results, let us take a glance at native agriculture as it is; by and by we will see what it might be under an improved system. A clearing is first made in some bush land, the wood is burnt off, and the ashes with new soil, afford for two or three years pretty abundant crops. The land now gets exhausted; the natives know nothing of the application of manure to correct exhaustion, or of the rotation of crops to prevent it. They have but one alternative, another bush must be cleared and destroyed, and this moving about in search of productive soil, has an evil effect on their social habits, the effect of which is little understood.

Greater results would flow then from an acquaintance with European agriculture than a mere increase of cultivation. Native habits would be improved by a fixity of residence; by a knowledge that he could reside on, and raise remunerating crops perpetually from the same spot of land, under a proper system of farming. Then would he fence his land substantially, and build houses of some durability — a step towards social improvement which will at any time take the pas of book learning. An acquaintance with the rotation of crops and the proper

application of manure would, we are satisfied, produce in a short period a more radical change in the social amelioration of the New Zealander than all that has been attempted during the last forty years. But to succeed, the acquaintance must be a practical one; it must be made under the eye of a master.

Background

By the time the first mission schools were opened in New Zealand, the idea of native schools instructing the indigenous peoples in the arts of European civilisation throughout the European colonies was not new. A mission school had been established in Canada during the 17th century. In 1769 an Indian School was opened in Hanover, New Hampshire. Over the next 100 years, mission schools sprouted up throughout the African continent, in China, India, North America and the Pacific. These 'Native Schools' were carried abroad by the Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, Methodists and Anglicans. According to Simon and Smith (2001) mission and native schools throughout the colonies played a similar function in their determination to civilise the natives and to familiarise, habituate, and enculturate them into the new roles they would play in a colonised society. In New Zealand the first mission school was opened by Thomas Kendall, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, on August 12, 1816 at Rangihoua, in the Bay of Islands. At first mission schools in New Zealand were conducted in the local Māori dialect with the central work of the mission schools being to encourage literacy in the Māori language. The schoolmasters and missionaries became proficient in the language and early missionaries were known to have worked on the codification of local linguistic systems (as in the case of Thomas Kendall). Māori interest in education, and more particularly in acquiring literacy in Māori, was stimulated by the publication of material in the Māori language including the Bible. While the idea of "spreading the gospel to the natives" was intertwined with notions of "civilising the natives", the primary function of the mission schools was to turn heathens into Christians. Providing the natives with an education was seen as a tool by which the missionaries might better acquaint them with the values, ideals and morals of the white Christian. Between 1830 and 1840 an interest among Māori in acquiring a 'Pakeha' education peaked no doubt due to the increasing interactions with the settlers around trade, religion, and politics. However, it was at this time in particular that Māori showed an increasing determination to access and shape their Pakeha educational experiences in a self-determined way. According to Simon (2001), estimates of up to 50%

Māori literacy were enjoyed by tangata whenua, and English literacy was growing exponentially. It seemed that Māori were eager to exploit the benefits and skills of the early settlers for their own gain, whether that be for political, religious or economic purposes. Indeed Hindmarsh (2000) makes the point that:

Prior to the 1840's missionaries and Māori established village schools to develop literacy in te reo and to learn and teach Christianity. Māori also continued their traditional formal and non-formal education systems to maintain and develop their cultural skills and knowledges, and drew on the mission schools to develop skills to trade and to negotiate with the British. (p. 132)

An acquired 'Pākeha' education might easily be turned to their own advantage particularly in their increasingly regular negotiations and interactions with white folk.

Up until the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi the education of the natives was primarily led by the Church missionaries. However, upon the establishment of New Zealand as a British Crown Colony, "the state had been concern to civilise Maori by encouraging them to abandon their traditional cultural values, customs, language in favour of those of the European" (ibid, p. 7).

The balance of power was to turn increasingly in favour of the Europeans as they sought to dominate and influence the structure of the native educational experience in a way that facilitated an 'assimilationist agenda'. Native interest in education was being exploited as a means to subjugate Māori and to train them to take their place as colonial subjects. Over one hundred years later the Pākeha education system remained unabashed as it pronounced the lofty ambition of a native education.

The arts of European civilisation were first spread among the Maori people through the Mission schools. Farming, carpentry and home science were all part of the curriculum and what was in the beginning a civilizing mission now fits neatly into the wide programme of the 'new education' which emphasises the same subjects. (*Te Ao Hou*, no. 9, Spring 1954).

Such was the interest in this 'civilising mission' from the Crown government that during the 1840's and 1850's it provided subsidies and grants for mission schools to carry out their pedagogical efforts. However, when the increasing demand from settlers for land was

met by huge resistance from Māori, and war broke out, the mission schools emptied. In 1867, rather than help the missions resurrect their schools, the now, settler government decided to assume control of native education, and legislation was passed vis à vis the native Schools Act 1867 in order to establish a system of state education for Māori.

At the time of this article (December 1847), Māori education would have still been the domain of the missionaries. However, the writer draws upon the established discourses that accompanied European colonial expansion and shaped their interactions with the indigenous peoples. The role of the white colonist was to be a tutor and mentor. The writer reflects an ideology that bespeaks an impetus to develop the native so that he or she could be fashioned into a useful and productive labouring underclass.

Surface Renderings

The above article appears in response to a professed need for the colonists to introduce the natives to the arts of civilised life. It appears that, while a number of alternatives have apparently been discussed, the author has lighted upon the preferred option of establishing a training institution where the practical proficiencies of the agricultural industry might be taught and acquired by the race in question. Indeed the author's rapturous commendation of the idea is at the same time entirely dismissive of all strategies deemed valuable by others in achieving the same purpose.

The author's idea is that a farm be obtained that includes both livestock and crops. Here the natives will gather to be instructed in practicalities of European agriculture at a farm that will be managed by a resident superintendent, a farmer, a teacher and a governor. The author assures readers that by so doing the native will divest himself of his barbarous tendencies and become a civilised being.

The politics of commencing such a project are considered and the writer proposes that the natives might invest in the scheme. However, he is quick to dismiss the possibility of a forthcoming government grant for the venture, suggesting that the powers that be are far too conservative to take such a financial risk. However, the author points out that, in time, the scheme would be self-funding and might even include a material benefit for the native.

The author further assures his readers that upon calculating the disposition of the natives, they would undoubtedly be easily swayed to the advantages of such a proposal due to their appetite for financial acquisition and education.

Patterns of Meaning

Constituting Social Relations

This author suggests that various measures aimed at civilizing the natives have previously been considered. This civilizing project has been of particular interest, in the New Zealand case, for some decades before. In a correspondence between Earl Bathurst and Governor Macquarie on 9th April 1816, Bathurst expresses his satisfaction that that, due to Marsden's influence, the natives are making progress in acquiring the habits of civilisation. (McNab, 1908). In 1821 Marsden, reporting back to the Australasia Mission in Parramatta, congratulates himself on successfully conducting a select group of chiefs' sons on a visit to New South Wales. This trip is considered the catalyst in the lads' later improvements toward their 'civilization' (ibid). Thus it can be noted that the rhetoric of bringing civilization to the natives is well developed at the time of this article.

The author declares that there are "measures which have been suggested". This indicates that this project has history and the fact that he does not elaborate on the specifics surrounding these 'measures' in order to achieve this end, nor does he mention the names of those in discussion, would suggest that this is a discussion with profile and recognition among the settlers, requiring little explanation or detail. It occurs as if the author's deliberations are part of a larger and general dialogue. Thus it would appear that the author is inserting himself and his proposition in an ongoing conversation about how best to civilize the native race. The author and his community imagine that it is their right to suggest or deploy measures for the improvement of a people outside of their own group. In order to suggest the improvement of another group of people, those in discussion must understand themselves as both entitled and superior. In other words they must assume the authority to pronounce a diagnosis of another community's perceived ills. They must see themselves as being in a position to analyse, diagnose, make pronouncements and prescribe adjustments for the group in question. In this case the author makes a call for the

civilization of the native race where the idea of civilization stands in stark opposition to the idea of barbarity (where the natives are situated in the white imagination). The author's suggestion that the natives require civilization is therefore wholly associated with the perceived need for them to abandon all resistance to European ideologies. Thus when the author alludes to an historical dialogue regarding a proposition for the "civilization of the natives", he is at the same time advocating among his audience a consensus for the ascendancy and imposition of white ideologies, values and culture upon the natives.

While this passage works on one level to organise the physical space between the proposed participants, on another level it also imposes upon the natives a white European institutional hierarchy which determines the intellectual, social and cultural space between project participants. In other words, while it appears ostensibly to be a proposal for the accommodation and staffing of said college, it establishes at the same time the various geographies of the members within an institutional framework. The author proposes a corporeal separation by way of the provision of separate housing for a resident superintendent. The emphasis here is placed upon the construction of a house for the superintendent. The idea of a house is one which provides for a building distinct and detached from the other participants. It is also designed to house a single resident and his family. Thus, the imagined house metaphorically represents the authority of the superintendent and the esteem in which he is held. He is allowed both space and separation and it is because of this spatial disconnectedness that his authority is symbolically legitimized.

While the superintendent enjoys a house, the natives are provided lodgings. The idea of lodgings suggests a transient relationship with the farming project. It also implies an arrangement involving communal living in which the natives are housed together. They are offered quarters and housing, rather than a house. Comparatively speaking then, the superintendent is provided a house (noun) while the natives are merely housed (passive verb). This works to position that natives as subjects for whom accommodation is of necessity provided by the Europeans. The superintendent, however, is given a house

deserving of his status. The house is provided in deference to his title, rather than as a rudimentary requirement for all farm residents.

This physical separation is also indicative of both a separation of roles and responsibilities and also a dialogical void. The author does not allow this educational experience to reflect a collaborative process whereby the natives share knowledge and facilities in local agricultural pursuits and the white British colonists similarly share their abilities in the skills of mass farm production and the use of European technology. Rather, this proposal sets up an expectation of a wholesale adaptation by natives to a Western system of education and governance. The author's suggestion disavows native epistemologies and excludes the natives from full participation in a collaborative and mutually beneficial exchange of ideas. Information flow is cemented in the proposed institutional structures as moving from European to native and does not allow for an even exchange and discourse.

Constituting Moral Authority

The discourse of practicality is a notion historically rooted in Western thinking that proposes the virtues of worth and meaning to be inextricably linked to substantive (usually economic) outcomes. Thus, if the outcomes of this suggestion are realised in some material benefit, it follows on that the idea comes out of a well-spring of universal certainty. In other words, because the idea might very well accrue some kind of gain, it is understood by the author to be commonsensical and realistic, and does not require explication or justification. The author is proposing it as an idea wholly vested in commonsense. His rationale for the programme is therefore rooted in a sense of its implicit and ostensibly apolitical virtues. He proposes it as if it is an idea originating out of itself, rather than one coming out of a particular context and time (entrenched in a period of enormous political upheaval for the natives) of which - as a colonist white settler - he is a part. Thus the author proposes that the quality of the suggestion speaks entirely for itself and would transcend any possible resistance because of its superior and exceptional qualities.

Constituting Economic Relations

However, in pronouncing its inviolacy, the author does not make accommodation for the possibility that there might arise out of this plan some unhelpful material consequences for the natives. Therefore, any negative outcomes such as the enculturation of the natives into a system of exploitative capitalism, the social engineering of a group of people to take up prescribed positions in the labour force are negated by the assurances vested in the scheme of its universal and indisputable virtue. Thus it might follow that, should it fail, it will not be because of the plan's flaws, but because of a lack of stewardship or accountability on the part of the groups who might have either responsibility for, or involvement in, the project. In this passage therefore, the author, as the proponent of the scheme, enjoys the approbation of his audience for making such a sound and beneficial suggestion without taking responsibility for the full implications of such a proposal.

Furthermore, here we find the native's apparent fondness for profit requited with a bestowal of farm produce which is to be offered as a statement of beneficence on the part of the College institution. While this act of establishing a market for the produce of the agricultural colleges seemingly invites the natives to participate in the market economy, they do so, not as direct participants, but as second hand recipients of white generosity. They are denied the option of creating a market for them but are rendered fiscally obsolete as they are constructed as beneficiaries while the settler educators enjoy the approbation of their status as benefactors. In this exchange between settler and native, the Europeans gift their knowledge while the natives offer their willingness to become subjects in an alien educative system. Any material gain or benefit arising out of the native acquisition and use of European knowledge systems is framed here as still belonging to the Europeans. The natives can never really be autonomous and self-determining. They are expected to show deference to a system that will hopefully lead to profit and gain but should not expect to exploit this system for them. They are expected to understand their gain to be a social benefit from a benevolent white institution. The European system of capital gain is to remain wholly European and the natives would be mere interlopers should they assume economic sovereignty and claim for themselves a place in the entrepreneurial class within the capitalist system. Thus, the possible native adoption and adaptation and control of a

white capitalist system are understood here as illegitimate. Profit and gain potentially obtained is therefore bequeathed from the white system rather than product earned legitimately. In this short passage therefore, we see the territoriality of economic ideologies. While natives are invited to become labour participants in this system, they are subsumed under the authority of the system where sovereignty and governance lies in the hands of the white British colonist.

Disavowing Context

The author of this article does not make explicit a number of contexts from which his claims are made. Firstly, he is not explicit about the exact measures which have been “suggested for the civilization of the native race” nor does he make clear the particular “devices emanating from parlour theorists or morbid philanthropists”. In denying a place for some comparative analysis or explication as to the other theories that apparently abound, the author is able to assume a tone of authority. He subordinates the voices and propositions so lightly introduced in this article to his own intelligence. In silencing philosophical competition the author positions his assertions as the uncontested reality so that the audience is given little choice but to understand his position as the most reasonable and rational.

Secondly, he is not forthcoming about the nature of the “incalculable good” that will arise from “the formation of a practical school of agriculture” except to say that the roots of barbarism will be extracted and the natives reformed to a course of civilization. Exactly how this might occur is not clear, except that, upon being initiated into the proposed educational establishment, the natives will be supplied with ample examples of leadership, respectability, industry and educational accomplishment that will be sufficient to entice them to make adjustments to their cultural, economic and social lives. The effect of this paucity in analytical detail is to entail the college personnel with responsibility for the success of this proposed course. Should the venture fail for any reason, then that failure will be the responsibility of those entrusted with or participating in the project because the scheme is philosophically beyond reproach.

Thirdly and most importantly, the author doesn't elaborate upon the exact nature of the "present condition of the aboriginal population". Because the author is silent upon the reasons for the present condition of the natives (which he obviously finds poor enough to warrant his suggestions for rehabilitation) there are a number of benefits that accrue to the colonists. Primarily, in abridging the social, cultural and economic circumstances of the natives to the rendering 'present conditions', the colonial ideologies with which the natives are entwined are effaced. The author's discourse upon the needs to the native does not even whisper of his own place or position in relation to the native's lives save that as a saviour or benefactor. In silencing his own place, except as benefactor, he is able to surrender the native to a place of want where responsibility for that want lies entirely with the native.

Chapter Six Summary

While the discourse of sovereignty is directed towards finding consensus amidst institutional chaos and the discourse of discipline monitors, prepares for and works out social conflict that arises out of the imposition of a colonial arrangement, the discourse of paternalism is directed towards informing, appeasing, ameliorating, and assuring the colonists that their presence is connected to a broader, national, eternal or even spiritual narrative. In these texts, the harsher pragmatics of settler life are effaced as the reader is transported to ponder upon the potential for a more meaningful and purposeful colonial existence. While seemingly disparate versions of the same rapturous story, these texts weave a complex tapestry of content, providing the settlers with assorted resources with which to understand: how to be in New Zealand; how to understand oneself in relation to the Other; how to comprehend a higher purpose in the colonial venture; and how to intertwine their superior political and economic orientation with their adjusted circumstances.

So it is with raptures and ecstasies that an early public performance of the Māori war dance becomes an entertainment curiosity, setting the scene for a much treasured and hearty engagement with this particular social custom, a way of connecting with the exotic and claiming the mysterious. The native chief is quietly and approvingly affirmed, as the explorer observes a tentative moment of mimicry and swells with pride as he ponders upon the cultural reorientation that his presence has inspired. A humble boat builder reciprocates the friendly disposition of his native neighbours and finds quiet assurance that at least for now, he will avoid the hangi pit. Thus, the settler finds comfort in the loftier goal of suing for peace, while the dark shadow of death's possibility looms in the wake of every passing native. Possibility flings open its soaring gates as the settler engages with moments of anticipated achievement in the potential reformation of the heathen from barbarism to civilisation. He only need model virtue, share the gospel, preach salvation and this potentially challenging and complicated existence will melt into a confluence of human harmony.

Yet, these moments of swelling optimism are collocated with moments of pragmatism, where those more esoteric notions are bestowed shape and order. Hierarchies, identities, exclusions and boundaries need to be elucidated. Spiritual and cultural rubrics are prescribed so that all will be able to note the moment of 'arrival'. Christianity takes upon itself a political, economic and nationalistic flavour so that conversion can be identified in the native's manner of work and consumption. 'Progress' is pronounced to be the ultimate destination, yet progress is measured by a particularly pale yardstick so that no matter the coordinates, whiteness might see its own reflection regardless of the view.

Moments of tension and complexity are disguised when pondering the hybridity problematic, consensus is found without recourse to discussion. Simply put, we will love the half-caste as a child of God - but cannot, for their own good, endorse any special advantage.

Thus, though these texts emanate from assorted places and propose, at the surface, that their outlook is actually out-looking, each of these discourses suggest that the settlers' ultimate satisfaction will be in finding themselves abroad in the hearts and the countenances of the native. Thus it is with eagerness that moments of interaction, concern, and consideration are all bent back to consider the supremacy of the white self.

The discourse of paternalism therefore works to create a fabric of feeling, intended to mollify, inspire, and satisfy the insecurities of the settler population. The discursal fragments come from different places, yet they share the same insistence that in looking for the Other, one might see the self, and in seeing the self, one might be relieved to know that a settler presence in New Zealand is destined, necessary, prescribed in the heavens, and furthermore signifies a colonial future of boundless abundance, racial goodwill and converging aspirations.

Paternalism in this colonial context is not therefore the one-way traffic of goodwill and support. Paternalism is lithe and supple, wrapping itself around moments of disorientation and tension, soothing crises and enjoining a sense of mission. Yet paternalism is elastic

enough to throw itself around the object of its intent and back again, drawing the native ever closer, so that the only view is a pale reflection in the dark eyes returning the gaze.

On the other hand, the discourse of paternalism has limited currency. It sidles up to the discourse of sovereignty lending the project of colonisation an air of purpose and munificence. However, where tensions pique, and elements combine to produce a disruption, the discourse of paternalism goes underground, while the discourse of discipline cuts across all other considerations, emphatically demanding a particular kind of serious and urgent attention.

chapter seven

discourse in colonial spaces

Introduction

In chapters four, five and six, a selection of the media discourse that appeared during the early period of Britain's official activities in New Zealand, from 1839 to 1849, has been analysed. What has become apparent is that the constitution of a white British colonial hegemony occurs in the colonial press through the deployment of three broad discursive themes or discourses: the discourse of sovereignty, the discourse of discipline and the discourse of paternalism. These discourses represent the need to get full ideological coverage and their relationship is intertwined and co dependant. At their centre is the need to rule and govern and to assume absolute, intractable authority, to understand the terrain and to acquire the resources to preside. With the expectation of resistance or social uprising, the discourse of discipline works to reproduce public and social accountability for dissidence and subversion. The discourse of paternalism ensures that these relationships of control are lubricated with the milk of human kindness, providing a moral and ethical interest in the Other so as to anticipate and deal with the possibility of being accused of self interest. Furthermore it creates a discursive space for the colonists to assure themselves that they are 'doing the right thing'. The native is largely written into this text as the colonizer's opposite, against which the colonial project is measured. Thus, the natives represented the hard places, the knots and briars to either be located and weeded out, or avoided and criticized. The presence of the native thus gave the colonizers' social experience shape and definition. The desire for a colonial brand of sovereignty, while complex and challenging was never negotiable, yet the affectations of paternalism made the thornier places easier to tolerate. The call for discipline created a discursive space for social mobility and cohesion among the colonists, where the complexities and debates surrounding a shared and contiguous future with non-white indigenes could abate and collective understandings could be created around a sense of common vigilance.

Weaving through these discourses is a set of more malleable patterns of meaning upon which the three broad discourse themes are built. These patterns of meaning attend to the business of constituting authority (and thereby entitlements and privileges), power relations, and identities. They are by no means discrete but bleed into each of the broad discourse themes, responsively and flexibly doing the covert work of social construction. As mentioned above, these patterns of meaning have been identified as doing the work of:

1. Constituting economic relations
2. Constituting legal authority
3. Constituting martial authority
4. Constituting moral authority
5. Constituting Othered identities
6. Constituting political authority
7. Constituting social relations
8. Constituting sovereign authority
9. Disavowing context

It is one thing to isolate discursive formations or interpretative repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1992) from a given period of time, but it is another to track the appearance of these ways of talking over time. Thus, the following chapter will attend to the business of locating and exploring the work of these discourses and their patterns of meaning from 1850 to 1872. An important argument in this analysis is that early colonial writings set down the linguistic resources for subsequent generations to draw upon, as they strive to make sense of their new human and physical environment. Understandings, ways of talking, and knowledge are largely shared across time, so that both official and common accounts of the colonizing project remain intact inter-generationally. Colonial discourses thus display resilience, particularly in renderings of the Other (Karim, 1997, pp. 153-182). However, they are not monolithic, and neither are they uncompromising. As chapter seven will demonstrate, colonial discourses do not drop their overarching hegemonic intentions; rather they work in concert to shape a social mood that engenders group identity, social

solidarity and organizational commitment that overwhelms the interests of the Other. This chapter will therefore seek to account for the work of these colonial media discourses across time, to map them in relation to the changing contexts of the period, to describe how they attach themselves to disparate events in ways which are essentially self-serving, and overwhelmingly work to establish cohesion of colonial interests.

This chapter however differs somewhat from the previous chapters out of which emerged an in-depth analytical framework that has identified three broad discourses and their associated constitutive repertoires or patterns of meaning. There are two competing desires in this project, one is to provide a discourse analytical approach to colonial newspaper discourse, and the other is to track these discourses over time. The size and scope of this study will not admit the kind of critical analysis which appeared in chapters four, five and six. However, it is possible to provide a fast paced analysis of the following 96 texts and to critically situate them alongside the discourses and patterns of the previous 24 texts in order to see how these discourses and patterns were woven through the newspapers discourses of the ensuing 23 years.

Historical Background 1850-1873

The analysis of the 96 extracts taken from newspapers from between 1850 and 1873 reveals a broad interest in the native population, from court appearances, threats and incidents of war, progress and improvements, criticisms of the demeanour and character of the natives and a large body of concern about native policy. However, these tend to be ancillary concerns and are subordinate to an overwhelming interest in the success of the central twin endeavours: that of securing Māori land, and of domesticating the native into the ways of the European.

The Newspapers

News coverage across the period is sourced mainly from three major papers; *The Daily Southern Cross*, *The Nelson Examiner* and *The Taranaki Herald*. While a number of other newspapers appear in the data base, the frequency is sporadic rather than consistent. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, these papers have a broader publication timeframe. These papers commenced publishing in 1843, 1842, and 1852 respectively, while the other newspapers (with the exception of the *Otago Witness*) began their

operations in the 1860s (see fig. 2). Overwhelmingly however, the political orientation of the papers would incline them to comment more vociferously upon matters of native 'management'. *The Daily Southern Cross* was staunchly critical of the colonial administration and launched scathing attacks upon any policy that would see government favouring any course of action outside of the settlers' interests. In the case of *The Nelson Examiner*, it too published broadly about native policy and lent its support in particular to any move by the government to secure land for the settlers, and was scathing about any equivocation upon this matter. Thus, in the case of these two newspapers, they had more to say upon the matter of the native as it related to the activities of Government because of their political orientation in favour of centralising the pecuniary interests of the settler. The *Taranaki Herald* however, had much to say upon the subject of the native inasmuch as it was the centre of military activity between 1860 and 1866.

Sourcing

It was not uncommon for colonial newspapers to share stories from other publications. In this selection, six stories were published directly from other newspapers (see table 3 below). While the significance of this practice to this analysis is most likely marginal, in order for the data to be robust, there needs to be a thorough accounting for the origins of all news stories. Furthermore, one of the implications of the practice of sourcing news from other outlets is the possibility of the national coalescence of opinion upon events of importance to the settlers. With the sharing of news stories arises the possibility that the settler account will become homogenized.

More often than not news stories from other publications were reproduced with little editing. However, news stories from other sources could also be picked up and critiqued, in order to make a point. In one instance, the *Taranaki Herald*²³ published a missive regarding an article that appeared in the Times in London criticising the New Zealand settlers as: "greedy," "rapacious," "oppressive" and "bloodthirsty." This article was a both a retort and a justification of the colonists' conduct. Thus, it would appear that the networks of the colonists took in the opinions of those at 'home' (more will be said on this particular article below). However, there are too few examples of this practice from the data base to admit too much weight in the analysis except to say that this was a common

practice belonging to the *North Otago Times* which might say more about the geographic isolation of the paper and the relative quiet of Oamaru than anything else.

Analytical Considerations for Chapter Seven

In the previous chapters, each news story was critiqued for the particular. Patterns of meaning were analysed in order to assemble a sense of the discursive formation of each statement. Each news story was allocated a place according to its ideological work. Three broad discourse themes were identified along with some associated patterns of meaning. In chapters four, five and six, it was necessary to dig deep into the texts firstly to identify any points of discursive variance which would indicate differences in representation and changes to the social work of the text. It was also important, through an examination of the particular, to tease out patterns of meanings which appear consistently over time. Having made a case for the existence of three broad discourse areas and their associated patterns of meaning, in this final substantive chapter it is possible to apply this framework of meanings and discourses to the following 96 articles and to test them for their saliency. Thus while the first three substantive chapters attended to the first two research questions:

1. How did New Zealand's colonial press constitute the privileges, entitlements and struggles of the white British colonist in relation to the Native?
2. What ideologies, discursive formations or patterns of meaning are present in colonial media discourse in relation to the Native?

This chapter will attend to the final questions:

3. What do these patterns of meaning look like over time?

To do so requires a broader selection over a longer period of time and thus precludes the intense attention to detail found in chapters four, five and six. As was mentioned above this chapter will of necessity appear differently than the preceding chapters. All of the articles appear first under one of the broader discourse themes - sovereignty, discipline and paternalism - and as in chapters four, five and six are given analytical consideration as an interpretative repertoire. In these subsections the articles are discussed briefly along with some background, surface readings and some contextual information where necessary.

They are organised chronologically in order to get a sense of how they appear in the press over time. Each sub-section will then conclude with an analytical treatment of the work of the respective patterns of meaning and discourses. Each section will conclude with a broader analysis of that section and its relationship and links to the previous corresponding chapter.

Discourses of Sovereignty

There appeared a number of significant concerns in the settler press between 1850 and 1873 about the appropriation of native land and criticisms and debates associated with the activities of the executive and the legislature. The newspapers of the day were avowedly partisan so that, depending upon the paper's political orientation; journalists would publish commentary and opinion relative to their organisational and institutional aspirations for the colony. However, while they might disagree on points of policy or personnel, they agreed on one matter, the absolute necessity of establishing a British system of national management in New Zealand. The presence of the native made this course at times difficult and unwieldy. The sometimes unmanageable and unknown terrain of the native caused not a few difficulties and even some reluctant concessions in the formation of policy and legislation. In addition, the press more often than not pitted itself against the politicians and Crown authorities, whether from the British Colonial Office, the Colonial Administration (including the Governor) or from the various government departments who from time to time carried the weight of criticism for all of the failings of the colony.

Constituting Economic Authority

In chapter four the constitution of economic authority was centred on the need to reproduce a hierarchy in economic relations which subordinated the native to the interests of the white British colonial endeavour. In chapter four (articles four, five and seven), the press carried commentary on the both the need to alienate native land for settler use, and to register the first outrages in response to native resistance to the sale of native land. In addition, employment arrangements were worked out with the unquestioned assignment of colonists to the entrepreneurial, employer class in the flax industry. In the following articles these themes are not dropped, rather we find that the constitution of economic authority in the governance and organisation of colonial New Zealand affairs is followed

through, with the press playing a role in further instantiating notions of white British colonial authority in the financial affairs of the colony.

The subject of native title was taken up again in the following year when the *Nelson Examiner* discoursed in February 1851 on the need for the Governor General to be: “solicited to try and extinguish the native title to all the land lying between Wairau and Nelson, excepting such reserves as may be thought desirable to retain for native uses”.²⁴

The suggestion that native land needed to be “thrown open” is both provocative and unapologetic. Here it is positioned as logical and reasonable to dispossess natives of land and to then use it for colonial advantage. Questions over ‘rule of law’ and appropriation are collapsed as this article reveals an intolerance for any suggestion, policy or law that falls short of simply allowing the settlers to take what they want.

In December of that same year the *Daily Southern Cross* expressed a similar sentiment when it was reported that upon a visit to Nelson the Governor General admitted that: “he should be able to extinguish the native title to the whole of the land within the Nelson settlement”.²⁵ While in June 1852 the *Nelson Examiner* headlined an article with ‘Colonial Mismanagement’ in which the government: “Under pretence of seeing that the natives are not cheated of their rights, buys of them for shillings, and sells at nothing less than the pound. This is bitter, fraudulent hypocrisy”.²⁶ Once again the press condemns the actions of the government. While seemingly concerned that the “fraudulent” purchases of native land under the right of re-emption is dishonest, the central and ongoing concern is that the right of direct sales of native land to private purchasers has been withheld. While the colonists are happy to make a profit for personal gain on native land, they are resentful of the Government which would use their returns to raise capital for their administration. Once again the implicit interest of this author, while condemning the government, is to enable a freer commercial intercourse with natives in order to acquire property.

The discovery of gold in Auckland in March 1852 raised the topic of settler access to native land. The possibility that the natives might take an interest in the gold on their own

land was responded to with the observation that the natives were “fully alive to their own interests, and quite able to protect them”²⁷. Here the author is alert to the implications of invading native land for the sake of gold. Circumspection is called for because of an acute awareness that the provocation of native ire by an assault on potential gold fields in native land could be disastrous. This article signals an awareness that there exists both strength and motivation in the natives defending themselves and their resources:

Let it never be forgotten that our fortunes are cast amongst an intelligent and a determined native race; and that one false step, whether on the part of the Executive, or of the people, may lead to the most dangerous and disastrous result. (ibid)

A similar story appeared in the *Daily Southern Cross* in April 1856 upon the discovery of gold in Massacre Bay. However a judicious silence was encouraged until the anticipated arrival of Mr. McLean who would:

Finally extinguish the native title to all the land in the province, and as there was a dispute between the settlers and the natives in the very neighbourhood where the gold was found, the Government requested the parties who had made - the discovery to remain silent respecting it until the natives had been finally settled with for the land.²⁸

A response by the government to this discovery demonstrates a predilection to benefit the colonists by systematically depriving the natives of their resources and opportunities for wealth. Natives are thus positioned as those who must accept the cost of the colonial project in having their access to this wealth subordinated to the colonists' appetite for indigenous property.

In the General Assembly, the aspiration for European title to native land was a demonstrable concern for the politicians. It was reported in the *Daily Southern Cross*, in October 1856, that a meeting had taken place in the Prince of Wales Hotel where constituents in the Howick electorate had the opportunity to hear the position of the local member of the House who stated:

...that it was his earnest desire to open up the country and that he had already taken a step in Advance by mooting, from his seat in the Legislative Council, the importance of direct purchase of land from the natives.²⁹

Here the press works with the colonial politicians by offering the public the opportunity to anticipate their access to indigenous property. To “open up”, offers to the audience a sense of the land being liberated and freed, while subordinating the actual violation of appropriation to an act of libatory pragmatism. The colonial press does not offer a context for this political manoeuvre nor does it speculate upon the consequences for natives. Rather the press works to reassure the electorate that politicians will act on behalf of the colonists’ financial interests and not those of the natives.

The *Nelson Examiner* reported in November 1857 that: “The natives at last seem disposed to sell land”.³⁰ While perhaps more wishful thinking than a wholesale adjustment in the native disposition, this statement further implicates the press as watchdogs for the ‘business’ of the colony.

The *Daily Southern Cross* in August 1856 criticised the church in an article attacking the Wesleyans for their poor management of monies set aside for the education of the natives. Having received public funds, the Board of Education allocation for native instruction was allegedly “squandered, being neither reproductive nor effecting any tangible benefit, except finding its way into the pockets of teachers and matrons”.³¹ While ostensibly advocating in the interests of the natives by critiquing the fiscal mismanagement of the Wesleyans, the natives are positioned as those requiring a particular kind of sensible state funded intervention. Here they are rendered recipients of public monies where the efficacy of that expenditure is held up for public scrutiny. However the colonial press reproduces notions that any obligation to the natives must affect a “tangible benefit”. The allocation of public funds for the benefit of the native is therefore undermined in this article, suggesting that any expenditure for native ‘relief’ is imprudent unless the natives demonstrate some improvement in a way that satisfies the settler public (notwithstanding accusations of financial mismanagement).

In September 1858 the *Nelson Examiner* published a criticism of the Government for not requiring the natives to pay for the repair of a road they regularly used, which the author indicated “strikes us here as a glaring injustice”.³² The author argues that an equal benefit

should involve an equal liability. However this desire for the natives to be equally liable does not equate to their being equally advantaged in a general context. Rather, this particular article presages a potent and persistent myth that works to justify an expectation that natives are benefiting from the effects of colonisation and should therefore be required to be liable for its costs. That the natives are taking advantage of settler technologies appears to work as an excuse to make them liable for the cost of these technologies. The press therefore publishes a demand for the government to ensure that there is no 'unequal' treatment of the natives in terms of fiscal liability. The natives may relinquish resources, but they must not use, nor benefit from the use of, 'settler' resources without paying for them at the same level as the colonists.

In April 1859 the disposition to sell native land was captured in a lengthy report in the *Nelson Examiner*, following a meeting between the Waitara natives, the Governor (Gore Browne) and the Land Purchase Commissioner. In a speech given by Tahana, a native assessor who was also in attendance, he commences by illustrating the advantages that colonisation has afforded the natives. The meeting begins with a reminder to the natives in attendance that the introduction of Christianity and its attendant advantages have accrued to all natives who have taken advantage of the benefits of colonization: "The missionaries had imparted to them the blessings of Christianity and translated the Bible for their use".³³ However, these assertions of goodwill form a foundation for the weightier matters at hand. The discourse of progress and civilization and the benefits that have accrued to the natives preface the speaker's assertions as to the importance of the natives deferring to the legal framework of the British:

Some tribes in the north had already desired to have English law; and a magistrate had been appointed to instruct them how to put it into practice. They were now engaged in doing so, with every prospect of becoming a peaceful and prosperous people, and uniting themselves with the Pakeha. (ibid)

Christianization and civilization are thus collocated with 'civil' behavior, which can only be seen by the author as being authentically constituted and operative within a British context. However, these musings and exemplars of social order build up a case for the task at hand, that is, the desire to appropriate land. 'Wisdom' is therefore associated with natives who

give up land: “They cannot use themselves, as it would make what they could use more valuable than the whole” (ibid). The press works here to constitute a people who should give up their land as evidence of their Christian discipleship. In so doing the colonists are assured that the genealogy of their material appropriations is impeccably burnished with good intentions. Interestingly it was at this meeting that the Governor, despite assurances by many to the contrary, accepted an illicit offer by Teira to sell land he was not authorized to vend, sparking a round of hostilities in the Taranaki.

Later that year, despite the exigencies of a war, the *Taranaki Herald* published a criticism of Mr. McLean, the native Secretary: “The grand complaint against the native Secretary has been, that he did not acquire land from the Maories when he could easily have accomplished his purpose”³⁴. This article signals an expectation that the native secretary ought to be conducting business on behalf of the settlers, and that his primary responsibility is to comfortably negotiate the appropriation of native resources for the use of the colony. Thus, the position of “native secretary” is constituted in the settler press as one which has the responsibility of representing and pursuing the interests of the colonists.

In December 1864, in the middle of hostilities, the *Taranaki Herald* published an article³⁵ which reported the arrival of a group of natives from the Chatham Islands who had supposedly claimed an interest in some Taranaki land. The presence of this article signals not only a complication in the Taranaki affairs but perhaps the possibility of a justification for the Colonial administration's continued support of the war against the Kingites and the Taranaki people. Should there be a valid claim on the land by the Chatham Māori, then the claims of the Taranaki natives might be 'legally' undermined. Thus, this article declares an interest in engaging with, and highlighting, the possible invalidity of the Taranaki claims and, as a corollary, the legitimacy of their rebellion against the British.

The following proclamation appeared in the *Taranaki Herald* in January 1865.

THE LAW OF DIRECT PURCHASE APPLIED TO ALL NATIVE LANDS.

A PROCLAMATION was issued in yesterday's Gazette to the following effect: "Now, therefore, I, Sir George Grey, the Governor as aforesaid do hereby proclaim and declare that the Said "native Lands Act, 1862' shall, from the date thereof, come into operation and be in

force, within the whole of the said colony. Under the conditions of the Act, therefore, it is competent for natives, whose lands are not included in the confiscation proclamation, to sell to whom they choose, whatever portion of their lands they may think fit, and for whatever price they may be able to obtain.³⁶

While this is not a news article per se, its appearance in the *Taranaki Herald* suggests that it had been published to indicate to the settler population that, as from the passing of the act, there were no longer any restrictions placed upon them in the purchase of native land. The criticism directed at the colonial administration for not allowing the direct purchase of land is, in this act, alleviated and would likely have been the cause of some satisfaction to the settlers. Thus, the media take a role in this tension by communicating only the resolution to a settler difficulty rather than contextual information that considers the repercussions for all parties involved.

In August 1871 an author at the *Daily Southern Cross* reported a meeting to discuss the sale of a section of foreshore to the Government. The author indicates that in this particular situation the Government had taken “the rather curious course of recognising fully the title”.³⁷ The positioning of this action as “rather curious” suggests that the recognition of full native title according to the author is perhaps incongruous given the recent proclamation to allow direct purchase of native land. The colonial press thus plays a role in the identifying and holding up for scrutiny any government action that can be interpreted as acting in favour of native economic rights.

In another display of anxiety over access to goldfields, the *Daily Southern Cross* reported in April 1872³⁸ that European admittance might be made difficult because of its location on native lands. The author articulates some concerns about how permission might be obtained for the European miner to gain entry to the area. The colonial press is thus used to communicate settler anxieties over the necessity to work through a complex legal or an indigenous process in order to obtain financial wealth.

Summary

Between 1850 and 1873, this selection of articles from New Zealand’s colonial press indicates a range of discursive strategies for constituting white British colonial economic authority. The press was used as a forum to work out how access to gold discoveries

throughout New Zealand might be achieved at the expense of the natives. The press raised arguments in favour of the Governor General working to either extinguish native title or to give settlers the right to purchase native land directly. Further concerns were aired in the press around the inequality of native use of settler infrastructure without paying at the same level as the settlers for the privilege. Either way, colonial discourse in the press was weighted in favour of the settler public's interest in native land acquisition. In constituting economic authority in settler New Zealand therefore, colonial media discourse is characterized by the discursive valorisation of white British colonial financial interests and the positioning of economic growth as a competition between native and settler. The pecuniary system that the press authors inclines the coordinates of financial success toward the white British colonist at the express expense of the native. Natives are to have their land appropriated, while access to their own resources for wealth accumulation is denied. Furthermore, access to the infrastructure created out of the appropriation of their land is questioned. While the press of the 1840s lays down the blueprint for a fiscal hierarchy, between 1839 and 1873 these notions are instantiated, so much so that this plan for the distribution of colonial wealth does not, on any occasion, yield to native interests.

Constituting Political Authority

Throughout this period, in addition to playing an advocacy role for settlers demanding legislative changes to allow them to acquire native lands, numerous articles were published in the press criticising the colonial government for its fiscal, executive, and social mismanagement. These articles assailed the colonial authorities with attacks on their lack of foresight, skill, ability and wisdom particularly with regard to the 'management' of the natives. Thus, the constitution of political authority in this latter period moved from the presentation of ideas for the future of New Zealand's political arrangements (Articles 3 & 4, Chapter Four) to criticisms of 'failed' policies and programmes aimed at subduing the natives. During the 1840s the colonial press worked on the assumption that the native would naturally be integrated into the institutional arrangements of the white colonial British system and would be subject to the colonial authority. When, during the 1850s to the 1870s, this proved to be less straightforward than anticipated, the press responded by re-inscribing colonial authority in the political organisation of New Zealand. Items

appeared in the colonial press which made suggestions for the ideal institutions, policies and governance structures for the colony. These editorials provided commentary on the shape of the political and institutional structures of the fledgling colony which was informed by the ever present issue of the native.

In September 1852, the *Daily Southern Cross* suggested that the country be divided based upon the numbers of natives in different geographical areas. Furthermore those institutions of government would be deeply affected by the location and numbers of natives and should they become too cumbersome to deal with, “we would suggest that both justice and expediency point out that there should be a complete separation, legislative, executive, and financial, between the two provinces”.³⁹ According to this suggestion natives ultimately determine the shape of the administrative organization of the country and for future political arrangements.

In June 1855 Mr. Chilman, who was the then Provincial Treasurer was reported in the *Otago Witness* as having argued that the Government’s position on the natives was ineffectual and unsettling. Native demands for justice and economic remuneration were met, in Chilman’s remarks, with violent opposition. In printing this report without edition or commentary it would suggest the paper to be sympathetic to Chilman’s calls for the subjection of natives to civilized rule. Native attempts at rule are authored in the press as extortionist and unruly and a course of appeasement “would only be calculated to increase the unruly and overbearing spirit of the natives”.⁴⁰

While the virtues of Grey are elsewhere extolled, he is criticised in an article published in the *Daily Southern Cross* in May 1857 where he is severally blamed for the current crisis of the colony. “Through mismanagement, as we have elsewhere shewn, he created a fresh war at the South, which terminated ingloriously enough for us”.⁴¹ However, while Governor Grey is accused of the mismanagement of affairs resulting in an unmanageable situation where the natives have supposedly been provoked, and undermined, the author effaces the responsibility of the colonists for these difficulties and blames the Governor for this current predicament. This criticism is given without any recognition of the benefits

that the European public demand and accrue, as a result of politicians consistently acting in their favour. Where any authority does not wholly and thoroughly support the settlers, or sways slightly towards a recognition of native rights, the media respond without remorse.

In August 1857 the *Daily Southern Cross* further suggests a system of 'shared' control with the lion's share of power resting with the colonial authorities. "Let the Governor make the weightier laws, (if empowered by the Assembly) with the advice and concurrence of the natives; let the natives themselves make the by-laws, reserving them, however, for the Governor's assent".⁴² The author also makes an admission that the natives ought to be involved in the operations of the colony in order to maintain a reasonable relationship between settler and native. Governance in 1857 is positioned as a difficult issue that will be best achieved with collaboration. However, that collaboration will take place only within an institutional framework that is recognisable to the Europeans.

Further criticisms of native policy are offered in August 1860 when all offers or suggestions of collaboration were swept aside in a fit of pique when followers of the King Movement were condemned in the *Nelson Examiner*: "The folly of the Maories allowing themselves to be seduced into the commission of any act which would render them liable to forfeit the rights and privileges of British subjects".⁴³ The author of the above article decries the recent assertions of Māori sovereignty which underpin the King Movement. The political affirmations and organisation of the natives around the King movement which boldly contradict British political aspirations are taken as inflammatory and provocative and are defied in this article. The author warns that outcome of the King Movement will see the natives deprived of the, "rights and privileges of British subjects" (ibid), suggesting a singular lack of understanding as to the purpose of the King Movement. Native political defiance is measured by the author as the organised effort to ensure that no more land is alienated, thus rendering the King Movement "an act of disobedience and defiance to her Majesty's authority" (ibid). Absolute and superior authority is understood as the affirmation of the Crown and the acquiescence to the demands of the settlers. Thus, aspirations for native self-government are met in the media with condemnation.

In an article published in the *Taranaki Herald* in June 1861, the author presents an argument to justify the colonial administration's present preoccupation with war. He suggests that there exists a volume of evidence that supports the need to bring the native "under the authority of the British Government".⁴⁴ This he proposes is the duty of the British. Furthermore, he argues that native intransigence can be attributed to the preferential treatment they have received from the missionaries who are in turn vilified for subordinating their 'racial' allegiances to the interests of the natives.

The views of the English settlers are sure to be balanced, and often strenuously opposed, by the views of the English missionaries, who invariably detect with the acuteness of an advocate the first symptoms of selfish and greedy aggression on native rights, and by strong representations to both the local and Imperial Governments demand guarantees of both safety and redress.

Thus, this article recommends the need for force due to the "necessity of bringing the native population more effectually under the authority of the British Government" (ibid). Here the government is held responsible both for the need to exercise its duty to subdue the natives, while the missionary is made accountable for allowing this situation to materialise in the first place. The native is accredited only with vice born of poor management.

Another attack on Grey and appeared in the *Taranaki Herald* in October 1862. While in anticipation of war, the press launched a blazing assault upon the Governor General and argued that: "A large share of the blame must fall on the self-sufficiency of Sir George Grey, and the infatuated party spirit of his late native Minister, Mr Fox".⁴⁵ The author indicates his expectation of conflict but does so without the possibility or suggestion of implicating the settler public in the difficulties which have accrued because of decades of pressure on the Government to make more land available to them at the expense of Māori.

More specific reasons for the criticism directed at Governor Grey appear in an article in the *Taranaki Herald* in May 1863. The author notes the attempts of the Governor General to ameliorate the natives with offers of self-government, education, impartial law etc. and even extols the historical record of the Governor for his "good feelings towards the aborigines of all countries". The author further bemoans the fact that "all the good intentions of Sir George Grey have had no effect upon the minds of the excited rebels".⁴⁶

He further argues that ‘we’ (which appears to be those at the press) “can imagine few things that could have caused the estimable Governor more disappointment and grief than the ill success which attended his mission and the insolent manner in which he was received by these spoiled and petted savages” (ibid). The Governor is positioned here as misguided and settler culpability denied. Both Grey and the apparent deficiencies of the natives have been positioned as responsible for hostilities which have necessitated the righteous defence of the settlers.

Governors Grey and Gore Browne were not the only officials to be assaulted by the press. Another colonial administrator is criticised here in the form of John Gorst, a young official who was often observant and sympathetic to the interests of the Māori. (Hunter, 2001) “Whatever may have been the mistakes of the powers that be and have been in New Zealand that of appointing Mr. Gorst to an important colonial office was certainly amongst the most serious”.⁴⁷ He is accused of weakness in his failure to represent and pursue the cause of the settlers in his interactions with the natives. While submitting that the British have a duty to civilise the Māori which can only be “secured by a thorough assertion of British supremacy and not by any hollow compromise” (ibid) his weak position toward the rebels is credited with causing the “ruinous deterioration” of the colony that begs for the establishment of “British Rule”. Thus, representatives of the Crown are seen as wanting if they are unable to demonstrate their sole purpose in securing the interests of the settlers.

In 1866 the *North Otago Times* recounted the various alterations in native policy over the preceding three years. The author uses the threat of native strength to background a critique of government policy in relation to Māori. “The native policy of each of our late Ministers has been somewhat different from that of its predecessor, and it has not been a thing unheard of that the same Ministry had changed its views between two sessions”.⁴⁸

The native is positioned therefore as subject to the approach of the administration. The native is ideally regulated through policy and has been subject to the capriciousness of policies which are intended to bring him under the influence of the settler government. The article therefore infers the need to police the native through the judicious decision-

making of the colonial powers without the interest of the native himself represented. This article speaks to the need to impose upon the native an approach which would bring him into subjection to the colonial powers.

In January 1871 the *North Otago Times* printed an article asserting that “telegrams from the North, although not confirming the reported massacre of sixty settlers, unhappily only too clearly show that the native race —or a large proportion of the native race —is in a state of ferment”.⁴⁹ While the Government are absolved of full responsibility for the current climate of hostility the *Times* argues that “there is some blame to be justly thrown upon the Ministry for their pampering policy. There has been too much leniency; the Maories have been made thereby just like spoilt children” (ibid). This commentary works to account for native discontent by positioning them as constructed, not by their own political aspirations, but by the policies of an indulgent and ineffective colonial administration under the Governor General. The assumption is that natives should be disciplined (as children are) into more acceptable and cordial behaviour by their parental colonial Government. The colonists are positioned as authoritative and entitled to exert their influence in subduing the Other and instantiating them into the social arrangements of the colony. Thus the future of New Zealand is imagined here as being finally constructed, managed and policed by the colonial polity whose influence must be used to bring the native into complete subjugation.

On the 3rd of August 1872 the *Evening Post* published a critique of the Governor’s conciliatory stance toward Māori. This commentary reports that Grey’s apparently successful tour is shadowed by the recent insults of Te Kooti, the King, and Manuwhiri towards the Governor. On a diplomatic tour of tribal districts, the press reports a display of irreverence and disrespect shown the official deputation (including Grey) when they arrived in Alexandra. “When the illustrious guests arrived, they were received, not by Manuwhiri, not even by Rewi, but by a lot of common savages of no political importance whatever”.⁵⁰ Thus, the perceived need to expose and manage the bad behaviour of the native is intertwined with a criticism of the Government. The actions of these supposed renegades have been allowed because of the soft approach of the Government toward

them and, according to the author, the public has a right to know that the situation between the races remains precarious, and that the Governor does not have the control that he presents publicly.

In May 1873 a report on a public meeting was published in the *Grey River Argus* which went so far as to recommend the abolition of the Native Department. Largely as a result of recent alleged murders committed by natives, the committee resolved that:

These deplorable events have been the result of the native mal-administration pursued during the last four years. That this meeting pledges itself to support the authorities in any manner desired requisite to give protection to the inhabitants of the frontier settlements, and to terminate forever the power and influence of the so called Maori King.⁵¹

The push in the media for a redoubled effort to subjugate the natives to the interests of the colonists was underscored with a compelling interest in blaming these straitened conditions and thorny circumstances once again upon the misguided mismanagement of the colonial administration.

In September 1873 it was widely reported in the press⁵² throughout New Zealand that a national delegation of some 50 chiefs appeared at a sitting of the General Assembly to watch the “progress of Ministerial native measures in the House”. At this meeting of the chiefs, the Native Reserves Bill, the Native Councils Bill and the amendments to the native Lands Act were all summarily condemned and a petition registering their opposition was presented to the House of Representatives. That this measure should gain such national attention indicates perhaps less sympathy for the Māori cause than a coalescence of opinion as to the improprieties of the government. For Māori, the passage of these bills indicated yet more suspect maneuverings to eliminate Māori input by refusing to circulate the bills or to publish them in the Māori language. For ordinary settlers, the fact that these bills would offer the government an unfair economic advantage in the traffic and use of Māori land was probably the central concern. In any event, this case was positioned as an indictment upon the supposedly democratic process with what appears to be a mutual concern registered by the press and by Māori.

Summary

During the 1840s questions of political authority were raised in the colonial press in ways that normalized the integration of the native into the British system and without demur authored them as subject to colonial authority, law and procedures. Ideas for their geographic and political organisation were raised in the press which saw them variously distributed throughout the country in manageable groups or theoretically given the opportunity to create bylaws for themselves that were audited by the colonial national executive. Furthermore, between 1850 and 1873, the constitution of political authority was complicated by resistance on the part of the natives. However, rather than responding to native concerns and protest, the colonial press sought to assign blame. Native resistance to political and economic control during the period was, according to the press, the responsibility of Governor Grey, the Native Department, colonial bureaucrats and administrators and even missionaries, for their indulgence, capriciousness and their vain attempts to compromise with the natives. Sovereign political authority is therefore constituted in the colonial press as once again a fait accompli and without question, the sole and absolute terrain of the colonists. In positioning the colonial administration as entirely and unquestioningly culpable for the uncertain state of political affairs during the period, the natives' account is written out, and the context for their struggles is disavowed, rendering them voiceless and disempowered.

Constituting Martial Authority

Martial authority, in this context, is primarily about working out the broader questions of where military force is to be positioned in relation to both the native and the colonist. Between 1839 and 1849 the analysis of the discourse of sovereignty did not include concerns with the constitution of martial authority. However with the advent of armed native resistance, the subsequent influx of imperial forces and the building of a colonial force, the purpose and allegiances of the military was reproduced in the press.

In July 1850, the *Daily Southern Cross* launched a stinging attack on the actions of the Colonial Office in England whose policies in relation to the purchase and appropriation of land had allegedly rendered the natives "mistrustful by every Act of the British Colonial

Office”.⁵³ While on the surface the author advocates for a more considered and contextualised approach to native affairs, the self interest of the settlers is palpable. Whatever action the Colonial Office takes with regard to native affairs, the colonial press supports one which will cause the least difficulties for settlers. However, rather than assign wholesale responsibility for the current difficulties, the author offers the possibility that the presence of a sufficient presence of armed forces might mitigate for native ire.

Do the people of England imagine the sack of Kororareka was attributable to dislike of whites? Far from it! That destruction is to be traced solely to the foolish attempt to enforce arbitrary British enactments, without adequate British Arms to compel them. (ibid)

The colonial press thus positions the British military as a stop-gap for administrative gaffs to ensure that, regardless of bureaucratic bungling, the colonial project might not be assailed by irate savages.

In response to the impending withdrawal of British troops from New Zealand, the *Otago Witness* published a comment in February 1863. The author considers his expectation that British immigrants deserve the protection of the Crown inasmuch as they are loyal subjects. He recounts the contribution that the settlers have made to industry and economy in the 'Old Country' and in turn expects an investment into their protection.

A large number of British subjects have been induced to settle in New Zealand under the protection which would be afforded to them by not merely the flag but, if necessary, the whole force of the country. By their emigration these colonists have rendered good service. They have opened up new markets for British manufactures, and they have developed new sources of supply of the raw material for one or more branches of industry in the old country.⁵⁴

The author further repudiates the possibility of culpability on the part of the settlers themselves and considers that those blunders that have “infuriated” the “savages” belong to the actions of the Colonial Office, not themselves. The author reacts to their impending vulnerability with desperation and outrage that they might be left to their own devices to address the difficulties they had supposedly not bought upon themselves, with the colonial office abandoning them to “the protection of their lives and property against infuriated savages” (ibid).

Summary

Sovereign martial authority was thus reproduced in the colonial press by positioning the colonial and imperial forces as ultimately supporting the colonial cause. Regardless of the improprieties of the colonial administration, the Colonial Office or the settlers themselves, during the colonial press authored a no fault defence of the colonial cause against the natives.

Synopsis of the Discourse of Sovereignty 1850-1873

While in the first ten years of the colonial press questions of sovereignty had picked up a variety of patterns of meaning such as the need to inscribe an imperial identity, the need to establish a legal basis for the colony and the need to collocate these concerns with a moral and humanistic bias, by the 1850s the colonial press had narrowed down its discussion mainly to concerns for the constitution of white British political authority. Thus we see the flavour of press commentary as highly responsive and weighted entirely in favour of the material benefits to the settler population. The call was consistently in favour of a colonial policy that held no sympathy for the economic interests or aspirations of Māori and preferred any progress towards a European political economy. This narrowing of ideological interest over the years corresponds with a burgeoning native resistance. While questions of sovereignty in the early years of colonisation were broadly focused, they capture a sense of the how the colonists envisaged the colonial terrain. In the face of a 'native rebellion' however, the discourse of sovereignty circulated around the more pressing need to discover and implicate those responsible for this now unhappy situation. Rather than relinquish the discursive struggle to constitute economic, political and martial authority, the quest for sovereignty became more centred on the urgent need to obfuscate settler culpability for native 'unrest' and find ways of authoring away the context for this intense contest over power and resources.

Discourses of Discipline

The themes belonging to the discourse of discipline indicate much interest in those operations of the colonial frontier, which are deemed central to the maintenance and management of Māori. In these rendering Māori are largely positioned as engendering fear through unauthorised breaches of social, economic, political and cultural boundaries. The following extracts concerning the discourse of discipline include a number of patterns of meaning that work together to construct a disciplinary framework around the native. This discursive management of the colonial mood saw the reproduction of enough colonial narrative for the settlers to envision their future free indigenous resistance.

Constituting Legal Authority

Reports of social and criminal offences appear throughout 1850-1873, indicating an ongoing interest in establishing and maintaining corrective measures for the management of the native. During the 1850s the nature of a court system was discussed in the press. The Resident Magistrate's Ordinance was the subject of this December 1852 commentary in the *Daily Southern Cross* where it was pointed out that this institution:

...was devised and framed with great care to meet the peculiar circumstances of a European race mingling with a population just emerging from barbarism. It is highly esteemed by the natives, who now resort freely to the courts of the resident magistrates; and if any circumstance should occur which closed these courts, I fear that great discontent and renewed disturbance would take place amongst the native population.⁵⁵

Here the resident magistrate is valorised and it is noted that the natives have actually agreed to political and judicial domination. It is assumed, firstly, that the natives have voluntarily subjugated themselves to the settler judiciary and, secondly, that it is within the interests of the settlers to reproduce this system for their own welfare.

While primarily a slight upon a rival newspaper, the *Daily Southern Cross* published an article in July 1853 calling into question the ethics and morality of a newly appointed Auckland justice.

This Justice felt no compunctious qualms even in assisting others to personate voters, Hori Pepene, the native selected as the instrument of this intended fraud was led to the polling booth, by Mr. W. C. Wilson, one of the stoops of the Wesleyan body, and co proprietor of the 'New Zealander.'⁵⁶

Questions are raised by the author regarding the efficacy of the Justice assisting natives to vote. The natives mentioned are, however, positioned as pawns in the political contest between colonists. First, the owner of the *New Zealander* is vilified for his role in the alleged fraud, but his religious association is also called into question. Overall the assumption in this article is that natives cannot be personally politically self-driven, and are ignorant as to the correct procedures for casting a vote and are thus open to be used by unscrupulous Europeans.

Between 1853 and 1856 a number of articles appeared with reports on native criminal behaviour. The *Taranaki Herald* reported in April 1853 the following short passage: “A native chief named Panapa has been sentenced to 22 years transportation for shooting at some settlers in the Rangitikei district”.⁵⁷ This early report indicates an interest in racial profiling in crime reporting. The culprit is identified by his race and his settler victims by occupation so that the racial origins of the settler are effaced in the over-representation of the Other's genetics. Thus, the audience is called upon to see crime as racially significant only when the natives are implicated. This would indicate also that the audience is called upon to note instances of crime, not only as illegal activities but also as racialized events of which to be vigilant.

In May 1854 the *New Zealand Spectator* happily reported that there was no criminal business to conduct and attested:

With gratification to the fact as affording strong proof of the healthy moral condition of the Province, though the criminal business of the Court is generally very light, and very rarely includes any serious case, especially against an original settler, or any of the native population.⁵⁸

Here the author gives the audience assurance that all is well with the province. The fact that the judiciary lacks any major incidents appears to offer the author some self-assurance that the colony is exceeding expectations. This habit of representing Māori in court business by their racial soubriquet (as above), contrasts with the tendency to identify the white colonist in terms of his occupation – that of a settler.

This is repeated the following year, in March 1855 when the murder of a native was reported: “Walter Huntley was indicted for the murder of an aboriginal native, named Tekopa, on the 25th December last”.⁵⁹ While in this case the report deals with a crime against a native, it nonetheless sets down a habit of crime reporting by ethnicity where the native is ethnically profiled while the European is not. This indicates that there exists a particular interest in the nature of a mixed-race altercation and some significance in imagining the Other as either victim or culprit.

Another crime against the natives was reported later on that year in December, following a ruling on prohibition for the natives. “Yesterday, at the Court of the Resident Magistrate, A. Bishop, barman at the Caledonian hotel, appeared to answer information, charging him with selling one bottle of rum to a native named Peter”.⁶⁰ In this article the worst excesses of alcohol abuse are seen in the natives. While the settler involved is reprimanded the case assumes that the natives require the discipline and regulation of the settler legal and justice systems.

The next month, in the *Taranaki Herald* court reports, “a complaint was made in the Resident Magistrate's Court by Mr Chilman against some natives who had seized and taken from his land two head of cattle which they retained”.⁶¹ The natives are positioned here as being in contravention of the colonial legal system. They are tried upon evidence of their taking the law into their own hands and deciding on their own legal resolution to a dispute involving property. However the power to act in pursuit of justice is taken out of the hands of natives and given to the settlers. In this article the author grapples with the implications of settler uncertainty and vulnerability against natives who won't comply with colonial law.

Six years after the establishment of resident magistrates, the system was receiving condemnation because of the magistrates' lack of judicial power among the natives who were:

...fairly bullied and laughed at by the natives if he endeavours to coerce them. Language the most insulting to him, when on the bench, and to the government, and at other times, is used by the natives, both in and out of court.⁶²

Native assertions to undermine the settler judiciary are met in this article with calls of injustice and inequality. The author is appalled by the singular lack of respect for colonial institutions on the part of the natives who are condemned for their rebelliousness. This article is therefore about the author's need to generate a consensus regarding the desired compliance of the natives, and to enforce their social and legal accountability to British colonial institutions. The need to assert dominance highlights the vulnerability of the

colonists as their systems are mocked by natives. Concern for the derision of the court system by the natives is addressed the following month where the *Daily Southern Cross* again reported:

The court was, in many respects, unsuited to native habits, and no other institution had been attempted for the purpose of introducing British customs and principles among the native tribes. It was clear, from the importunities of the natives themselves, that some more comprehensive system—some general policy, in short, towards the natives, must at length be determined on.⁶³

In this article there is an admission that the British court system is not working for the natives, which leads the author to a call for a British system that is adapted to the habits and customs of natives, so that these institutions will attract their loyalty and deference. While the author recognises that colonial systems should not and cannot be summarily imposed upon natives without creating more difficulties, the natives are held responsible for any systemic failures thus far. Thus native proclivities and barbarisms are held as accountable for systemic failures rather than the colonial institutions which have summarily required the deference of the native.

Thus, in these early court reports a trend is established not only of racial profiling in court reporting, but also an insistence upon disciplining the native and the settler population to obey the colonial judiciary. The social behaviour of the settlers was disciplined in court when they seemingly contravened the wider interests of the settler population. For instance in September 1870 the *Daily Southern Cross* reported that: “The brothers Southcombe, who were charged before the Resident Magistrate at Wanganui for selling munitions of war to the native chief Topia, have been forwarded for trial at the criminal sittings on Monday next. Supreme Court”.⁶⁴

The implication here is that the colonist has a social obligation to comply with the colonial authorities in ensuring that the Māori are unable to arm themselves. Racial boundaries are drawn around the two groups and the need to police the exclusions placed upon the native are reproduced here. Thus, the settler community at large is given the responsibility of ensuring that the differential legal regulations which restrain natives are upheld. The

ordinary colonist is therefore legally implicated in the reproduction of the racially stratified society where the freedoms of the British subject are not necessarily afforded the native.

In December 1870 the same paper published an account of a 'general melee' involving an intertribal squabble between Te Arawa and Ngaiterangi which was allegedly fuelled by excess alcohol consumption.

It would appear that several of them had contrived to prime themselves with stimulants to such a degree that they were "fit for treasons, stratagems, and strife;" and, an Arawa and a Ngaiterangi having got into high words, the former struck the other. This was of course the signal for a general melee, in the midst of which Mr. Swan, of the Armed Constabulary, was knocked down and severely injured. Several natives were also injured, and it is feared that more than one case will result fatally. Ultimately the contending parties were separated.⁶⁵

Of particular interest is the designation offered the parties involved. While the settler is dignified with a name and a title, the native is merely offered a tribal appellation. While the details of the settler casualty are specific (he was "knocked down and severely injured"), the native casualties are thrown together and known as "several natives". Thus, the place of the settler is secured as an innocent victim to the contrivances of the natives, who, once intoxicated, pose not only a danger to themselves but to those attempting to keep the peace. Thus, this article works to reproduce the native population as erratic and unsafe while the settler is an individual who, in the process of his duties, falls innocently to the excesses of the unruly tribesman. The presence of native, in these two articles, inflates both the problematic and the heroic behaviours of the settlers and, while seemingly a central concern, the visage of the European takes on a clearer form in the ill-informed and errant behaviour of the Māori.

In November 1872, the *Evening Post* reported an:

Enquiry as to burning the bridges, Halse says the natives, have done no wrong. Major Edwards however, insists on their being, brought up charged with the offence under the clauses of the malicious injury to property Act; This collision of authority is producing great scandal. The people are indignant with the native Department.⁶⁶

In this space between war and peace, the natives occupy a delicate position between public outrage and official conciliation. This intolerance for any action beyond uncompromising discipline works to reinforce an expectation that the government must exert their ascendancy over the native, without exception. Control over the native must be exacting, predictable and exerted in a manner that the public is confident with. The native cannot be treated any differently and any attempt to do so threatens the credibility of the administration.

Summary

In the early 1840s a consensus had emerged in the colonial press on the universality of British law and expectation of native acquiescence to that law. During the 1850s the news contained details of the British legal system in action, where the native was instantiated into the legal system through court reports of their either being victim or culprit. However this sense of the native participating contentedly in the court system was undermined by their later intransigence. Commentary on the difficulties arising from their opposition emerged in the press during the late 1850s where possible adaptations to the court system were aired in the media. However what is of interest is the gap in the 1860s where no articles appeared in the selection that pointed to a concern about the integration of natives into a colonial legal system. Larger matters were being considered during this period where having the natives show up at court seems to be the least of the press' concerns. The need to enforce discipline during the 1860s acquired a more urgent appearance, one that local magistrates would not be able to manage.

Constituting Martial Authority

During the course of the most intense period of fighting between the colonial forces and Māori, the colonial press published articles which worked to assure their readers of the resolution to any impending or possible conflict. The need to manage the mood and climate of the colony was realised in the press' assurances of peace and victory. The constitution of martial authority, however, does not deviate from the necessity to unequivocally position a military behind the white British colonial project and to ensure that force will undermine any native contest.

The possibility of an armed engagement with the natives was raised in a letter to the editor in the *Daily Southern Cross* in August 1854:

I propose it, sir, as a matter of good policy for the Colony to hold out an inducement in the shape of land, to men well trained to arms, able in any emergency, not only to act themselves, but to instruct and encourage others, against a common enemy.⁶⁷

In this article is expressed the fear of impending clashes with natives, an anticipation of native aggression combined with a desire to attract settlers with a military background to the colony, to meet potential conflicts that the author predicts will arise. This is a stark and fearful appraisal of the future. The natives are represented here as sure to attack, not because of any settler culpability but because natives are ‘warlike’. The colonists efface their own responsibility for this situation of conflict. The remedy is not in a reappraisal of colonial project but rather a call to arms and defensive action against a powerful enemy.

The sense of the native as enemy or potential enemy was thus palpable in the press. Yet without evidence to the contrary, the *Nelson Evening Mail* in November 1854 published a report about an “internal quarrel of a tribe”. In so doing the journalist also offered assurances that this state of affairs will not have consequences for the Europeans inasmuch as they:

have every reliance on the good feeling that has always subsisted between the two races continuing to prevent the European population from interfering in this native quarrel. As some evidence of the good feeling of the native race to the European.⁶⁸

Warmth and tolerance from the colonists toward the natives was therefore contingent upon the natives behaving themselves with care and circumspection toward the Europeans. When the tide turned, this effusive confidence in the good relations between the two evaporated in the presence of a palpable sense of their own vulnerability to the might of skilled and capable warriors. Yet both of the above articles betray a sense of their own military vulnerability should the tide turn.

In September 1855, with the arrival of a troop ship carrying the 65th regiment to Taranaki, the *Taranaki Herald* observed that with “upwards of 200 rank and file of the 65th

Regiment and several field pieces renders the Military force in Taranaki thoroughly effective for any service to which it may be called".⁶⁹

The military is thus seen as the antidote to maintaining peace.

An excellent effect has already been produced on the native mind. Not a shot has been fired by either party since the soldiers landed. Ngati Ruanui has shrunk home again, armed native's no longer parade our streets, the tapu is taken off the Waitara road; in short, the most profound tranquillity appears to reign throughout the district. (ibid)

The idea that a native threat was successfully dispatched through a show of force reinforces the position that a healthy defense is requisite to the calm of the settler community. A revision of the settler's aggressive land appropriation policies was not called for. Rather the native is positioned as requiring control while the settlers and their military reinforcements are positioned as necessary for that control to be achieved.

With the prospect of war looming the *Taranaki Herald*, cognisant of the effect that the appropriation of native lands was having upon the native population, proposed in February 1860 that:

The natives may affect to despise all this, and even our present available resources; and believing that they rely less upon the merits of their cause than upon an overweening sense of self superiority, it might be the shortest way out of the difficulty to concentrate such a force on the spot as would justify the natives in quietly yielding the point without any imputation upon their courage. The force at once available, say 200 of Her Majesty's 65th Foot, and 110 of the Taranaki Volunteer Rifles might, in the judgment of the Officer commanding, be sufficient for the object in view.⁷⁰

The author thus positions all law, influence and support in favour of colonists. It appears to the author inconceivable that Māori should exert an affectation of sovereignty. They must be made to yield to the wishes of the colonial administration, through force if necessary. The author acknowledges the native concern that there is a disconnect between the cause for native concern (the dubious appropriation of Waitara by the Crown for settlement) and the action that the settlers are willing to take in respect of the agitation they are now

witnessing. In other words, the author acknowledges native concerns but jumps immediately to an endorsement of force to control any outbreak of violence.

With the First Taranaki War nearly at its end, the *Taranaki Herald* recorded the negotiations between native ‘insurgents’ and the colonial military that took place in March 1861. “A native also bearing a flag, approached and met him half-way, and, after exchanging a few words, the Maori conducted Mr Hay into Te Arei pa, where he remained in conference with the insurgents for several hours”.⁷¹

While this article records one such moment of tension and disquietude, the author creates a mood of anticipation over the outcome of a conference between the colonial forces the ‘insurgents’. The meeting did result in an eventual truce, causing the *Daily Southern Cross* to ask in January 1862:

Why this peace again promised to smile upon those antipodal valleys, which so recently reverberated with the roar of cannon, or echoed with the war song of the indomitable Maori ' Why, also, is it that that immeasurably more serious conflict with the native tribes of the north island, which only a few weeks ago was considered inevitable, is now fast becoming a phantom.⁷²

How is it, the author questions, that tensions have been lately subdued?

The simple fact is that there has been a change of policy at the seat of Government as well as of men; and that wise, temperate, and Christian measures, promise to bring about that just and enduring peace which Colonel Browne, with his purely military dogmas, was wholly unable to realize.(ibid)

Peace can be therefore be attributed to the changed position of the colonial administration where they have allowed themselves to be influenced by a more humanitarian motivation. Native volition on the other hand remains subject to the adjustments of the colonial administration so that they alone can enjoy the credit for pacifying the capricious natives.

The supposed defeat of the natives in Taranaki and the proposed defection of some 'disgruntled' rebels are celebrated in an editorial from the *Taranaki Herald* in November 1863. The author imagines the death, humiliation, dishonesty and subsequent defection of the natives along with their happy alignment with the Queen.

Six natives who returned from Taranaki on Tuesday, reported that Pehi was greatly disgusted at the result of the fight on the 2nd instant (in which it would seem more Maories had fallen than they at first admitted), and that he and Tahana had declared their intention of returning home, and becoming supporters of the Queen's authority.⁷³

Thus, hope is offered the audience that even the natives will be awakened to their folly, and eventually align themselves with the proper sovereign.

With the recommencement of aggressions in 1863 and a redoubled effort through legislative and military means, the *Daily Southern Cross* was pleased to report that “some very important news was received from the Thames yesterday — namely, that all the rebel natives in that district had agreed to surrender under the terms proposed by the Government”.⁷⁴ The press offers the audience the hope that this event signals the eventual capitulation of the rebel forces to the authority of the Government. This celebratory moment belies an intense concern and hope that the natives submit and defer to colonial law and surrender their interests in withholding the loyalty from the properly constituted colonial authorities.

In March 1864 the *Daily Southern Cross* pre-empted an end to the second round of Taranaki war by announcing “that all the rebel natives in that district had agreed to surrender under the terms proposed by the Government”.⁷⁵ While clearly not the end to the conflict, the article offers the audience the hope that this event signals the eventual capitulation of the rebel forces to the authority of the Government. This celebratory moment belies an intense concern and hope that the native submit and defer to colonial law and surrender their interests in withholding their loyalty from the properly constituted colonial authorities. These ‘surrender’ articles are imbued with the need to settle and assure the public that their loyalties cannot and should not be called into question, that there is hope and the righteousness of their endeavour will eventually prove successful. When, in July 1865, a Mr Parris made a safe passage through what was rebel territory the *North Otago Times* reported the reasons to be that: “The Maoris must have been cognizant of Mr Parris' journey, and his safety either proves that they are intimidated, or that it is their intention not to wage a murderous war against the colonists”.⁷⁶ In this article native

action or inaction is given meaning and possibility so that the audience might be relieved of their potential ambivalence, enjoy some hope, or have their fears allayed, by the soothing reassurances of the media. An important concern throughout the period was largely with the supply of imperial troops in support of the colonial military. When the possibility of these troops being removed from New Zealand was raised, the *North Otago Times* reported the happy news as it appeared in the *Daily News* in England: "Since the Colonial Secretary announced his intention of withdrawing the British troops the colonists have displayed an activity and vigour in war for which their warmest friends in this country had not given them credit".⁷⁷ Here, the author constructs the colonial troops as superior, emphasising their efficiency, as opposed to the imperial troops who are soon to be shipped out. He suggests that the colonists are apt to deal with the insurgent natives more effectively and can be relied upon to take care of the affairs of war more expeditiously. The republication of this report in the New Zealand press speaks to a need for the colonists to assure themselves as they face this lately announced withdrawal. Thus, this separation from mother country is positioned not as a rebuff but as an opportunity for the colonists to prove that they can be successfully self-reliant, thus expunging any self-doubt and overcoming this rejection with a boost of self-confidence in the management of these violent times. Once again however, the author fails to address the context in which the Imperial troops are being withdrawn and the rationale of the colonial office in suggesting that London needn't support a conflict that they didn't create and which only eventuated because of the colonist's lack of cautionary attention to the guidance that the Colonial Office sometimes offered. Thus, this commentary works to build self-confidence in the colonists as a force for the native insurgents to be reckoned with. Rather than dispel the sense of war the audience is included as a group from whom the colonial expertise may be drawn to combat the 'rebel'.

Ever interested in the news of England and the Motherland's position on New Zealand, *The North Otago Times* repeated similar assurances which were published in *The Times* in London in April 1866;

New Zealand contains probably at this moment a population of 200,000 colonists, in which the males are about twice as numerous as the females. The native tribes with which we have

been so long at war comprise about 50,000 souls, including, perhaps, 15,000 males of fighting age. There would appear, therefore, to be no room for much difficulty between settlers and savages, since the former could overpower the latter with ease and control or chastise them at discretion.⁷⁸

Assurances are offered that the colonists could overpower natives by sheer numbers. The decades of carefully keeping census records are used to ascertain that the colonists now dominate in terms of population size and perhaps even in terms of influence upon the native mind. The article therefore speaks to the need for the European to assure himself of his impending success based on population size. Thus the author uses the science of demographics to prove the European advantage, attesting to his reliance on science to offer up evidence of superiority. The appearance of this article in *The Times* in London, works also to draw in the support of the Mother Country by positioning the interests of the 'London' audience in favour of the colonist. Thus, this item works to identify, define, reinforce and even number the enemy group by measuring the strength of 'our side'.

In December 1866 the Nelson examiner went so far as to proclaim that:

...the correspondents of Auckland papers from exposed districts, have a tendency to take views more gloomy than events warrant and we dare say the facts will show that, after all, the Maori king means nothing very dreadful. From all we can gather, we see reason for thinking that, however much the natives bluster, the day of active rebellion has now nearly gone by.⁷⁹

Hope is expressed by the author of an article published in the *Daily Southern Cross* in March 1867 that native resistance was slackening, attesting to the colonist's obvious desire and hope that the natives abandon their resistance and submit. "From the Upper Thames, by far the most dangerous district, the news as to the disposition of the natives is also good. Matutaera has, we believe, sent to Waikato and the Thames, telling all the tribes to sit down quietly".⁸⁰ This yearning for peace means that native opposition is understood to be in various stages of submission; even the 'most dangerous district' is in decline with prominent leaders and tribes electing to abandon fighting. Good news is thus understood in terms of a decline in native resistance rather than a victory in the fight, suggesting an interest, on some level, in native pacification and withdrawal rather than a bloody annihilation.

In May 1867 the *Daily Southern Cross* announced that they had evidence that the colonial troops had secured the peace. “On the occasion of Major McDonnells last raid at Rotorua, the Hauhaus were so completely frightened that they dispersed all over the interior”.⁸¹ In this article the European race is positioned as indomitable with the native able to “make no lasting impression” upon them. Thus, a combination of brute strength in combat and the superiority of the European race will eventually afford the colonists their victory over the inferior native. Moments of peace are similarly understood to indicate either a cessation of affairs or a fortuitous opportunity to reinforce.

In July 1868 the *Evening Post*, seemingly providing up-to-the-minute information on the progress of the war, reported that: “No fight had taken place at Patea, and that Colonel M'Donnell, after a hard and fatiguing ride of three or four days to enrol a few men of the native Contingent”.⁸² In response to a heightened state of anxiety and concern over security, the author and the press took on the role of informant, ensuring that the readership was made aware of any developments or concerns surrounding the hostilities. This article works to apprise the audience of the particularities pertaining to the movements of the colonial forces for whom their allegiance is uncontested. Thus, the article reproduces a relationship between the settler civilian and the colonial troops by positioning the audience as sympathetic to, and concerned with, the activities of the military inasmuch as the military are wholly in pursuit of settler interests. Thus, the press works to shape the ideal relationships and allegiances between the various member groups in the community.

Summary

During the 1840s the colonial press authored an account of the military power of the British which positioned them as both wholly supportive of settler interests⁸³ and highly capable.⁸⁴ By the 1850s the press was concerned with the capacity of the settler armed forces and published recurrent assurances that their military resources were improving or could be improved with the right ‘inducements’. However the accounts of military activity during the 1860s were by no means a series of uncomplicated accounts of their successes or prowess during the war. Rather, throughout the war period the press appeared mainly concerned with authoring incidents of surrender, defection and

inevitable peace. While martial authority was constituted with the usual imperial bluster in the early years of colonisation, in the face of armed native resistance the colonial media was circumspect. While reproducing notions of British military force (both imperial and colonial) as being entirely supportive of the colonial campaign, they refrained from specific accounts of the colonial military's battlefield prowess and were quiet on the more jingoistic celebration of British domination. Rather they looked for instances of peace where the natives quietly accepted the efficacy of the colonial system and reintegrated back into the settler fold. Thus it would seem that the constitution of military authority was complicated by the discursive effort to author a version of the native that saw them as willing defectors or likely participants in the colonial war against native insurgents.

Constituting Political Authority

During the early years of colonization the press worked to constitute white British colonial political authority primarily by positioning the natives in a relationship with the settlers that subordinated indigenous interests to the powers of the Governor General.⁸⁵ Placed in a supervisory role, it was the responsibility of the Governor to ensure that policies subdued and controlled the natives while he personally supervised their activities. At the close of the 1860s the press began to take a more active role in observing the conduct of the natives by producing several reports on hui. Largely motivated by the King Movement, where pan-national Māori associations were made and organised at large gatherings, these hui became an important forum in the administration of Māori political interests. Though factional, they were nonetheless essential in overcoming internal differences and bringing a more consolidated effort to Māori resistance. Aware of the significance of such gatherings, the press paid particular attention to these assemblies and habitually published summaries. The appearance of these 'surveillance' updates, which were concentrated at a specific period of time, would suggest that, following the wars of the 1860s, journalists and correspondents were admitted into or were allowed proximity to these events, given the lessening military sensitivity. It would also indicate that journalists would have been historically aware of the importance of hui, and would have been interested in publishing immediately any resolutions that would have implications for the settler communities.

In October 1868 in the *Daily Southern Cross*, an article about a native meeting at Karaitiani's Pah highlighted some concern over the possibility of an invasion by the Hauhau. "A great native meeting is being held to-day at Pakowhai (Karaitiani's pa); very numerous attended. The object is to deliberate upon the very serious position of affairs. The natives here consider an invasion of Hauhaus to be imminent".⁸⁶

In April 1869 the following headline appeared in the *Daily Southern Cross*: **THE GREAT NATIVE MEETING. EUROPEANS NOT ALLOWED TO ATTEND. MR. SEARANCKE REMAINS AT L. HETTIT'S.**⁸⁷ The meeting was widely reported in the newspapers of the day indicating once again a cautious interest in the activities of the natives and the impact that their discussion might have upon the relationship between 'the races'. This article makes much of the size of the meeting and the composition, as well as the embargo on a European presence (although Searancke and Hetit were eventually invited to observe). The fact that the meeting was well attended (according to reports there were between 1200 and 2000 natives present) was noted, indicating that a major resolution might be forthcoming as a result. The exclusion of Europeans (outside of Searancke and Hetit) suggests that there was an element of anxiety that the colonists might not be immediately privy to the discussions of the natives. This would indicate that the colonists were wary of any element of surprise. Thus, admission to the meeting would satisfy any concerns that the colonists might be subject to the capriciousness of the native.

Again, in March 1870, the *Nelson Examiner* reports on "an important and largely attended meeting of natives... on the 18th February, to discuss the very unsatisfactory relations at present existing between the Maori and European races, and to propose some scheme for their amelioration"⁸⁸. While the author reports that the meeting included numerous attendees and speakers, of concern were the conversations around the organisation of political affairs in the country and in particular how leadership was to be organised, whether under the Queen or the Māori King. The author points out the unanimous resolution that the current state of affairs be improved, assuring the audience as to the possibilities for peace which will, in all likelihood, include the presence of the European and the existence of "one set of laws", under one sovereign. The faults of the Māori as a

people are described; “but now they were cannibals again” and “we should quarrel as before”, while the mistakes on the settler side are rendered as individual shortcomings on the part of successive leaders. Thus, the Māori is positioned here as being in need of leadership, where the King “had been a failure”, and “appeals to the Queen had only resulted in making bad worse”. The author therefore concentrates his attention upon the notion that the management of national affairs required much needed alteration. This article offers assurances that perhaps the existing state of conflict might soon be resolved as Māori agree upon the necessity for some political adjustments.

In May 1870 the *Daily Southern Cross* reported: **GREAT NATIVE MEETING. PROPOSED EXHUMATION OF BODIES AT RANGIRIRI.**⁸⁹ Though the topic of discussion involved the exhumation of corpses at Rangiriri, this article signals a continued interest in the observation of native activities, particularly meetings. The press works in this respect as a conduit of information for the settler audience as to the machinations and concerns of the Māori. The settlers, it would appear, are uneasy with the native meetings and require, particularly in times of conflict, any particulars arising out of such meetings. Thus, the press works to normalise a settler presence at these assemblies, and undertake the requisite reportage to the settler population of the proceedings. Settler interest in, their attendance at, and their commentary about these hui are thus included in the colonial press unselfconsciously and repetitively.

Another meeting, in February 1872, celebrated a positive relationship between the government and the natives. A meeting was held at Ohinemutu where it was reported that: “The most friendly sentiments were exhibited during the meeting; the chief subject being apparently the reiteration of friendly assurances to the Government, and of promises to aid in the prosecution of public works”.⁹⁰ Here the author celebrates this recently constituted conciliatory climate between the races. The natives are summarily congratulated for their offer of assurances that their disposition toward the Government is not only friendly but also sympathetic. The natives appear to have accepted their domination and all involved are freely applauded not only for their genial disposition but for their compliance, even in the execution of another native. The prosperity of the Nation can be pursued with a

promise of assistance in the development of the colony. Thus, congregations of natives are, over the period, positioned in the press as creating anxiety for the settlers as the readership might be made subject to the outcomes of such meetings, or be made privy to any pertinent information relevant to their security. Part of the project of constituting political authority is thus in ensuring that the natives are observed, that their numbers are quantified and reported, and their discussions are monitored and considered in light of the interests of the settlers.

Summary

During the latter part of the 1860s and the early 1870s we see the press taking a particular interest in ensuring that the settler public was informed of native activities and dispositions. While early renderings of political authority involved clear-cut accounts of who had power, these articles suggest that this was no longer straightforward. A challenge to white British colonial hegemony had been raised and the colonial press responded with an interest in understanding where natives vested political power if colonial authority was being challenged. The surveillance of these hui by the press indicates a sensitivity to the possible repercussions of native meetings and the impact that this might have on white communities. Thus the constitution of political authority is made complex and becomes a matter of vigilance during this period which sees the press take an active role in ensuring that the white settler public are apprised of as much information as possible in relation to this ‘racial’ contest over power.

Constituting Othered Identities

During the 1840s the press’ disciplinary discourses positioned the settler community as casualties of isolated acts of native crime.⁹¹ Additionally the press reproduced notions of the settler as vulnerable and exposed to a wild and feral people whose aggressions could not be accounted for. Reporting during war years was characterised, from this text, by an emphasis on reinforcing the enemy as unknowable and grotesque, and the colonists as justified, organised and purposeful. In so doing, the complexities of this particular situation can be eschewed and the responsibility for the assault can be entirely assigned to the natives, thus reproducing a rationale for the colonists to assume control. The native is understood as an aggressive, wild, and violent automaton, which, acting without

provocation or political will, is evaluated against the domesticated and innocent settler whose blameless pastoral pursuits are clearly insufficient to warrant such brutal assaults.

In 1854 little was happening in the way of serious armed conflict. It had been seven years since a major campaign⁹² had ended, yet the press continued to publish articles signalling imminent engagement - such as a report in the *Daily Southern Cross* of August 1854 which alerted the audience to the difficulties of being “situated as we are amongst a warlike native race”.⁹³

In September 1861, the *Taranaki Herald*, in response to a recently witnessed ritual display by the natives, reported:

Our interpreter told us he (Manahi) was urging the Maories to "slay and spare not." The whole 400 rose as one man, divided off into three parties, stripped naked to the waist, began the war dance, each party in succession going through the dance three times. This, to a timid person, and a stranger to native customs, is most frightful. The horrid noises simultaneously made — the hissing like a multitude of serpents — with the sonorous ugh, the sound forced out with all their pent-up breath, their eyes rolling and starting as if coming out of their sockets, their tongues protruding, their demoniacal expression of face, the whole frame quivering with wrought-up excitement, and the rapid gesticulations of unimaginable nature — all gave a hellish kind of reality to War, and all its direful calamities...⁹⁴

At the outset of combat, the native is greeted with fear and loathing. Every movement, every sound and gesticulation is apprehended as threatening. In these moments that presage conflict, the author understands the native only as a caricature. Standing in solid contrast to the evil he has lately countenanced, his silent prayer of safety for his son attests to his hope that the 'hellish' shadow of the demoniacal native might be dissipated by the protection of the divine. Thus, the fabrication of terror in the press works to position the enemy as untouchable, thereby anchoring the sympathies of the reader to the position of the settler.

In April 1862, the *Taranaki Herald* reports on one correspondent's attendance at a meeting of over 350 natives who, in military formation, displayed their loyalty to the Māori king and his movement. “The proceedings were commenced by a body of natives, 350 in number, fully armed with muskets, double-barreled guns, and rifles, marching in

regimental order twice round the flag-staff, and king up a position in front, in four divisions".⁹⁵ The need to make observations of the natives and to report the findings is consistent during this period. These observations work to make sense of the native only inasmuch as it might have a bearing on the settler. Thus, the author observes firstly the numbers of natives, then their weaponry, then their organisation which he takes to be regimental. He observes the formalities involved in honouring the King and the intersection of religion, mythology, customs and traditions with an emphasis on the native preparations for war, thus casting a mystical shadow upon the proceedings. The native is positioned as an object to be described rather than understood.

In July 1862 the *Taranaki Herald* reports that: "We hear from Auckland by the Queen the reason of our not receiving our usual overland mail. It appears that, in consequence of some of their demands not being complied with, the Kihikihi natives seized the Taupo and Napier mail".⁹⁶ The author further informs his audience that until a return to that "happy state of things" this particular run will not continue. What is of particular interest in this instance is the idea that this eagerly anticipated state of happiness, while being assumed by some, has not as yet been recognised by the "Maories themselves". This happy state of colonial affairs thus pre-exists Māori acknowledgement. A resolution to the current heightened climate has already been determined, the natives are required only to acclimate themselves accordingly and all will be well. Control therefore requires the natives to familiarise themselves with the mood of the Pakeha in order to enjoy an assurance of peace.

In an item published in the *Taranaki Herald* in August 1863 the author describes an incident where the natives are accused of shooting and killing one James Hunt:

Early in the day the Kirikiri natives, came out of the bush at the foot of a range, and attacked some men who were engaged sawing timber. One of these, James Hunt, fell dead, shot through the body by a bullet.⁹⁷

He proceeds to describe the colonists' reaction to this, and the deployment of the 65th foot in response. While there was nothing else to report in the way of casualties or an outcome,

other than the 65th's withdrawal, the article suggests that the Colonial troops behave only in reaction to the natives. Thus, the natives are positioned as those who have precipitated such a justified reaction and the British act only in active defence. The political context in which native aggression has escalated has been effaced, rendering the colonists innocents in the face of a capricious enemy. Military action is therefore understood to be the justified reaction to unprovoked incidents of violence by the natives.

The colonial press also published articles which imagined alternative paths for the defeat of the natives as in the September 1864 article published in the *New Zealand Spectator*:

So we have to content ourselves with the beggarly consolation that, though we are killing the natives slowly, they are only 60,000; and that though we don't shoot many, yet famine and disease are doing our work, and we shall eventually succeed in exterminating a brave and high-spirited race...⁹⁸

The author of this extract considers the possible avenues available for the extermination of the Māori. He submits that while they are not being eradicated through military engagements, they might die because of disease and famine, causing the eventual eradication. This missive, probably appearing subsequent to the defeat at Gate Pah, signals a climate of intolerance and the barely uttered desire to be rid of the native once and for all. Control manifests itself here in a yearning that imagines the most likely measures for the genocide of the Māori.

On 12 October 1865 the Nelson Examiner reported: “By later intelligence received in Wellington from Wanganui, it appears that two Europeans have been murdered by the Hau-haus”⁹⁹ The author positions this killing as one of murder, despite the fact that both men involved were members of the Imperial forces and were, in different capacities, on active duty. The native is therefore understood during a time of war, as a murderer, rather than an enemy combatant: “A party of Maories came upon him, and shot his horse, and, before he could get himself disentangled, they came on him and tomahawked him ... One side is disfigured with gore”. By focusing on the method of murder rather than the social or wartime context of the killings the natives are constructed as acting out of a predisposition for savagery. The inclusion of “tomahawks” and “disfigurement with gore” works to intensify the fear of the enemy native, in particular this group of Hauhau, thus

drawing the boundaries more closely around the warring parties. This article is included in the discourse of Control inasmuch as it works to represent an enemy, generates fear, highlights violence and reproduces the social boundaries between us and Other.

This tendency to see native aggression as evil is further taken up in June 1868 where it was reported in the *North Otago Times* that:

A military settler at Ketemaria, near Putea, and two laborer's (Squires and Clarke) have been murdered by Hau-haus. They were sawing timber for Cahill's house, when ten natives fired, shooting all dead and then mutilating their bodies. A trooper, named Smith, was catching his horse, and was fired on by some natives in ambush, and mutilated by cutting off his legs and hacking his body. The murderers are supposed to be resident natives.¹⁰⁰

The need for retaliation against what has been positioned as a murder is expressed in the above article. Details are offered as to the type of death these three military settlers suffered and the state of their bodies. Furthermore the author makes much of the apparent innocence of the victims' activities immediately prior to their deaths (Cahill, Squires and Clarke were felling timber, while Smith was attempting to catch his horse). The responsibility for these deaths is assigned to the adjacent tribes and Major McDonnell is recalled from Wanganui to respond to the situation, which he does so by requesting the resources to increase his response force from 100 to 400 men. This article apprises the audience of the event and describes the reaction of the colonial authorities. However, in doing so the settler is positioned as both blameless and vulnerable. The Hauhau are positioned as purely murderous, with little or no background or context for their attack, while the European is constructed as guiltless and in need of extra protection.

At the centre of an article appearing in the *Daily Southern Cross* in February 1869 is the "extraordinary" behaviour of a European in exerting his influence in order to dissuade some would-be native military enlistments to the colonial forces:

A surveyor-and whose conduct will be reported to the Government adopted the extraordinary course of exerting all his influence upon the natives in dissuading them against leaving their homes to fight for the pakehas; and succeeded so well in working upon their superstition and fears that only six out of the 40 who had volunteered were willing to come on board¹⁰¹

What makes this an “extraordinary course” appears to be the efforts of a European to discourage support for a cause which should be his own. The positioning of his conduct as apposite for a report to Government signals that allegiances should be bestowed on the basis of ‘race’ rather than personal political preferences. Thus, the press works to draw the boundaries in the conflict around knowable and obvious combatants. However, the irony here is that while the European may have no flexibility in his allegiance, the native is encouraged to side with the European in the colonial cause. Control is exerted here in providing an account where a colonist is publically chastised and, albeit hypothetically, disciplined for being sympathetic (for whatever reason) to the native interests

Yet others postulated upon the reasons for the native proclivity towards violence. In a July 1869 issue of the *Nelson Evening Mail* the author stated:

The Maori race is a savage race, and bloodthirsty, and it has in it no single element of fidelity or stability. A Maori will take a veneering of civilization but at the first temptation he will break through it and become again the savage.¹⁰²

This commentary seeks to explain the origins of the conflict, assigning it to a trait or proclivity in the native ‘race’. That the natives proved effective and difficult opponents, compelled to protect their resources through violent means, is obscured in a comment which seeks to understand the reasons for the wars as purely resting upon the genetic inclinations of an inferior and uncontrollable breed.

Summary

Thus the native is constituted in the settler press as warlike, savage, demonic, diseased and threatening. Within the discourse of discipline, ways of positioning the native in media texts are characterized by the vociferous condemnation of the native as untouchable and polluted, severing the likelihood of any thoughtful or rational engagement. Where, in the 1840s they were situated as a nuisance, in the following decades their visage has been embellished rendering them incomprehensible and offensive. In any event, the identity of the native was inscribed with a palpable warning to the innocent settlers to eschew the horrific consequences of a social or political liaison.

Synopsis of the Discourse of Discipline 1850-1873

During the early years of these decades native social breaches were seen through lens of the British legal system and ways of subjecting the natives to the powers of the judiciary were discussed in the colonial press. However, this gave way in the 1860s to concerns for the progress and outcome of the native/colonial wars, where once again the desire for the natives to willingly defer, this time to the military, is expressed. It would seem then that the colonial press either expected or yearned for the agreeable surrender of the native to both British law and British might. On the other hand the colonial press remained public watchdogs, informing their audiences of the disposition and whereabouts of the natives, further drawing a boundary between us and them. What remains constant over the period from 1839-1873 is the capricious nature of the press in their disciplinary discourses. On the one hand the press is supportive of the overall project of colonization and yearns for, and celebrates, the acquiescence and surrender of the natives either to the law or to the military. On the other hand the colonial press renders the natives horrific and grotesque and creates a discursive space between the white colonist and the indigene. This would suggest that it is not the natives themselves that are unwelcome participants in the organisational and social arrangements of the colony. It is the practice of 'nativeness' that is eschewed. It would appear that natives can be included in the broader colonial project (with restriction), but that the social, cultural, economic and political practices which are unique to them need to be silenced and disavowed. Whiteness therefore looks for the reflection of itself in the countenances of the natives. Where it cannot see itself the encounter is discursively filled with vitriol and outrage.

Discourses of Paternalism

Introduction

Between 1839-1849, paternalistic discourses were deployed quixotically from a border space where it was still possible to imagine the ideal relationship. However, brought into closer proximity, this encounter was complicated by the competing interests of native and settler. Rather than drop the discourses of paternalism the colonial press reworked these renderings from the idealistic interest in redeeming the native from their heathen proclivities to more measured and context-bound considerations for their reformation, progress and civilization.. These assurances of progress and advancement indicated the press' interest in, and a generalized yearning for, a comfortable co-existence between native and settler. The influence of the church in the circulation of this sympathetic disposition was historical. The flavour of settler/native relations was undoubtedly coloured by the late 18th century and early 19th-century interactions between the missionaries and Māori, so that once settlement began in earnest, there was already set down a discursive space for imagining the native as potential disciples not only of Christ but of European civilisation. While the influence of the church and its missionaries had by this period (1850-1873) been side-tracked by the competing interests of the colonial administration, the settlers, the land owners and the burgeoning settler government, these themes of paternalism appear not to have entirely lost their currency.

Constituting Economic Authority

During this period of time, in areas of commerce, the press published assurances as to the happy state of native commercial activities. In August 1851 a letter to the editor was published in the *Daily Southern Cross*. This letter reveals a concern with reporting upon the disposition of the natives. The writer observes that the natives are both commercially successful and happily situated. On one level the author is making this report in order to satisfy the settler public as to the potential for pecuniary interest in the region, as well as the possibility that, at least in this area, there are no pressing threats. However attention is also given to the need to see native adaptations of white commercial and agricultural

practices as progressive. Stoddart happily reports that “the natives are reaping a rich harvest with their pork and potatoes”.¹⁰³

An interest in economic prosperity is taken up again in January 1853. The article claims that at the present time the natives are enjoying wealth and prosperity and as a result the colony is experiencing a moment of tranquillity as the native embraces the benefits of the British capitalist endeavour. “The native population are making daily advances in the accumulation of wealth”.¹⁰⁴ Once again, the press is offering the assurance that the colonising project is indeed an economic boon to all. “The natives were employed by the settlers as farm labourers, and were found industrious and trustworthy; others were employed in supplying the settlements with the produce of the colony, and were owners of the coasting vessels, &c” (ibid). Thus, this article commends the church for their activities in preserving the natives from the excesses of heathenism and for giving them the opportunity to orient their economic labours around the provision of services to the colonists. For this they earn the praise and commendation of Europeans. When the Europeans repeat this story they are assured as to their own righteousness and the advantages of their colonizing efforts for natives. The colonists, the author argues, are able to bestow great blessings on heathen nations for which the natives might be similarly grateful.

Summary

Discourses of paternalism work to constitute economic authority, by positioning native economic prosperity within a colonial hierarchy. The church and the efforts of the missionaries bring the advantages of Christianity which appears to necessitate the eschewal of indigenous economic activity and the acceptance of more civilized economic pursuits. Native prosperity is thus understood to be dependent upon a European fiscal intervention rather than indigenous genius using indigenous resources. The white British colonist is thus positioned in a pastoral role with the natives, tutoring them toward an industrious future.

Constituting Moral Authority

Newspaper stories which addressed the progress of good relations between Māori and the Crown appear in the data between 1850 and 1860.

After the coronation of the Māori King, Tawhiao, the relationship between the Crown and the native was called into question as allegiances to the Queen were compromised by a more proximate and more politically potent sovereign. The press showed an interest in ascertaining which Māori tribes supported this rebel movement, and who continued to be loyal towards the Crown. The *Otago Witness* reported in February 1854 on the Church in Otago which optimistically anticipated the fine influence of some recently arrived clergy who would attend to the “spiritual necessities of the rural population, and secure the immediate formation of a Presbytery”.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the paper predicted that the pastor’s arrival would be “joyfully embraced by all — West Taieri as well as East — and even in the native village” (ibid). Thus, the expectation is that the natives, as recipients of the church's Christianising message, will be at the mercy of the clergy, and will demonstrate passivity and agreement with the expectations of the church. The natives are included as participants in this moment of celebration, as the author implicates the natives into their own religious revelry. In positioning the natives as approving, the church effort is afforded local credibility.

In January 1856 the Attorney-General of New Zealand, W. Swainson, delivered a lecture at the Theatre of the Philosophical Institution in Bristol which was reported in the *Bristol Mercury* on January 26th, and was later reprinted in the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* in July of the same year. Swainson’s lecture was on the Colonization of New Zealand and in it he extolled the virtues of the missionaries because:

Not only had the native population been reclaimed from being a barbarous, warlike, cruel people, but they had now become industrious, peaceful, active in developing the resources of their country, and in amassing money, while their children were receiving, almost universally, instruction in the Christian schools.¹⁰⁶

In October the following year the Otago the Society for Elevating the Condition of the Māori met in an Ordinary Committee to report on their activities. The Minutes were published in the *Otago Witness* where it was recorded that the committee members were “much struck with the improvement in the social condition of the natives”.¹⁰⁷ This moment of reflection upon the ‘improvements’ of the natives signals an interest in measuring and locating sites of native acquiescence to, and the adoption of practices which were influenced by, “European ideas”. The imitation of the European by the native is thus a cause for self-congratulation. The approval of the committee is contingent upon their observing native customs having been altered and tempered by the habits of their own. However, paternalism is not only expressed in effusions of assurance, benevolence is also seen in expressions of paternalistic concern for the future welfare of the Māori. In a report published in the *North Otago Times* November 1869 by the Canterbury Diocesan mission, the author reports that the natives are debilitated by the process of colonisation. He points out the effects of colonisation on Māori and the extremities facing them:

Then the colonization of the country, and the entire change in his position from being lord of the soil to a tolerated occupier of a very small portion, appears to have bewildered and paralysed the faculties of the Maori. Look where he would, he found he was hemmed in by customs and laws that he does not clearly understand, he feels a stranger and a foreigner in his own bed.¹⁰⁸

While this address seeks to account for the reduced situation of the Māori by describing the challenges of colonisation, it at the same time positions Māori as ultimately responsible for their own moral, economic and political decline. While the author appears sympathetic towards the native position, he leans toward the proposition that their degradation will lead eventually to their extinction. While the author is able to compare the altered state of Māori since colonization he does not condemn the colonial project for imposing this situation on the native population. Rather he positions the advantages of “civilisation” as being beyond the native. “The fault, he confesses, rests with him; yet, nevertheless, he seems powerless to remedy it. The future offers no hope” (ibid). Inasmuch as the native is left without antidote, the European must assume responsibility for correcting the situation, which looks desperate at best. Thus, in this article, while the native is positioned as failing and unpromising, the colonist is constructed as cognisant, without fault, and left with the

commission to resolve the difficulties that the natives cannot resolve for themselves. The mission of social, moral and spiritual redemption may proceed without recourse to native self-determination because they are as “dumb brutes of the field” (ibid). This article therefore reports upon the activities of the diocese in Canterbury where the Rev. J.W. Stack has taken it upon himself to survey the broken terrain of the native. He proposes that the fault lies in the inability of the natives to resurrect their own straitened circumstances. This in turn creates a void for the missionary to fill, which, in the context of the Mission, is to seek the appropriate measures for the redemption of the oppressed indigene.

In November 1871, the *Daily Southern Cross* published an editorial under the headline *The Maori's Decline* in which the author commends the superior timing and efforts of Captain Cook in his New Zealand ventures. The writer suggests that the British work among the natives was fortuitous given the possibility that if they hadn't arrived, “it is possible that nearly all of the natives would by that time have eaten up one another”.¹⁰⁹ In this editorial, the author makes much of the influence of the white man in arresting the probable decline of the Māori population due to their habits of cannibalism. While he takes great pains to describe the practice of cannibalism, the intention appears to be to congratulate Captain Cook in particular for his “large mindedness”, his liberal heartedness, and his philosophic disposition. Had Captain Cook not arrived, the author postulates that a want of meat might have driven the natives to consume one other into extinction, which might have in turn saved the English the expense of installing institutions for native management, since the natives would pose no significant population threat. Cook is furthermore congratulated for his generosity in supplying the obviously protein-starved natives with pigs, to supplement their obviously inadequate diet.

This concern for a “dying race” was raised again in November 1872 under the headline, “Are the Maoris Dying Out?” When in response to an article in the *Wanganui Herald* where they reported that: “The Maoris in that quarter are fast dying out and further more that there has been a theory prevailing for some time that the Maori race is dying out, or being gradually improved off the face of the earth”¹¹⁰ The *West Coast Times* replied that:

“In the district to the North of the City of Auckland the contrary appears to be the case, as will be seen from the following remarks by the *New Zealand Herald*” (ibid).

The author from the *New Zealand Herald* recounts the exceptional progress of the natives under the influence of the British, and rejoices in the adjustments to their behaviors and habits: “Every Maori mother, with few exceptions, has her feeding-bottle, and the picaninnies get goat's milk or that of the cow. The women seem to give a great deal more care to their nursing, and the maternal instincts are better developed” (ibid).

Summary of Moral Authority

The role of the press in the constitution of moral authority can be found in the direct or implied declarations of certainty, whether celebratory, apprehensively or scientifically. The constitution of the ‘native situation’ relies heavily upon the confidence that colonial writers felt entitled to assess, judge and make declarations upon the present state or future of the indigenes.

Constituting Social Relations

Not only were assurances given in the press as to the fiscal improvements of the natives, but their involvement in the institutional framework was seen as a mark of successful integration. In the early New Zealand press (1839-1849) the larger questions concerning colonial social arrangements primarily involved questions of identity and how Māori were to be understood as British sovereign subjects. With little in the way of social contest, based on the lower ratios of European to Māori, the natives could largely be held at arm's length while ideas for their social integration were publically discussed. Now, brought into closer proximity through their contestation over land, and the swelling numbers of immigrants, the colonial press raised the issue of the ideal social relations between native and settler. The article below indicates an interest in how the natives were to be integrated in to the social life of a British colony. This extract imagines the natives as a kind of British subject.

The first article¹¹¹ of this selection, which appeared in the *Daily Southern Cross* in January 1850, reports on the sporting achievement of a native. That the winner of the race, Tomati Taua, had been identified as a native, suggests that there was something of particular

importance about his success based upon his ‘race’. Thus, special note was taken, not of the outcome of a particular contest, but of the fact that it was a native who beat 20 Europeans. The absence of malice or concern suggests that this was one place where the native might participate with the Europeans (on equal terms), and even excel. This benevolent article thus celebrates native progress and gives the audience an opportunity to celebrate native participation in the leisure activities of the colony. Similarly in April 1850 a story¹¹² appeared regarding a native wedding at St. John’s College in Auckland.

The Hall was laid out with a cross-table at the upper end, at which the Bishop presided and Mr. and Mrs. Eyre had their places; another at the lower end where Mrs. Selwyn took kindly charge of the Maori bride and bride-groom.

This moment of congratulation also reveals a concern with finding instances of assimilation where the practices of the colonizer have been enacted by the colonized. The press takes heart in their colonial endeavours as they observe the native mimicking the colonists, thus assuring the audience that there is hope in an endeavour where the native displays the potential to adapt, integrate and ultimately civilize. In October 1850, the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian* reported that in “contravention of a general rule which forbids Royalty to accept presents”, the Queen received a gift of:

A couple of casks of flour, (ground by mills erected of their own cost, and the produce of wheat of their own culture), as an offering of their loyalty and good feeling, and as a sample of the agricultural superiority of New Zealand¹¹³.

Furthermore, the Queen bestowed in return “copies of the best authenticated portraits of the Royal person”. In this moment of pleasantries and transaction, the New Zealand native, the reader is informed, has been given particular notice by Queen Victoria herself, indicating that the European’s relationship with the natives is imbued with potential, that the natives are seeking to establish good relations and that the Crown on this occasion is acting in the best interests of the settlers by reciprocating native generosity. In May 1851, on the occasion of Queen Victoria’s birthday, an article was published in the *Daily Southern Cross*.¹¹⁴ During the celebrations it was pointed out that a “native Dinner” was enjoyed which worked to flavour the imperial with a dash of the local. While the press valorizes and commemorates the monarchy, the expectation is that the colony will pay particular

attention to the Queen's birthday. Not only is the colony called to halt in order to give this day special recognition, the native is included in the ceremony as well, suggesting that in public demonstrations of loyalty to the Crown the performance is complete by showcasing the Empire indigenes, thus offering assurance that the cession of sovereignty is complete and the relationship intact.

In November 1853, at the commencement of visit to Great Britain, the virtues of Governor Grey are extolled in *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*. This editorial was republished from the *Maori Messenger*, a bilingual Government publication designed to "teach the Maori the laws and customs of the English, and the English those of the Maori".¹¹⁵ Here the relationship between the Crown and the native is once again placed beyond reproach as the author assures the readers that the colony will be a much poorer place without the "many great and shining qualities of his Excellency". His Excellency is furthermore credited with his special aptitude to "elevate the native Race in the scale of moral, social, and religious intelligence". This 'special' relationship was to undergo intense scrutiny and criticism during the war years in the settler press, but in the Māori press the relationship continued to be positioned as inviolable.

In the *Daily Southern Cross* in March 1858, an article appeared that positioned natives as interested in acquiring and mimicking the political arrangements of the British. "There is among the younger men trained by the missionaries, a strong desire to imitate the social arrangements of the British colonists".¹¹⁶ However, this imitation is voided of active political intention and positioned as a mere echo of an aspiration to follow in the footsteps of the British. Thus, the author seeks to both take the credit for Māori political action and to undermine its potency by positioning the politics of these activities as pure posturing.

In 1858, the *Taranaki Herald* published a news story about the appointment of a Māori commissioner for the Bellblock. The authors praise and approval, for settlers who were thus generously disposed, was unreserved. This move by the ratepayers to admit a Māori commissioner is put up against a history of aggression from Māori, providing a moment of contrast where previous hostilities between the settlers and the natives are recalled but are

retired to the past. The readers are assured that the relationship between Māori and settler looks to be improving because of the magnanimity of the Taranaki colonists in their “friendliness of disposition still towards their Maori neighbours and an earnest desire to cooperate with them, if they will, in carrying out objects of local improvement”.¹¹⁷ These approbations are further offered upon the recognition that the natives are arranging their communities after the manner of the settler.

In May 1860, the *Nelson Examiner* published an account¹¹⁸ of a large native meeting (approximately 350 people) to discuss the implications of the King Movement upon the loyalties of other tribal groups, and to decide whether or not the King’s flag would be erected to signal their respective dispositions in relation to the Crown. In this article the author positions this contest of ideas as an event that was understood to be “most orderly”. That Tamihana, Te Rauparaha and others - the “most respectable natives” - stood in opposition to the Kingites, and had endorsed the continued authority of the Queen, weighted this meeting with assurances that, in this case, the most lethal and influential natives of the area had not taken up the Kingitanga cause. The author assures his audience that the colonial endeavor has not been undermined by such influential natives, and that for now, the fervor of Māori opposition is directed at the King movement and not the colonial movement. Assurances are also offered the audience that the influence of the missionaries is declining in the exultation that the “sun of missionary influence...has set”; suggesting that the time had passed where missionary cautions to natives not to sell land were taken seriously. Consequently, the reader is offered the opportunity to enjoy the assurance from this article that the best natives are supportive of the Queen, and that missionaries no longer enjoy the currency of their previous influence. For now readers are safe from native hostility and might even enjoy unprecedented access to native land.

In December 1861 a letter¹¹⁹ from the Governor General was circulated via the native press and published in the *Daily Southern Cross* encouraging natives to consider the benefits of the European law and rule. The Governor general laments that in light of the recent difficulties, the Queen, “whose heart was dark when she heard of the troubles in New Zealand”, would encourage the natives to embrace the institutions of governance and rule

bought by the Europeans so that they might enjoy the mutual abundance of wealth and so that “every man should have for himself and enjoy his own lands, his cattle, his horses, his sheep, his ship, his money, or whatever else belongs to him”.

The Governor General argues that his and the Queen's only desires are to “arrange good law” because, in so doing, both Europeans and *Maories*, should work with a common purpose, enjoy happiness, wealth and prosperity. The observance of “good law” Grey suggests, will ensure that, like the Europeans, the natives will enjoy, through the appointment of “wise and good magistrates”, the protection of their property and the right to participate in the making of the laws “by which they are governed”. The natives are reminded thus, that they ought to do as the Europeans so that they might take advantage of the benefits of European civilisation so graciously offered by both the Governor and the Queen. The work of this article is therefore in offering the natives the opportunity to defer to British law, because in so doing they will enjoy the advantages of the European. The article promotes a way of understanding the superior organisation of European social, legal and economic affairs for the benefit of Māori. In doing so however, it works to efface the organisational preferences and arrangements of the natives and suggests that Grey understands the ideal society as one that only Europeans enjoy the capacity to organise and one that the natives defer to. Its appearance in a settler newspaper further implies that the settler readership can take some comfort in being apprised on the government’s encouragement of native cooperation.

Not only was the press effusive in its comments regarding the relationship between the native and the Crown, but there were, during the period, expressions of benevolence and paternalism that manifested themselves mostly in flushes of pleasure deriving from public examples of the native becoming civilized. In December 1867 a report was made in the *West Coast Times* of a native contingent who were requesting one of their own to be appointed in the dual capacity of both interpreter and police constable for the community. The report suggests that this request was understood as an indication that the natives desire a “closer relationship with the colonists”.¹²⁰ The reason for this change, the author suggests, is in the inclination of the wahine to prefer the gentility of the Pākeha man to the rough ways of the Māori man.

After a Maori wahine has at some rural gathering figured in the mazy waltz with an irrepressible gum-digger, got up regardless of expense, and has been handed out to the refreshment room and tendered her glass of lemonade or cordial, with as much grace and politeness as if she was an English- woman, she takes unkindly to the rough and ready ways of the kainga, or the Maori pa, and accordingly cuts up...(ibid)

Thus, rather than seeing the native as the central concern of this treatise, the colonizer figures as the catalyst for all that is seen as good in the modification of Māori conduct.

“Barbarous usages are falling into disuse” (ibid) and social habits more closely resemble that of the European. Benevolence and concern thus have their boundaries. Where the attempted mimicry of the Pākehā can be observed, commendations are forthcoming and hope in the native people is expressed. The approval, care and concern of the colonizer is thus contingent upon the acquiescence, mimicry and obedience of the colonized.

In September 1873 a report¹²¹ published in the *Southland Times* about a delegation of Māori chiefs argued that impending native lands legislation was not written in the Māori language for the benefit of those who would be affected by its passage (see below). That this article publishes a formal recommendation that all native instruction be given in English suggests a growing unease with the use of the Māori language in any official capacity, and a phasing out of its currency and importance not only within settler society, but also within Māori communities. The emphasis on the demand for a Māori language version of the legislation however obfuscates the political and economic reasons for this demand and prevents these issues being aired in the press.

In December 1873 the *Wellington Independent* published a report from the Minister for native Schools where the use of Māori was summarily condemned as being an unsuitable medium of instruction in native schools. In this report the Minister finds the ideal language for teaching to be English because, he argues:

I have found that the progress of the pupils in English has been in inverse proportion to the knowledge of the Maori language by the teacher. I believe this effect arises from the constant use of English words by the teacher, who knows no Maori, whereby a necessity is caused for the exertion of the pupil's mind to comprehend the words addressed to him.¹²²

The appearance of this report in the settler press suggests a generalized apprehension about the place of the Māori language in the broader settler society. A concern for the inclusion of the Māori language as a language present in the future vernacular of New Zealand is obfuscated by an appeal to sound pedagogical practice (notwithstanding that there is no evidence that any other second language was taught without the assistance of the first).

Summary

The story of the ideal encounter between 1839 and 1873 alters very little over time. The colonial press still celebrates the native who is happily inclined to imitate the ‘arrangements’ of the British. The possibility that a lately acquired peace has much to do with the alarm of native men who see their women’s preference for the chivalry of the white man is raised, while the necessity to complete the transformation is implied in the denigration of a bilingual approach to native education. The constitution of social relations is achieved through the unyielding injunction for natives to behave themselves white in occupation, behaviour, language and social manners.

Synopsis of the Discourse of Paternalism 1850-1873

Between 1839 and 1849, paternalistic discourses in the settler press worked to constitute moral, economic and social authority. The emphasis was on the practice of celebrating native mimicry of whiteness. The colonists understood they had a responsibility to teach, protect and civilize the natives and by all newspaper accounts this was done with conviction and confidence. In these articles from 1850-1873 the story alters very little. Now with the frequent encounter of native and settler, the opportunity arises to assess the impact of colonization in the public discourse. However, rather than use these observations as an opportunity to reconsider critically the deleterious effects of the colonial project, the occasions are lost in effusions of interest in the special relationship between the Crown and Māori, which is at once full of munificence, ceremony, concern and celebration for the progress and advancement of the Māori and an anxiety for their future welfare. Between 1850 and 1873, an effort was made in the press to forge an historical relationship between the Crown and the natives, thus imbuing the presence of the British in New Zealand with a sense of providence and destiny. The tendency of the newspapers to report instances of the Crown and her representatives demonstrating both an interest in, and a concern for, the welfare of the natives, works to situate the native and the Crown in proximity with each other, lending some reassurance as to the possibility of good will existing between the 'races'. Newspaper reports, detailing Crown relations and transactions with the natives, are thus characterized by an air of generosity and benevolence. Paternalistic and patronising, these reports supply a warm stream of assurances to the readers that the colonists' relationship with their native compatriots, as anchored in the past, may continue secure and stable. Thus, the broader relationship between European settlers and Māori was given possibility, relying sometimes, as it did, upon the good will that existed in the affiliation between the Queen, the church and her native subjects.

Reports of progress and advancement were also offered by journalists and public correspondents, indicating a generalized yearning for a comfortable co-existence between native and settler. The influence of the church in the circulation of this sympathetic disposition was historical. The flavour of settler/native relations was undoubtedly coloured

by the late 18th century and early 19th century interactions between the missionaries and the tribes, so that once settlement began in earnest, there was already set down a discursive space for imagining the natives as potential disciples, not only of Christ but of European civilisation and therefore European wealth. While the influence of the church and its missionaries had, by this period (1850-1873), been dulled by the competing interests of the colonial administration, the settlers, the land owners and the burgeoning settler government, these themes of benevolence did not entirely lose their currency. News reports were largely given as affirmations of native success, and provided assurances to the settler audiences as to the righteousness of their colonial endeavours.

However, these assertions of progress competed with forecasts of an eventual native deterioration. Working from a position of deficit, the press published reports which outlined Māori dispositions, habits and proclivities in a colonized environment, along with the expectation that the Māori would eventually decline and disappear. Remedies were offered to ameliorate the cultural delinquencies that might hinder future native survival. However, the general tenor remained - that the road to Māori success was marred by genetic insufficiencies. The discourse of paternalism thus renders the colonial subject a product of their own imperfections and works to gently assure the white colonial audience that there is nothing to alter in the pursuit of their colonial ventures.

Conclusion

The colonial press, throughout the third quarter of the 19th century, worked to constitute the political, economic, social, martial, moral and legal authority of the white British colonial endeavour. Discourses of sovereignty worked to mark New Zealand as part of the British Empire both territorially, politically and economically. Discourses of sovereignty housed the blue-prints for the colonial ideal while discourses of discipline attended to the business of working out how this ideal could be managed and infractions restrained. While effusions of concern for native 'degradations' characterize the discourse of paternalism the colonial endeavour continued regardless. These apprehensions however worked to round out the white British colonial identity so as not to render the settlers inhumane and socially punitive.

There is, in addition, very little indication that between 1850 and 1873 these discourses relent. Rather the discourses are found, where necessary, in new articulations and patterns of meaning which do not compromise the colonial endeavour. It is this malleability and flexibility of articulations that characterizes New Zealand's colonial discourse from 1839 to 1873. Where they differ between the two periods is in the enunciation of those repertoires across discursive formations. The final chapter will therefore draw out inferences that will clarify further the ideological operations of New Zealand's colonial press.

chapter eight

conclusions

In chapter three, four research questions were presented. These research questions supplied a scaffold for interrogating the social ‘work’ of the colonial press. In attending to each of these research questions, the consequent analysis threw up predictable patterns in the meanings and sense-making that occurred in New Zealand’s settler journalism. The deployment of these constituting discourses shows the colonial press to be highly and wholly receptive to the interests of the settler community. Furthermore, the analysis shows how the press met the exigencies of the day with a regularity of response that was organised to unify, consolidate and represent the concerns of the immigrants at the expense of Māori. Thus the settler press worked to constitute and reproduce inequitable relations throughout the early years of this colonial encounter. The current analysis demonstrates the unremitting practice of the press in undermining, excluding and marginalizing any cause or concern that would shift the balance of power away from white British colonists.

The Research Questions

What white British colonial ideologies and discourses can be identified in the colonial press in relation to the native?

Overall, the settler press demonstrates an interest in the reproduction of a broad-based racial ideology which kept pace with the social events and contexts of the day. Between 1839 and 1873 the settler press’ renderings of Māori can be identified as discourses about sovereignty, discipline and paternalism. These discourses are not independent of one other but work to construct an interlocking network of discourse that provided sound ideological coverage. The discourse of sovereignty provides a broad platform for working out the colony’s ideological and institutional plan; discourses of discipline discursively manage the deviations from the plan, while discourses of paternalism invest the plan with affectations of concern and interest in the progress of native. Below is a graphic illustration of how these discourses appear in relation to one other. In order to demonstrate this visually it was necessary to quantify the discourse appearances and represent them as a percentage of one

other. The intention is not to rework this critical analysis into a content analysis. Inasmuch as I have been interested in discourse over time, it has been necessary to quantify the data in order to illustrate their interconnectedness and responsiveness. I want to move beyond merely a description of racial representation to an account of racial discourses as supple and sinuous as well as constant and continuous.

Colonial Discourses as a Discursive Racial Framework

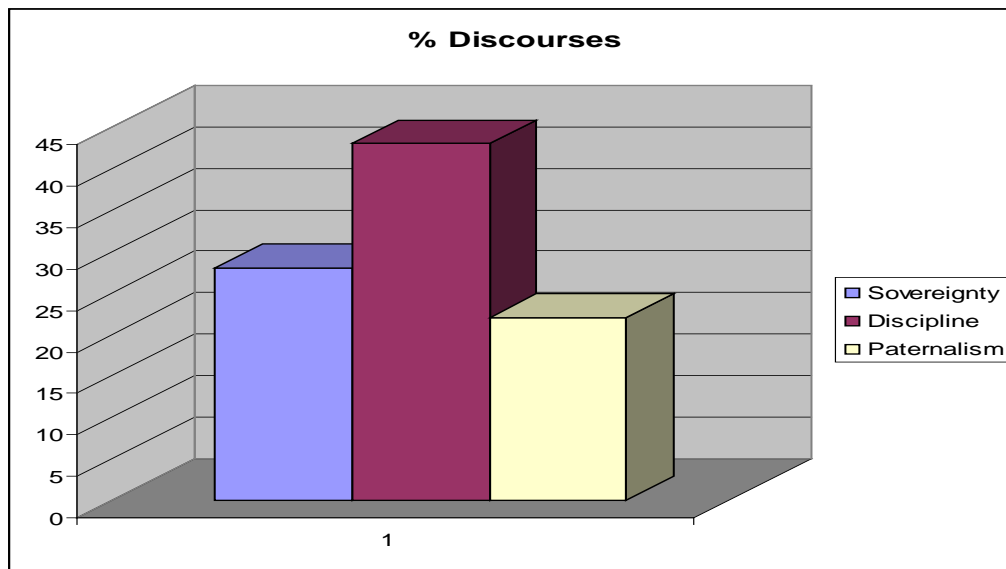


Figure 8.1: Percentage Comparison of Discourses 1850 to 1873

Almost half of the data base belongs to the discourse of discipline; another third belongs to the discourse of sovereignty, while a fifth belongs to the discourse of paternalism. The importance of a numerical comparison is not necessarily to account for the dominance of a particular discourse but rather to identify how the respective discourses work with one other in the press to shape a particular political, economic and social climate in colonial New Zealand. Over the period of investigation it would appear that issues of discipline occupied the attention of the press. This was largely a matter of management and social organisation which, in the absence of an indigenous population, might have been straight forward. That Māori did not enthusiastically or readily acquiesce raised the need for public comment and cohesion of concern around the importance of installing institutional and disciplinary frameworks for the colony. Thus, boundaries for behaviour, measures for correction and calls for reinforcements are located within this discursive formation.

Concerns for discipline appear more frequently because of their organisational potency. That the discourse of discipline appears so frequently would suggest that there were tensions, confusions and difficulties associated with establishing and maintaining discipline. If Māori could be subdued and made compliant, the necessity for the media to speak about matters of discipline would not be as significant. Therefore, the predominance of the discourse of discipline indicates the extent to which the colonial experience was characterised by an abiding sense of intractability, but also vulnerability, in managing arrangements and organising the frameworks, exclusions, boundaries and disciplines associated with composition of a racialised social order.

As indicated above, a third of the data belongs of the discourse of sovereignty. However, it is important to note that although sovereignty articles do not appear as frequently as discipline articles, they are generally longer editorials and columns. They are more complex and take up more physical space than articles about social discipline. Thus, their lack of occurrence as discrete articles should not undermine their currency or import. While questions of discipline, as expressed in the media, appear more immediate and digestible, and can be contained in smaller narrative reports, the concern for sovereignty is more nebulous and belongs to a multifaceted political concern. Questions and arguments around executive power, land acquisition, political debate and criticism are woven around multiple players and actors. In New Zealand's colonial environment the Crown, the settler politicians, the entrepreneurs, the settlers themselves and the Māori drew circles around their own interests and it was the job of the press to create out of these factions a manageable story. An analysis of the articles reveals the press' tendency to draw lines around the various social groups and fuse their positions. Thus, in the early years of this period the native position is collocated with the position of the Governor General, his ministry, the Crown, and the church all of which are variously constructed in the news as impediments to the wealth of the colony. The settler position is fused with the interests of the commercial sector which pursued a course of prosperity but was hindered by the demands of the former. The media largely positioned itself in the latter camp where they more often than not took up the cause of the 'settler', which was strongly informed by the private interests of the commercially-inclined. The settler press is therefore implicated in

normalising an emphasis on European wealth, European enterprise, and the appropriation of native resources. The press are also implicated in positioning themselves against Māori property ownership and retention, Māori executive power, Māori political participation and Māori social influence. The media is thus heavily weighted in the interests of the white capitalist colonial enterprise. That the issues arising from this endeavour register in the press to the extent that they do would suggest that the tensions and difficulties associated with this venture were working themselves out throughout the period. That the opponents of a free market colonial enterprise, namely Māori, appear so frequently suggests that their presence was a significant obstacle to be overcome through legislation and a withdrawal of Crown interests in their humanitarian rights.

Only one fifth of the articles have been identified as belonging to the discourse of paternalism. That concerns for the well-being, progress and future of Māori appear infrequently in the news indicates that paternalism could be eased out of the media discourse by more pressing concerns such as debates over discipline and sovereignty. Thus, paternalism is an incidental discourse which lies outside of the parameters of the media's more pressing interests. In addition, the majority of these items are sourced from third-party reports and include unabridged and unedited remarks and lectures by clergy and commentators rather than the journalists themselves. The colonial press rarely, explicitly and independently, write paternalistically about Māori, which would indicate that they considered this to be the work of institutions outside of their own, and that their role was not to advocate directly in the interests of Māori. That discourses of paternalism are included at all would suggest that, while the colonial press made a place for the paternalistic, their role was not to undermine the pecuniary interests of the settlers by an over-emphasis on generosity and munificence.

How did New Zealand's colonial press constitute the authority, privileges and entitlements?

As the Figure below indicates, weaving through these discourses are patterns of meaning which work to constitute authority in economic, political, judicial, social, martial and moral affairs. These repertoires are malleable and adaptable and attach themselves to the discourses of sovereignty, discipline and paternalism. Economic authority, for instance,

might be constituted as a broad discussion regarding the overall fiscal plan for the colony and show up in discourses of sovereignty, or it might be discussed specifically in relation to the financial benefits that will accrue to the natives in such a plan and appear in discourses of paternalism. Repertoires of legal authority predictably occur within discourses of discipline, demonstrating inflexibility where questions of crime and ‘justice’ are concerned. Martial authority is constituted within both discourses of sovereignty and discourses of discipline, but largely rests in the latter, suggesting once again that martial authority is not compromised by paternalistic concerns and, like repertoires of legal authority, rests almost entirely within broader discussions about social control and defence. The constitution of Othered identities also appears alone in discourses of discipline. It is here where the finer work of constituting racialised social groups, ‘friends and enemies’, ‘us and them’ occur. Repertoires of moral authority and social relations occur entirely within discourses of paternalism where they work to constitute an ideal social relationship which positions the settlers as leaders, teachers, missionaries, theorists and philanthropists, authorized to comment upon the moral climate of the colony. Political authority is worked out in discourses of sovereignty and discourses of discipline where the template for the colony’s political arrangements is discussed and backed up by the urgency that talk of discipline engenders.

Patterns of meaning in Colonial Discourse

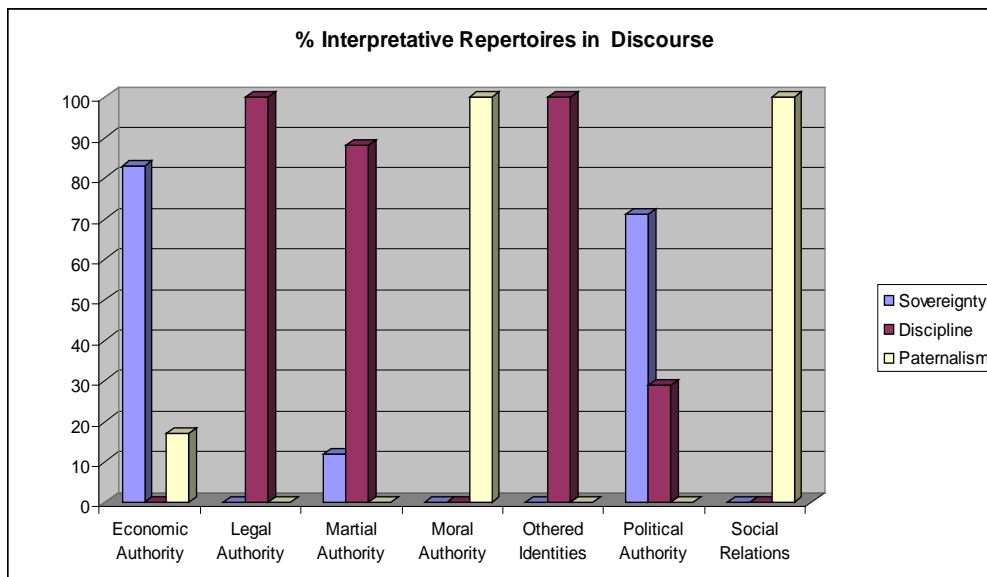


Figure 8.2: Percentage Comparison of Patterns of meaning 1850 to 1873

Thus, while the discourses of sovereignty, discipline and paternalism give shape to a broad ideological framework, the patterns of meaning move more flexibly across the discourses taking up, repositioning and reproducing racial talk in response to the different contexts, exigencies and challenges of the day. However, they do so without compromising the overall project of constructing a white British colonial hegemony.

What do these discourses look like over time?

While this thesis is not a quantitative analysis, it is useful to trace numerically, discourses and patterns of meaning as they occur across time. If, as I argue above, discourses are responsive and flexible and bleed into each other, reconstituting authority and identity across different contexts, then we will be able to see this graphically. For the purpose of this exercise I have organised the articles into four time periods. For practical purposes, and in order to have a general sense of the trends in the movement of both discourses and patterns of meaning, it is useful to order the articles in discrete chronological clusters. In terms of accounting for the historical context of each period, it is a manageable timeframe, and ensures that the number of articles in each cluster is indicative of the entire data base. The use of these figures is purely descriptive and does not indicate an interest in pursuing any inferential statistics which would necessitate a broader explanation and justification for the selection and the chosen timeframes.

Period I	Period II	Period III	Period IV
1850-1855	1856-1861	1862-1867	1868-1873

Table 8.1: Time Clusters 1850-1873

The chart below displays the fluctuations and movement of the discourses across time. The three major discourses - paternalism, sovereignty and discipline - largely coalesce between 1850 and 1855, suggesting that the colonial press was equally interested in the matters of sovereignty, discipline and paternalism as they related to Māori. From 1856 to 1861 discourses of sovereignty pull away from discipline and paternalism as the new settler government comes under the scrutiny of the settler press and a challenge to the sovereignty of the Queen and the settler government is raised by the coronation of the Māori King. Between 1862 and 1867, predictably, discourses of discipline cause all other

concerns to yield, so that debates over the ideal organisation for the colony, and more particularly discourses of paternalism, are overwhelmed by concerns over conflict, war and proximate threats.

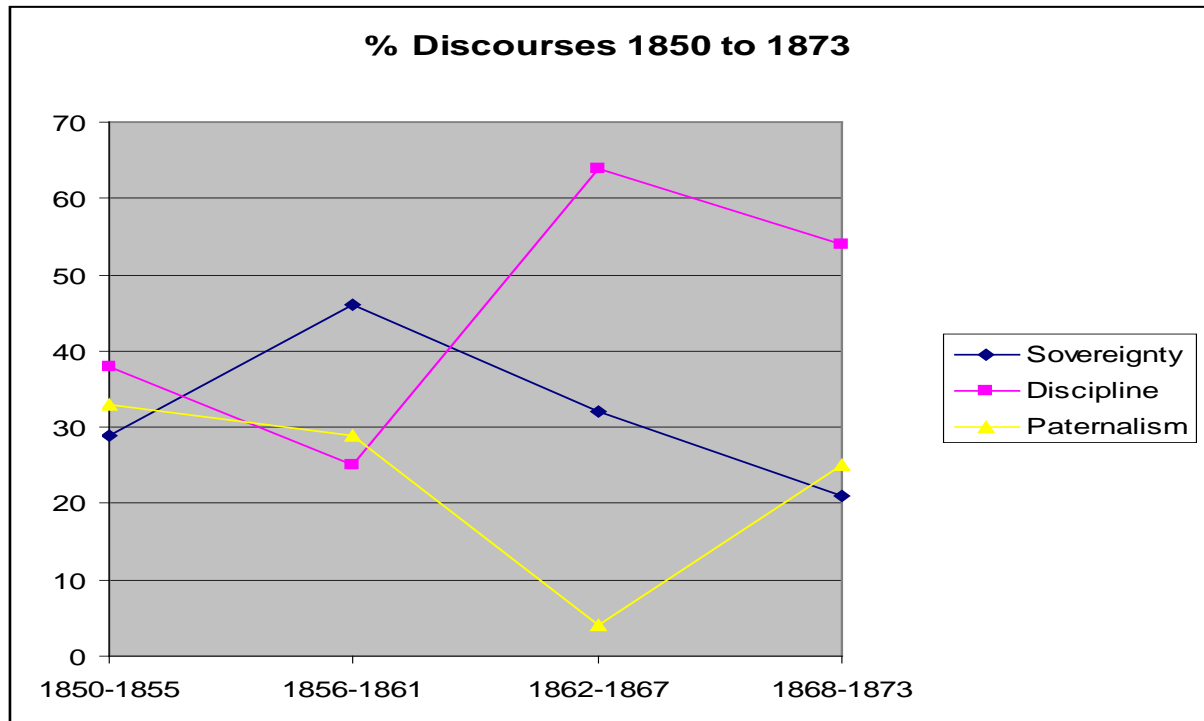


Figure 8.3: Percentage Comparison of Discourse Fluctuations 1850-1873

While over the 33 period there are fluctuations in the frequency of the three discourses, they nonetheless remain consistently present in the colonial press. The Figure indicates further that there are social contexts that work these discourses into prominence or, conversely, cause them subside. Yet they remain linked and active in the production of the overall racial order of colonial New Zealand and rise and fall according to the discursive conditions.

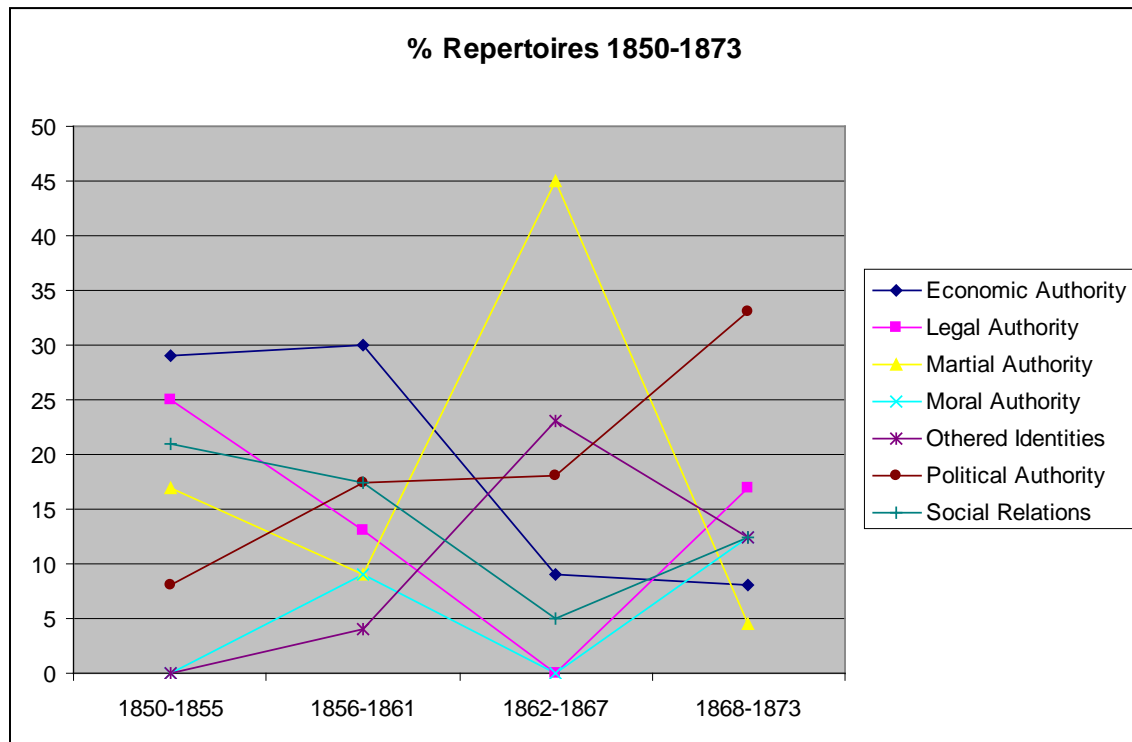


Figure 8.4: Percentage Comparison of Interpretative Repertoire Fluctuations 1850-1873

The above table demonstrates the durability of the repertoires, suggesting that the discursive constitution of the colonial subject continues across time. While the constitution of martial authority cuts across all of the patterns of meaning between 1862 and 1867, what is of interest is the way in which all of the constitutive repertoires remerge after 1867 with the constitution of political authority taking over as a dominant concern of the colonial press, suggesting the need to regroup politically after the turbulence of the preceding years. As the above Figures indicate, the discourses of sovereignty, discipline and paternalism, along with their constituting repertoires, do not diminish over time. The patterns of meaning work flexibly through each of the discourses, in response to the changing social contexts, continuing their work of discursively constructing and reproducing a white British colonial hegemony.

Other ways of Authoring the Encounter

I have so far dealt with only 93 articles. There are, however, a further three extracts which I have kept back in order to demonstrate that even in a colonial environment there were alternative ways of authoring the colonial encounter. While only three are identified in this

data, they are of interest inasmuch as they attest to the possibility that there were those during the period who were thinking beyond the immediate and compelling concerns of constituting a white British colonial hegemony. They also open up the possibility that there were conceivably other ways available, to the press, of representing the plight of the indigenous and suggest that even then, at some level, there was some social cognisance that there were perhaps other ways of making sense of the situation, and thus other ways of writing the account.

While the following article could not be considered counter-hegemonic in its entirety, it does indicate an alternative way of imagining the political environment. That it comes as a letter to the editor rather than an editorial from the press is indicative of the political inclinations of the press inasmuch as such items appear so infrequently that such positions are not indicative of the mainstream political discourse. In this letter to the editor, which was published in the *Daily Southern Cross* in November 1860¹²³, the writer comments upon the efficacy of the King Movement. The King, he argues “is said to be ‘peaceably’ inclined”, and while he positions native intractability to the indulgence of the Crown over the preceding administrations he is quick to point out “that it would be hard to blame them for disobedience...I believe the Maories, if fairly treated, will not prove to be aggressive; they will not, however, stoop to be slaves, and have a very keen perception of injustice”. He criticises the emphasis placed upon the inevitability or even the prudence of war by suggesting that: “I must also dissent from the position, that the Maories must be humbled by a military force, and that the reason why they have latterly been so unmanageable is because they have never been so humbled”.

He further states that it “is admitted, by the Treaty of Waitangi that the whole of New Zealand belonged to the native tribes”. The publication of such a letter suggests the presence of an alternative discourse which acknowledged the historical, political and economic context in which Māori resistance was taking place. While not implicating the entire colonial project, the author does incriminate the colonists in the straitened situation in which they now find themselves when he asks the central question – ‘are they (the Māori) justified?’ On another level this letter indicates that the colonists might not have been entirely ignorant of these arguments and had had enough contextual awareness to

think critically through the historical construction of this current situation. What is of particular interest here are the reasons why such a position appears rarely in the media of the day.

In 1865 the *Taranaki Herald*¹²⁴, responded to a criticism of the New Zealand colonists which appeared in newspapers article in England in which the English press claimed that:

A large part of the English press and of the speaking portion of the English public have called the colonists of New Zealand, as often as it was necessary to speak of them, " greedy," " rapacious," " oppressive," and " bloodthirsty."

Another letter to the editor was received and published by the *Daily Southern Cross* in August 1867¹²⁵. Once again, this was a letter to the editor rather than a regular editorial and would suggest that critical dialogue might not be expected by the press. In this correspondence the author calls for a consideration of the facts pre-determining the discontent felt by Māori as to their current situation. Not only do they have no proper political voice, the author argues, they have suffered for want of justice. In outlining the case of Māori representation in the General Assembly the author points out:

We are sensible that the Maoris take a deep interest in their own political affairs, that they are intelligent, enormously wealthy —as land-owners, —and number one-fourth of the population of these islands; and, shame to say, they are unjustly excluded from the franchise, and the sole power of legislating for them has always been, and is still, given to the Europeans. Instead of having one fourth of the representation, they are political blanks.

The author further proposes that: “A cessation of partial, exceptional, and class legislation, which tends to perpetuate distinctions between the races, would undoubtedly cause peace, prosperity, and the improvement of the natives”. The author puts the case of the past treatment of Māori by the colonial administration where, he argues:

We have seen them misgoverned, treated as children, kept in leading strings, and in a state of pupilage. Our Superintendent thinks still to perpetuate the treatment of them as inferiors. He would weaken their public intelligence to such a point as would keep them out of the law courts.

He further charges the settlers with culpability as to the current state of affairs in his allegation that: “We shoot him and confiscate his property...they were driven to the

necessity of fighting for that which they firmly believed to be their own. And why should they submit to laws in which they had no voice”.

With reference to what he considers the rationale behind the war, he suggests that:

...the war was unjust, and the territorial confiscation unfair....Our foresighted statesmen never acknowledged the Maori right to citizenship ; nor do they see that our interests and hopes are bound up together — European and Maori— for weal or woe, and that a large installment of justice is long due to the natives.

His conclusion is that: “If we treat them in every respect as Europeans, we shall have peace if, as hitherto, as inferiors, we shall have chronic discontent and alienation”.

There are a number of implications as to the saliency of this missive with its tenor of criticism, critique and subversion. While previous articles that censured the colonial administration were admitted into the general corpus of press publications, they unitedly pursued a similar course. They largely argued for the economic, social and political position of the settler at the expense of Māori. There are few concessions afforded Māori, and the political context for the colonists’ aggression toward the Māori is chiefly assigned to their barbarity, savagery and singular lack of cooperation with the constituted authorities. Where these articles differ significantly is in their clear identification of settler responsibility. Though the authors propose that the creation of ‘good civil law’, in which Māori will be able to participate fairly, might ameliorate the crisis, they position Māori equally and fairly in an albeit European political process which they might have the hope of altering in their favour. However, as has been mentioned above, that this small number of counter-hegemonic discourses appears only by virtue of third-party correspondents and sources, suggests a systemic failure to recognise Māori in the popular, mainstream settler press. That such an alternative discourse was possible at the time indicates that there was, even then, some critique and awareness as to the inequality of colonial racial politics which were overwhelmed by the interests of the mainstream.

The Question of Whiteness

I return now to my broader interest in undertaking this research. This study has been concerned with providing a critical analysis of race discourse in New Zealand from 1839 to 1873. Throughout I have made numerous references to the colonial press’ role in the

construction of a white British colonial hegemony. I now return to the specific question of how whiteness is configured in this study. Bonnett (2000) argues that:

Modern European white identity is historically unique. People in other societies may be seen to have valued whiteness and to have employed the concept to define at least in part who and what they were but they did not treat being white as a natural category nor did they invest so much of their sense of identity within it. Europeans racialized, which is to say, naturalized the concept of whiteness and entrusted it with the essence of their community. Europeans turned whiteness into a fetish object, a talisman of the natural whose power appeared to enable them to impose their will on the world. (in Byrne, 2006, p. 201)

The privileges of whiteness are not merely manifest in this colonial context with the wholesale vilification of black or brown skinned people. Wedded to New Zealand's colonial endeavour are echoes of skin colour prejudice, but they do not tell the entire story. Whiteness acts as a sign of superiority and comes with its own science and history, informing assumptions and prejudices toward non-white Others. As Moreton-Robinson (2005) suggests:

Whiteness as an epistemological a priori provides for a way of knowing and being that is predicated on superiority, which becomes normalised and forms part of one's taken-for-granted knowledge. (p.76)

However, because the constitution of a white British colonial hegemony occurred in New Zealand at many different social levels and in numerous contexts, it would seem that New Zealand's white hegemony is more than the institution of a colour-based differentiated and inequitable political system, as in the case of African Americans in the United States. In New Zealand, the social politics of biological whiteness might have vested the colonial incursion with the entitlement, authority and privilege to create social demarcations and subordinate indigenous interests, but the project of colonisation was characterised and complicated by a vociferous non-white challenge and contest. The attempt to impose an exploitative and expropriative economy was met in New Zealand with both fierce competition and armed resistance. Attempts to construct a replicated British political system were met with the political organisation of Māori and the instalment of a Māori King. Attempts to induct Māori into the art of socially civilised life saw the degradation of a people disempowered by an oppressive social hierarchy, much to the horror of the more philanthropically minded. The British legal system was

often snubbed or mocked by Māori, and Christianity was reworked to fit a blend of traditional cosmology and native politics. Thus the ‘superiority’ of whiteness may have supplied the genetic confidence to impose upon Māori, but the British colonial hegemony was a complicated project that was both financially and morally impoverished and constantly undermined by native resistance. The fact of whiteness was the one constant in a sea of complications and supplied endless amounts of confidence long after the project of complete domination was rendered obsolete by the continued intractable opposition of Māori. The colonial press in New Zealand was but one site where these complications were debated and worked out, where meaning was created out of social events and contexts and where a coalescence of opinion and ideology was sought. These discourses and repertoires attest to a complex encounter which necessitated a flexible reservoir of rhetoric to situate and position the white British colonial incursion favourably in the public arena. What we find in the colonial press, therefore, is an unsettled discourse requiring a number of strategic fronts from which to constitute and reproduce white British settler hegemony.

Research Implications

While this study has been interested to chart a discursive history of racism in New Zealand, the extant literature will now be consulted in order to provide some evidence of the link between contemporary renderings of Māori and the role of the colonial press in the production and instantiation of racialised identities. In order to map this discursive terrain it has been necessary to tease out those broad racial formations and flexible patterns of meaning using a critical discourse analytical approach. This approach is considered valuable by Luke (1990) who hypothesizes that:

An archeological approach “digs at the discursive site” so to speak, in search of textual artefacts –statements indicating appearance or contradiction – “to be described for themselves” (Foucault, 1972:105). It is only after statements have been recatalogued according to their relations with other statements at the site or with statements in other fields, that claims can be made about how networks of statements construct a discursive (and possibly interdiscursive) configuration which may have at its center a principle idea, object of study or set of practices. (p.19)

The network of statements found in the colonial press between 1839 and 1873 suggests there to be at the ‘centre’ a set of linguistic resources which structure and inform the

authorship of New Zealand's colonisation over a 33 year period in the 19th century. The question remains, however, as to whether or not traces of those colonial discourses can be found in contemporary renderings of the Māori/Pākehā encounter. Wetherell and Potter (1992) posit that: "The pattern of social relations in New Zealand was, and remains an intensely British concern. This involvement has several dimensions not just arising from New Zealand's history as a British colony populated by and large by British migrants" (p. 4).

Wetherell and Potter (1992) further argue that in their analysis of contemporary racial talk they find evidence that: "The constitution of objects is socially organized and highly dependent on our existing forms of discourse and past discursive history" (p. 64). Indeed Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggest that: "To narrate racism in New Zealand is to narrate a discursive history found across diverse societies" (p. 4). It would seem therefore that our discursive past in some way informs the social relations which are constituted in the present. A racialised past cannot therefore be disaggregated from a contemporary racialised experience. Racism bleeds intergenerationally across time and contexts. Racism is created, not discovered. Indeed Van den Berg et al. (2003) argue that:

Racism is not first a state of mind and then a mode of description of others. It is a psychology (internal monologue/dialogues and modes of representing) that emerges in relation to public discourse and widely shared cultural resources. Similarly inequality is not first a fact of nature and then a topic of talk. Discourse is intimately involved in the construction and maintenance of inequality. Inequality is constructed and maintained when enough discursive resources can be mobilized to make colonial practices of land acquisition, for instance, legal, natural, normal and "the way we do things". (p. 13)

This study therefore charts a part of that discursive history which has set down patterns and possibilities for constituting inequitable relations between white British colonials and Māori. Where Wetherell and Potter (1992) make broad claims as to the relationship between contemporary racial prejudice among Pākehā New Zealanders and colonial discourse, without explicitly analysing that discourse, this study has filled that gap. Where Nairn et al. (2006, p. 185) argue that: "The Anglocentricism of the settler's systems and institutions, finance, legislation, education, religion and their domination of public life made Māori the savage 'other' in their own country", this study describes that

Anglocentricism as more a discursive practice than a prejudice. I have sought to describe how one source of discourse worked in New Zealand's colonial period to produce, construct, shape and maintain racial inequalities. I have furthermore demonstrated how these ways of constituting the world do not emerge from the 'reality' of our social contexts rather, as Gergen (1997) argues:

We swim in a sea of competing intelligibilities where discursive currents from dislocated periods of history, Greco, Roman, Christian, Judaic and more – are forever surging one against another and the mingling of disparate pasts is forever generating new and appealing (or appalling) possibilities. (p. 57)

This analysis of New Zealand's colonial discourse adds to the body of knowledge by providing a way of seeing the constitution of a white British colonial hegemony as a discursive practice, and not merely a *fait accompli*, a matter of history, or a reality. It provides a framework for considering how the media constructs racialised relations by describing, cataloguing and mapping the work of those discursive resources, discourses and repertoires that have been deployed in the authorship of the colonial encounter. Furthermore, it attests to the ongoing work of constructing 'racial' identities in New Zealand and provides 'a way in' to these nebulous and seemingly unmanageable streams of discourse so that these 'naturalised' ways of knowing can be apprehended, unsettled and dismantled.

In addition, where whiteness studies have, historically, been located predominantly around concerns for skin colour prejudice arising out of anti-racist projects to undermine the continued inequitable treatment of Black folk, the indigenous experience of white hegemonies is often more complex. In the New Zealand context, colonisation and whiteness requires some reconciliation and theoretical reworking so that it accounts for the complexities and subtleties of indigenous resistance, land appropriations and legislative violations. The racial ideologies that underscore those marginalising incursions might seem to be linked to broader dogmas of white superiority, yet in their deployment they were met in New Zealand by political, social and economic contexts that complicated and made problematic some of the genetic assumptions that gave white British colonials their confidence. Indeed as Noyes (1992) contends: "The texts of

colonization ...bear constant witness to the struggle involved in clearing a place in which colonization was possible” (p. 284). This study demonstrates that white colonial discourses, when faced with resistance, were adaptable, pliable, evasive, responsive and mercurial and were not easily undermined. Rather than try to configure race relations as simply a matter of a bifurcated black or brown/white racial contest, this study would indicate that white British colonial hegemonies do their best work by stealth and by quietly working their way into the language of the everyday.

Further Implications and Links to Local Research

In the above section I have argued that the linguistic resources set down during New Zealand’s colonization might inform the nature of media discourse over successive generations of journalism. However, the scope of this study is such that a further comparative analysis at the stage is imprudent. However, what this study has accomplished is to establish a framework for considering the possibility of New Zealand’s contemporary media as still a settler media, that continues to work with the linguistic resources of New Zealand’s colonial media. While, as I have indicated above, there has been little in the way of critical discourse analysis of colonial media, much has been done in the New Zealand context in recent years to understand and address the discursive construction of Māori and Pākehā identities in the contemporary media. It would appear that scholars, while not explicitly identifying them continue to unearth the discourses of sovereignty, discipline and paternalism in the modern media. The discourse of sovereignty is captured by Nairn, McCreanor, Rankine, Moewaka Barnes, Pega and Gregory (2009) who concluded in their analysis of the media coverage surrounding the controversy of the Lake Taupo airspace that not only was the full context of the news stories disavowed but that those stories were constructed with a palpable sense that the ‘Natives’ were potentially going to benefit from preferential treatment by the government. The discourse of discipline is discernable in the contemporary media’s positioning of the native as antithetical and even threatening to the interests of the New Zealand ‘public’ whose rights to access this geopolitical space might be denied by iwi intransigence. The discourse of paternalism can be detected in Rankine and McCreanor’s (2004) study of ‘Media Reporting of a Bicultural Health Research Partnership’ where the health issues facing Māori are subsidiary to ‘Pākehā expertise’ (p.22) and Māori are again

positioned in the media as requiring the largesse of Pākeha health workers and researchers to address their proclivity to a particular kind of stomach cancer. The active leadership and participation of Māori researchers in the execution of the study was silenced in the media coverage suggesting that like the paternalistic discourses of the settler press, contemporary media reporting continues to reproduce a particular kind of racial formation, which renders Pākeha as responsible for attending to the difficulties arising from the self-inflicted dilemmas of the indigenous population.

Sean Phelan (2009) also apprehends the discourse of sovereignty in his analysis of media reporting about the seabed and foreshore conflict where he concludes that:

The four newspapers non-coercively functioned as agents of ideological closure by disseminating, naturalizing and legitimizing *particular* understandings of the conflicts that were congruent with the Government's strategic wish to 'resolve the issue in ways that precluded satisfactory discussion of the complex implications of the Court of Appeal ruling (p.233).

Hodgetts, Masters and Robertson (2004) concluded in their study of ethnic mortality in Aotearoa that once again the contemporary media habitually disavows and marginalises the Māori voice in response to studies of health disparities between Māori and the dominant settler population. Much like the paternalism discourses of the 19th century the contemporary natives are constituted 'in an unsympathetic light as dependent, apathetic, expensive, and irresponsible individuals' (p.470) rather than subject to the complex and marginalising structural prejudices of the New Zealand health system.

Just as the sovereignty discourses of the settler press worked to constitute political, cultural and social authority, Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine and Barnes (2006) concluded that the modern media makes a contribution: 'to promoting and maintaining Pakeha domination' (p.191), while Tuffin (2008) concludes that like the flexible narratives and patterns of meaning of the colonial press in the 19th century, the contemporary media; 'is sinuous, loaded with ambivalence and contradiction' (p.604).

The Kupu Taea projects (2004; 2007) found in their analyses of ‘content and meaning’ in newspaper and television news, ‘about the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori issues from February and March 2007’ (p.5), that like the discipline discourses of the 19th century which similarly positioned natives as requiring the vigilance of white British settlers, many of these 21st century news items were ‘negative’, rendering Māori as ‘extreme or threatening’ (ibid).

Notwithstanding the efforts of Archie (2007) to provide an excellent Te Reo resource for the New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation or scholars such as Spoonley and Hirsh (1990) who provide an important critique of racism in media reporting of Māori, or McGregor and Comrie (2002) who make a passionate call for a sea change in journalistic practice to reflect more balance and fairness, the contemporary media (as the above studies indicate) continues to reproduce questionable representations. Every indication from the study of contemporary white media accounts of Māori would indicate that the constitution of the native subject in New Zealand’s public discourse continues to be highly problematic.

The litmus test for linking the 19th century colonial press account of the ‘native situation’ with contemporary media renderings of Māori would be in responding to the following 10 questions in the affirmative. Informing the composition of these questions are the conclusions and summaries pertaining to the discursive work of the colonial press from 1839 to 1873:

1. Do the contemporary media report breaches of social, political and economic order and identify Māori specifically as responsible for these violations?
2. Do the contemporary media use soubriquets and appellatives to make a distinction between ‘us’ and them, or ‘we’ and ‘the Other’?
3. Do the contemporary media eschew special treatment for Māori and consider exceptions for Māori to be indulgent and ‘racially separatist’?
4. Do the contemporary media celebrate Māori achievement in the European world?
5. Do the contemporary media highlight Māori deficits?

6. Do the contemporary media involve Māori in the ritual life of the country and incorporate Māori ceremony and artifacts into the national fabric as a mark of difference?
7. Do the contemporary media eschew historical context and fail to provide context and background for contemporary challenges to authority?
8. Is the contemporary media wary, and suspicious of native insurgents and dissidents?
9. Do the contemporary media question Māori leadership?
10. Do the contemporary media seek to assure their audience that generally speaking the relationship between Pakeha and Māori is healthy and positive?

It might be valuable to acknowledge that though our social, cultural, economic and political contexts have changed our rules have not. Those prescriptive and almost rehearsed responses to me as Māori that I experienced as a child came from somewhere. They resounded with echoes of another time and another space, which was both disorienting and perplexing. It is my hope that as scholars we are able to resurface, and tease up the discursive language of the past and give its proper place in the present. Everything has whakapapa, just as we are inseparably genetically linked to millennia of intimate relations, so too the language of today comes to us infused with the intimate yearnings, fears and longings of our progenitors.

Nā reira, e ngā tūpuna, kei tua atu i te arai. Mō koutou tēnei mahi, hei tohu whakamaumaharatanga ki ō koutou mamaetanga, ō koutou whawhai, ō koutou aroha ki a mātau, ō koutou tamariki mokopuna. Ahakoa he kōrero whai tohu tēnei, he kōrero whaktakariri hoki ki ngā mahi kikino a te Pākeha. Kua rongoā tō koutou wero;

*Ko tuhikitia, ko tuhapainga
I raro i te whero o te Maori! Hukiti!
A ha ha! Na te ngutu o te Maori,
Pohara kai kutu,
Na te weriweri koe i homai ki konei?
E kaore iara, i haramai tonu koe
Ki te kai whenua!
Pokokohua!
Kauramokai! Hei!*

bibliography

- Abel, S. (1997). *Shaping the news: Waitangi Day on television*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Archie, C. (2007) *Pou \kōrero: A journalists guide to Māori and current affairs*. Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation.
- Ashcroft, B. (2001). *Post-colonial transformation*. Routledge, New York.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. & Tiffin H. (2007). *Post-colonial studies: The key concepts* New York: Routledge.
- Baker, H. A. & Diawara, M. (Eds.). (1996). *Black British cultural studies: A reader*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago
- Ballara, A. (1986). *Proud to be white? A survey of Pakeha prejudice in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z. : Heinemann
- Balme, C. B. (2000). "Sexual spectacles: Theatricality and the performance of sex in early encounters in the Pacific." *TDR*, 44(4), 67.
- Banner, S. (2007). *Possessing the Pacific: Land, settlers, and indigenous people from Australia to Alaska*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Belich, J. (1998). *The New Zealand wars and the interpretation of racial conflict* Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.
- Bell, C. & Matthewman, S. (2004). *Cultural studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: Identity, space and place*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Bhabha, H. K. (2004). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H. K. (Ed.) (1996). *Unsatisfied: Notes on vernacular cosmopolitanism. Text and nation: cross-disciplinary essays on cultural and national identities*. Columbia: Camden House.
- Binney, J. Basset, J. Olssen, E. & Galloway T. (1993). *The people and the land: Te tangata me te whenua: An illustrated history of New Zealand, 1820-1920.* Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books.
- Blackman, L. & Walkerdine, V. (2001). *Mass hysteria: Critical psychology and media studies*. New York: Palgrave.

- Bonnett, A. (1997). "Geography, 'race' and whiteness: Invisible traditions and current challenges. *Area*, 29(3), 193-199.
- Bryant, A. & Charmaz, K. (Eds). (2007). *The Sage handbook of grounded theory*. Sage: London.
- Buck, P. H. (1929). *The coming of the Maori*. Cawthron Institute: Nelson.
- Burns, P. (1980) *Fatal success: A history of the New Zealand Company*. Auckland: Heinemann Reed.
- Butler, J. and R. J. Barton (1927). *Earliest New Zealand: The journals and correspondence of The Rev. John Butler*. Masterton, N.Z: Palamontain & Petherick.
- Byrne, B. (2006). *White lives: The interplay of 'race', class and gender in everyday life*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Byrnes, G. (1995). *Inventing New Zealand : Surveying, science, and the construction of cultural space, 1840s-1890s*. (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Auckland, 1995)
- Byrnes, G. (2001). *Boundary markers: Land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Byrnes, G. (2004). *The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand history*. Auckland, N.Z: Oxford University Press.
- Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard (1996) *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Campbell, C. (1998). *The myth of social action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carr, D. J., Cruthers, N. M., Laing, R. M., & Niven, B. E. (2005). Fibers from three cultivars of New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*). *Textile Research Journal*, 75(2), 93-98.
- Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.
- Chouliaraki, L. & Fairclough N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Claydon, T. & McBride, I. (2007). *Protestantism and national identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Colenso, W. (1890). *The authentic and genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* [Capper reprint (facsimile), 1971]. Retrieved 21 May 2007 from <http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/>

- Cook, J. (1906). *Voyages of discovery*. London; New York: J. M. Dent & Co.
- Cottle, S. (2000). *Ethnic minorities and the media: Changing cultural boundaries*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Cowan, J. (1983) *The New Zealand wars: A history of the Maori campaigns and the pioneering period*. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer.
- Crampton, J. W. & Elden, S. (2007). *Space, knowledge and power: Foucault and geography*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Curnow, J. Hopa, N. & McRae, J. (Eds.) (2002) *Rere atu taku manu: Discovering history, language and politics in the Maori language newspapers*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Davidson, A. K. & Lineham, P. J. (1989). *Transplanted Christianity: Documents illustrating aspects of New Zealand church history*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Day, P. (1990). *The making of the New Zealand press: A study of the organizational and political concerns of New Zealand newspaper controllers*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Deacon, D. (1999). *Researching communications : A practical guide to methods in media and cultural analysis*. London, New York: Arnold, Oxford University Press.
- Dei, G., Karumanchery, L & Karumanchery-Luik, N. (2004). *Playing the race card: exposing white power and privilege*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. (1997). *Critical white studies: Looking behind the mirror*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Dench, A. (2005). *Essential Ddates: A timeline of New Zealand history*. Auckland: Random House.
- Denoon, D., Mein-Smith, P., & Wyndham, M. (2000) *A history of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dew, K. & Matheson, A. (Eds.) (2008). *Discourse, media and health in Aotearoa: Understanding health inequalities in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Dunedin: Otago University Press.
- Dijk, T. A. (1984). *Prejudice in discourse: An analysis of ethnic prejudice in cognition and conversation*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

- Dijk, T. A. (1985). *Discourse and communication: New approaches to the analysis of mass media discourse and communication*. Berlin; New York: W. De Gruyter.
- Dijk, T. A. (1987). *Communicating racism: Ethnic prejudice in thought and talk*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the press*. London: Routledge.
- Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Dijk, T. A. (1997). *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*. London: Sage Publications.
- Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Docker, J. & Fischer, G. (2000). *Race, colour and identity in Australia and New Zealand*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Dodwell, H. (1932). *The Cambridge history of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Donald, J. & Rattansi, A. (1992). *Race, culture and difference*. London: Sage Publications.
- Durham, M. G. & Kellner, D. (2001). *Media and cultural studies: Keywords*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Dyer, R. (1997). *White*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Edwards, D. & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive Psychology*. London: Sage.
- Edmond, R. (1997) *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial discourse from Cook to Gauguin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eldridge J. (Ed.) (1993). *Getting the message: News, truth and power*. London: Routledge.
- Essed, P. & Goldberg, D. T. (2002). *Race critical theories: Text and context*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: E. Arnold.
- Feltes, N.N. (1986) *Modes of production of Victorian novels*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

- Ferguson, R. (1998). *Representing "race": Ideology, identity, and the media*. London, New York: Arnold.
- Fitzroy, R. (1846). *Remarks on New Zealand in February 1846*. London: W & H White.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. & Rabinow, P. (1984). *The Foucault reader*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Freire, P. (1996). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin.
- Gabriel, J. (1998). *Whitewash: Racialized politics and the media*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Gandy, O. H. (1998). *Communication and race: A structural perspective*. London; New York: Arnold,.
- Garver, E. (2004) *For the sake of argument: Practical reasoning, character, and the ethics of belief*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gascoigne, J. (2006). "The Expanding Historiography of British Imperialism." *The Historical Journal* 49 (2): 577-592.
- Gergen, K. J. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gergen, K.J. (1997) *Realities and relationships: Soundings in social construction*. Harvard: Harvard University Press
- Gill, R. (1996). Discourse analysis: Practical implementation. In J.E. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences* (p. 356-377). Leicester; British Psychological Society.
- Gladwin, T.& Saidin, A. (1980). *Slaves of the white myth: The psychology of neocolonialism*. Atlantic Highlands: N.J.Humanities Press.
- Goldberg, D. T. (1990). *Anatomy of racism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Goldberg D.T. (1993) *Racist culture: Philosophy and the politics of meaning*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Goldsmith, M. (2005). "Translated Identities: Pakeha As Subjects of The Treaty of Waitangi." *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*. 2(2), 64-82.
- Goode, E. & Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994). *Moral panics: The social construction of deviance*. Oxford; Malden: Blackwell,

- Goode, E. & N. Ben-Yehuda (1994). "Moral Panics: Culture, Politics, and Social Construction." *Annual Review of Sociology* 20(1): 149.
- Gorst, J. (1959). *The Maori King*. Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade.
- Greenberg, S. B. (1980). *Race and state in capitalist development: Comparative perspectives*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Gutting, G. (1994). *The Cambridge companion to Foucault*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, S (1996) "Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance". In Baker, H. Diawara, M. & Lindeborg, R. Eds. (1996) *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*. pp.16-60. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hannaford, I. (1996). *Race: The history of an idea in the West*. Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Hartley, J. (1993). *Understanding news*. New York: Routledge.
- Hebdige, D. (1991). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Henare, A. (2005) *Museums, anthropology and imperial exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Henry, F. & Tator, C. (2002). *Discourses of domination: Racial bias in the Canadian English press*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Hindmarsh (2000) Biculturalisms (and antiracisms) in Education in New Zealand. In Leicester, M., Modgil, C. & Modgil S. (Eds). *Systems of education: Theories, policies and implicit values*. London: Falmer Press.
- Te hiwi, E. (2008). *Disrupted spaces: Racism and the lived experience of Maori identity formation*. In Levy, M., Nikora, L.W., Masters-Awatere, B., Rua, M. & Waitoki, W. (Eds). *Claiming Spaces: Proceedings of the 2007 National Maori and Pacific Psychologies Symposium 23rd-24th November 2007* (pp. 12-18). Hamilton, New Zealand: Māori and Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato. Retrieved from the University of Waikato Research Commons Website: <http://hdl.handle.net/10289/1528>
- Hodgetts, D. Masters, B. & Robertson, N (2004). "Media coverage of 'decades of disparity' in ethnic mortality in Aotearoa". *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*. 14: 455-472.
- Hodges, A. Nilep, C. Eds. (2007). *Discourse, war and terrorism*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

- Hoiberg D, & Ramchandani, I. (2000). *Student's Britannica India*. Hong Kong: Encyclopedia Britannica.
- Hope, W. (1996). A short history of the public sphere in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Continuum*. 10(1), 12-32.
- Hulme, P. (1986). *Colonial encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797*. London: Methuen.
- Hunter, A. (2001). *A life of Sir John Eldon Gorst*. London: Frank Cass Publishers.
- Hursthouse, C. (1857). *New Zealand or Zealandia: The Britain of the South Vol.1* London: Edward Standford.
- Hussain, A. (2006). Toward a political economy of racism and colonialism: A re-reading Frantz Fanon's *The wretched of the earth*. In Young, J. & Braziel, J. (Eds) *Race and the foundations of knowledge: Cultural amnesia in the academy* (pp. 127-144). Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Jackman, M. (2001) The velvet glove. In A. Branaman (2001). *Self and society* (pp. 381-387) Malden: Blackwell.
- Jackman, M. R. (1994). *The velvet glove: Paternalism and conflict in gender, class, and race relations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jaworski, A. and Coupland, N. (1999). *The discourse reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Jones, C. & Wahrman, D. (Eds.) (2002). *The age of cultural revolutions: Britain and France 1750-1820*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: The University of California Press.
- Jorgensen, M. & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London: Sage.
- Karim, K. H. (1997). The historical resilience of primary stereotypes: Core images of the Muslim other. In S. H. Riggins. (Ed.) *The language and politics of exclusion: Others in discourse*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- King, M. (2004) *The Penguin history of New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books
- Koditschek, T. Cha-Jua, S.K. & Neville, H.A. Eds. (2009). *Race Struggles*. Chicago: University of Illinois.
- Kranidis, R. (1999). *The Victorian spinster and colonial emigration: Contested subjects*. New York: St Martin's Press.

- Krebs, P. (1999) *Gender, race and the writing of empire: Public discourse and the Boer war*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kress, G. R. & Hodge, R. I. V. (1979). *Language as ideology*. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kupu Taea (2005) *The media and te tiriti o Waitangi 2004 Report*. Retrieved from <http://www.trc.org.nz/resources/media/htm>.
- Kupu Taea (2008) *The media and te tiriti o Waitangi 2007 Report*. Retrieved from <http://www.trc.org.nz/resources/media/htm>.
- Le Goff (2005) *The birth of Europe: 400-1500* Malden: Blackwell.
- Limón, J. E. (1998). *American encounters: Greater Mexico, the United States, and The erotics of Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Lopez, A. (Ed.) (2005). *Postcolonial whiteness: A critical reader on race and empire*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Lovejoy, A. O. (1936). *The great chain of being: A study of the history of an idea*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Luke, C. (1990). *Constructing the child Viewer: A history of the American discourse on television and children 1850-1980*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Mahony, M. (1997) Residential Segregation and White Privilege. In R. Delgado & J. Stefancic (1997). *Critical white studies: Looking behind the mirror*. pp. 273-275. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Main, G. M. (1891). *The newspaper press of Auckland*. Wilson & Horton General Printers, Auckland.
- Maning, F. E. (1863). *Old New Zealand: Being incidents of native customs and character in the old times*. London: Smith Elder.
- Marais, J. S. (1968). *The colonisation of New Zealand*. London: Dawsons.
- Marsden, S. (1932). *The letters and journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838, senior chaplain in the colony of New South Wales and superintendent of the mission of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand*. Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd. & A.H. Reed.
- Martin S.M.D. (1845). *New Zealand in a series of letters*. London: Simmonds & Ward.
- Marx, K. & Engels, F. (1975). *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels: Collected works*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

- Matheson, I. (2000) *The New Zealand Flaxmilling Industry*. Retrieved 3 August 2008 from http://www.techhistory.co.nz/OntheLand/Flax_milling.htm.
- May, H. (2003). *School beginnings: A history of early years schooling*. Research and Policy Series No.1, 2003. Institute For Early Childhood Studies, Victoria University.
- McCreanor, T. (2008) Discourse, media and health in Aotearoa. In: K. Dew & A. Matheson. (Eds.) *Understanding health inequalities in Aotearoa New Zealand*. (pp.85-96). Dunedin: Otago University Press.
- McGregor, J. & Comrie, M. (1992) *Who's news?* Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.
- McGregor, J. & Comrie, M. (2002) *What news? Reclaiming journalism in New Zealand*. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.
- McIntosh, P. (1997) White Privilege: Unpacking The Invisible Knapsack. In V. Cyrus (Ed.) (1997) *Experiencing race, class and gender in the United States* (pp. 194-197). Mountain View, Calif. : Mayfield Publishing.
- McIntyre, W.D. & Gardner W.J. (1971) *Speeches and documents on New Zealand's history*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- McLintock, A.H. (1958). *Crown colony government in New Zealand*. Wellington: Govt. Printer.
- McIntock, A. H. (1966). *An encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Wellington: R. E. Owen Govt. Printer.
- McNab, R. (1908). *Historical records of New Zealand*. Wellington: Govt. Printer.
- McNeill, R. (1963). *The Press, 1861-1961 : The story of a newspaper*. Christchurch: Christchurch Press.
- McRobbie, A. & Thornton, S. (1995). Rethinking 'moral panic' for multi-mediated social worlds . *The British Journal of Sociology*. 46(4), 559-574.
- Meiklejohn, G. M. (1953). *Early conflicts of press and government: A story of the first New Zealand Herald and of the Foundation of Auckland*. Auckland: Wilson & Horton.
- Middleton, D. & Edwards, D. (1990). *Collective remembering*. Sage, London
- Miller, J. O. (1958). *Early Victorian New Zealand: A study of racial tension and social attitudes. 1839-1852*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Mills C.W. (1997). *The racial contract*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Mitchell, H. A. & Mitchell M. J. (2004). *Te tau ihu o te waka: A history of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough*. Wellington, N.Z: Huia.
- Mohanram, R. (1999). *Black body: Women, colonialism, and space*. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin.
- Moon, P. (1994). *The origins of the treaty of Waitangi*. Auckland: Birdwood.
- Moon, P. (2006). *Fatal Frontiers : A new history of New Zealand in the decade before the treaty*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Moon, P. (2008). *This horrid practice: The myth and reality of traditional Maori cannibalism*. Rosedale: Penguin Books.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (ed.) (2005). *Whitening race: Essays in social and cultural criticism*. Aboriginal Studies Press: Canberra.
- Nairn, R. and McCreanor, T. (1997). Pakeha representations of race relations: implications for mental health. *New Zealand Journalism Review*. 5, 26-28.
- Nairn, R., Pega, F., McCreanor, T. Rankine, J. & Barnes, A. (2006). Media, racism and public health psychology. *Journal of Health Psychology* 11, 183-196.
- Nairn, R., McCreanor, T., Rankine, J., Barnes, A., Pega, F. & Gregory, A. (2009). Media surveillance of the natives: A New Zealand case study –Lake Taupo air space. *Pacific Journalism Review*. 15(1): 131-147.
- Nelson, C. & Grossberg, L. (1988). *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Norval, A. J. (1996). *Deconstructing apartheid discourse*. New York: Verso.
- Noyes, J. (1992) *Colonial space: Spatiality in the discourse of South West Africa 1884-1915*. Poststrasse: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Oliver, W.H. & Williams B.R. (1981). *The Oxford history of New Zealand*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Wellington; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Omi, M. & H. Winant (1994). *Racial formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.
- Orange, C. (1992). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington, N.Z: Bridget Williams Books with assistance from the Historical Publications Branch, Dept. of Internal

- Paine, T. (1856) *The rights of man being an answer to Mr. Burke's attack on the French Revolution*. London: Holyoake & Co.
- Paterson, L. (2006) *Colonial discourses: Niupepa Maori 1885-1863*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Petre, H. W. (1841). *An account of the settlements of the New Zealand Company from personal observation during a residence there*. London: Smith, Elder and Co.
- Petrie, H. (2002). *Colonisation and the involution of the Maori economy*. Paper Presented at the xiii World Congress of Economic History, July 2002, Buenos Aires.
- Petrie, H. (2006). *Chiefs of industry: Maori tribal enterprise in early colonial New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Phelan, S. (2009). The newspaper as political antagonist: Editorial discourse and the othering of Maori perspectives on the foreshore and seabed conflict. *Journalism*. 10(2): 217-237.
- Pilditch, J. and Staveley, H. (2005). Editing Waikato's christian missionary journals. *Journal of New Zealand Literature* (23): 29-51.
- Potter, J. (1996). *Representing reality: Discourse, rhetoric and social construction*. London; Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Pybus, T. A. (1954). *The Maoris of the South Island*. Wellington: Reed.
- Rankine, J & McCreanor, T. (2004). Colonial coverage: Media reporting of a bicultural health research partnership. *Journalism* 5(1): 5-29.
- Reeves, W. P. (1899). *The long white cloud: Ao tea roa*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Richardson, J. T. E. (1996). *Handbook of qualitative research methods for psychology and the social sciences*. Leicester: Bps Books.
- Robertson, S. (1989). *The life and times of Samuel Revans, 1808-1888 : Father of the New Zealand press: Pioneer, politician, publisher*. S Tauranga: A. Robertson.
- Rodriguez, N. M. & Villaverde, L. E. (2000). *Dismantling white privilege: Pedagogy, politics, and whiteness*. New York: P. Lang.
- Roebuck, J. A. (1849). *The colonies of england: A plan for the government of some portion of our colonial possessions*. West Strand, London: John W. Parker.
- Rogers, R. (2004). *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education*. Mahwah; London: L. Erlbaum Associates.

- Said, E. W. (2003). *Orientalism*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Schech, S. & J. Haggis (2002). *Development: A cultural studies reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Scholefield, G.H. (1909) *New Zealand in evolution*. London: T.Fisher Unwin.
- Scholefield, G. (1958). *Newspapers in New Zealand*. Wellington: Reed.
- Shohat, E. & R. Stam (1994). *Unthinking eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the media*. London: Routledge.
- Simon, J. A. & Smith L. T. (2001). *A civilising mission? Perceptions and representations of the native schools System*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Simpson, T (1979) *Te riri pakeha: The white man's anger*, Martinborough, N.Z.: Alister Taylor.
- Sinclair, K (1991) *A history of New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies : Research and indigenous peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Spivak, G. C., (Ed.) (1988). *Can the subaltern speak? Marxism and the interpretation of culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Spoonley, P. (1984). *Tauwiwi: Racism and ethnicity in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Spoonley, P. & Hirsh, W. (Eds.) (1990). *Between the lines: Racism and the New Zealand media*. Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann Reed.
- Spurr, D. (1993). *The rhetoric of empire: Colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Steinberg, S. (1981). *The ethnic myth: Race, ethnicity, and class in America*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Stoler, A. (1995). Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and The Boundaries of Rule. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31(1), 134-161.
- Storch, T. (2006). *Religions and missionaries in the Pacific, 1500-1900*. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Swainson, W. (1859). *New Zealand and its colonization*. London: Smith, Elder and Co.

- Taylor, R. (1868). *The past and present of New Zealand : With its prospects for the future*. London; Wanganui: William Macintosh; Henry Ireson Jones.
- Terry, C. (1842). *New Zealand : Its advantages and prospects as a British colony with a full account of the land claims, sales of Crown lands, aborigines, Etc. Etc.* London: T. & W. Boone.
- Tindale, C. (1999) *Acts of arguing: A rhetorical model of argument*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Tregear, E. (1904). *The Maori race*. Wanganui: A.D. Willis.
- Trotter, C. (2007). *No left turn: The distortion of New Zealand's history by greed, bigotry and right-wing politics*. Auckland: Random House New Zealand.
- Tuffin, K. (2008). Racist discourse in New Zealand and Australia: Reviewing the last 20 years. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*. 2(2): 591-607.
- Van den Berg, H., Wetherell, M. & Houtkoop-Steenstra, H. (2003) *Analyzing race talk: Multidisciplinary approaches to the interview*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vaggioli, F. (2000) *Storia della Nuova Zelanda e dei suoi abitanti*. Dunedin, N.Z.: University of Otago Press/
- Wakefield, E.J. (1987). *Adventure in New Zealand*. Auckland: Viking
- Wanhalla, A. (2007). *History Compass. Ngai Tahu Historiography* 5(3): 802-817.
- Ward, J. (1840). *Supplementary information relative to New Zealand: Comprising despatches and journals of the company's officers of the first expedition and the first report of the directors*. London, John W. Parker.
- Ward, J. M. (1960) The colonial policy of Lord John Russell's administration. *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*. 9(35), pp 244-62.
- Ward, L. E. (1928). *Early Wellington*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Wards, I. M. (1968). *The shadow of the land*. Wellington: A.R, Shearer.
- Weiss, G. & Wodak, R. (2003). *Critical discourse analysis: Theory and interdisciplinarity*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- West, C. (2002). *Prophecy deliverance! An Afro-American revolutionary Christianity*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

- Wetherell M. & Potter, J. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London: Sage.
- Wetherell, M. (2001b). Editor's Introduction. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.). *Discourse theory and practice: A reader*. (pp. 9-13). London: Sage Publications.
- Wevers, L. (2002). *Country of writing: Travel writing and New Zealand 1809-1900*. Auckland University Press, Auckland.
- Widdicombe, S. & Woofitt, R. (1995). *The language of youth sub-cultures: Social identity in action*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Wildman, S. (1997). Reflections on whiteness: The case of Latinos(as). In R. Delgado, & J. Stefancic (1997). *Critical white studies: Looking behind the mirror*. (pp. 323-326) Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Williams, D (1999). *Te kooti tango whenua: The native land court 1864-1909*. Huia, Wellington.
- Williams, D. (1998) *Get me a murder a day!:* A history of mass communication in Britain. Arnold: London.
- Williams, W. (1867). *Christianity among the New Zealanders*. Seeley Jackson & Halliday, London.
- Wilson, K (2004). *A new imperial history: culture, identity, and modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Winant, H (2001) White racial projects. In B. Rasumussen, E. Klinenberg I. Nexica & M. Wray (Eds.) (2001). *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness*. (pp. 97-112), Duke University Press.
- Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage.
- Wolf, E. R. (1997). *Europe and the people without history*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wright, H. M. (1959). *New Zealand, 1769-1840: Early years of western contact*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Young, J. & Braziel, J.(Eds.) (2006). *Race and the foundations of knowledge: Cultural amnesia in the academy*. University of Illinois Press, Chicago.
- Young, R. (1995). *Colonial desire: Hybridity in theory, culture, and race*. New York: Routledge.

appendix

Chapter Seven Articles

1850

Daily Southern Cross, Volume V, Issue 270, 29 January 1850

NEW PLYMOUTH. (From our Correspondent)

A running match for half a mile, contested by about twenty Europeans and natives, was won easily by a native, Tomati Taua.

New Zealander, Volume 5, Issue 415, 6 April 1850, Page 2

The interest of the occasion was heightened by the celebration of a native marriage, at the same time and place; the parties being Henry Taratoa, the cook of 'St. John's College, and Emily Te Rua, one of the Rev. Mr. Kissling's scholars — a pretty and intelligent looking girl, with a face radiant with an unmistakable though modest expression of deep happiness. The ceremony of presentation occupied some time, after which the bridal party and the invited guests — numbering probably not less than, one hundred and fifty — proceeded to the spacious Hall which was fitted up with flags and other decorations, so as to present, when the company were seated, a very picturesque and imposing coup d'état. Here a substantial and elegant de'jeuner was provided, in a style reflecting the highest credit on the hospitality of the College. The Hall was laid out with a cross-table at the upper end, at which the Bishop presided and Mr. and Mrs. Eyre had their places; another at the lower end where Mrs. Selwyn took kindly charge of the Maori bride and bride -groom; and side tables extending the whole length of the apartment, where the Deacons and other gentlemen connected with the Institution were assiduous and entirely successful in their efforts to secure the comfort of their numerous guests. The singing at intervals, of a few well-chosen pieces by the College choir — European and native— added considerably to the innocent enjoyment of the festive occasion. Several toasts were subsequently given, and cordially responded to.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume VI, Issue 320, 23 July 1850, Page 2

The New Zealanders, that is to say, the native race of New Zealand, have neither been conquered nor conciliated! — On the contrary, they have been exasperated and rendered mistrustful by every Act of the British Colonial Office. If there is calm on the surface, there are, nevertheless, serious indications of a groundswell beneath. The turnings, the twisting, the tampering, the "instructions" of the Eighth Honourable Earl Grey, with reference to the lands of the "savages," however satisfactory his after "explanations," to Parliament, to his deputy, and to other Imperial elements, have afforded, no satisfaction to the native New Zealander. Honesty is his policy. In that of the Colonial Office he discovers but fraud and falsehood. He perceives in the land

restrictions which bind his European fellow subject, but the chain which fetters himself. He cannot conceive why, if he be in very truth the equal of his British brother, he should be compelled to sell for sixpence to the Crown, that which he could dispose of at its legitimate value to the subject. These are thoughts that rankle; and these thoughts are the forerunners of mischief, if not to the white man, at least to the white man's law. Do the people of England imagine that the sack of Kororareka was attributable to dislike of the whites? Far from it! That destruction is to be traced solely to the foolish attempt to enforce arbitrary British enactments, without adequate British Arms to compel them. The Colonists were, many of them, new to the country. They were bewildered. They naturally clung to their handful of British protectors. They assumed arms, and they provoked hostility but had they remained tranquil, Kororareka would have continued unscathed.

New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, Volume VII, Issue 541, 9 October 1850, Page 2

AUCKLAND. Native Present to Her Majesty. — Our readers may probably recollect that about a year since the natives of the Waikato sent to Her Majesty the Queen a couple of casks of flour, (ground by mills erected of their own cost, and the produce of wheat of their own culture), as an offering of their loyalty and good feeling, and as a sample of the agricultural superiority of New Zealand. Although in contravention of a general rule which forbids Royalty to accept presents, the Queen has graciously thought proper to make an exception in this particular case; and not only so, but in acknowledgment of the courteous intention of the distant donors, Her Majesty has been pleased to transmit copies of the best authenticated portraits of the Royal person. These portraits, richly framed, we are informed, will be exhibited (to all desirous of inspecting them) for the next three or four days, prior to transmission to the Waikato, at the office of the Civil Secretary. — Southern Cross.

1851

The Nelson Examiner. Nelson, February 15, 1851.

As a first step his Excellency should be solicited to try and extinguish the native title to all the land lying between Wairau and Nelson, excepting such reserves as may be thought desirable to retain for native uses. This would throw open for sale, nearly at our doors, 50,000 acres of as fine land as any in New Zealand, which, from its intrinsic value, combined with position, would very readily find purchasers, and give considerable funds for emigration and public works. A good bridle path, though made at first, would only be the precursor of a dray road at no distant day; for as the country becomes better known, so we believe will the difficulties of inland communication disappear.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume VI, Issue 407, 23 May 1851, Page 2

Her Majesty's Birth Day. Tomorrow Her Majesty Queen Victoria will enter upon her thirty third year. The day will, as usual, be observed as a public holiday. The troops will fire their customary folie de joie in the Albert Barrack Square, and the artillery and ships of war will likewise deliver their thunders at the hour of noon. At 2 o'clock His Excellency the Lieut. Governor will hold a Levee at the Council Chamber, at which gentlemen attending are requested to bring their cards to be delivered to the Private Secretary. The native Dinner will be served as heretofore at Mr. Robertson's Rope Walk, provision having been made for four hundred guests.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume VI, Issue 428, 5 August 1851, Page 4

Canterbury. (From the Melbourne Argus)

The natives are reaping a rich harvest with their pork and potatoes, and are quite jolly. I shall probably make a trip to Wellington; and if I can get anything worth sending, will do so.

"Ever truly yours, "Mark P. Stoddart

Daily Southern Cross, Volume VI, Issue 469, 26 December 1851, Page 3

The Governor in Chief had paid a flying visit to Nelson. During his brief stay his Excellency received a deputation from those, interested in Steam Communication to whom he promised his support, and to grant a charter, to the Company, with equal powers and privileges as those enjoyed by like companies in England. His Excellency likewise expressed his hope that in a brief period, not exceeding two months, he should be able to extinguish the native title to the whole of the land within the Nelson settlement.

1852

Daily Southern Cross, Volume VII, Issue 490, 9 March 1852, Page 2

AUCKLAND A GOLD FIELD!

It behoves our Government to proceed with the greatest care and circumspection in the matter and it equally behoves our fellow-colonists to temper their thirst for gold with a prudential abstinence in prosecuting its digging. Let it never be forgotten that our fortunes are cast amongst an intelligent and a determined native race; and that one false step, whether on the part of the Executive, or of the people, may lead to the most dangerous and disastrous results. Should the gold for example, be found upon native lands, an irregular rush to the diggings could only end most disastrously? The natives are fully alive to their own interests, and quite able to protect them; therefore it can only be by entering into compact with the native land-holders that the European miner can hope to participate in the products of their gold-fields. If patience and prudence guide their conduct we have little doubt that such arrangements may be made as will render the races a mutual advantage instead of a mutual obstruction.

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XI, Issue 535, 5 June 1852, Page 60

COLONIAL MISGOVERNMENT

In New Zealand, the Government, under pretence of seeing that the natives are not cheated of their rights, buys of them for shillings, and sells at nothing less than the pound. This is bitter, fraudulent hypocrisy.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume IX, Issue 545, 17 September 1852, Page 2

The population of the districts most distant from the metropolis are compelled to entrust the representation of their persons and the care of their local interests to settled residents in that metropolis, who possess but a very slight knowledge of their constituents, and a faint sympathy with their peculiar pursuits and wants. Should, however, it appear from the number of natives in the northern province impossible to govern the colony by one central Executive, we would suggest that both justice and expediency point out that there should be a complete separation, legislative, executive, and financial, between the two provinces.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume IX, Issue 573, 24 December 1852, Page 2

I perhaps ought to explain that the resident magistrates I allude to are judicial officers, appointed under a local law, termed the "Resident Magistrates Ordinance," and who are entrusted with considerable and peculiar powers for the adjustment of criminal and civil cases in which Europeans, or Europeans and Maories, or Maoris alone, are concerned. The law to which I am adverting was devised and framed with great care to meet the peculiar circumstances of a European race mingling with a population just emerging from barbarism. It is highly esteemed by the natives, who now resort freely to the courts of the resident magistrates; and if any circumstance should occur which

closed these courts, I fear that great discontent and renewed disturbance would take place amongst the native population. If the existing Provincial Council be not convened, its successor cannot amend or suppress the Courts of Resident Magistracy. — They must remain, in force, until another Constitution shall supersede the brilliant enactment for which we have so long and so urgently supplicated.

1853

Daily Southern Cross, Volume X, Issue 583, 28 January 1853 Page 3:

In conformity with the terms of the Education Ordinance, Session VIII, No 10. Inspectors have been appointed for those schools which are supported by public funds. The reports of those Inspectors, in so far as they have been received shall be laid before you: from those reports you will find that the Industrial Schools established in various parts of New Zealand, for the benefit of the native race, have been far more successful than could have been reasonably anticipated, and that there is now every reason to hope confidently that they will exercise a most important and useful influence on the future of this country. I am happy at being able to congratulate you upon the continued tranquillity which still prevails throughout New Zealand, and which I hope may, by judicious measures be uninterruptedly maintained, The progress which these Islands continue to make in wealth and prosperity is most satisfactory. The native population are making daily advances in the accumulation of wealth, and in the pursuits of industry: various instances have recently occurred in which they have purchased valuable pieces of land from Europeans for very considerable sums; they also now produce such large quantities of wheat, that the supplies which they thus afford have become a most important article of trade for the Colony.

Taranaki Herald, Volume I, Issue 38, 20 April 1853, Page 3:

A native chief named Panapa has been sentenced to 22 year transportation for shooting at some settlers in the Rangitikei district.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume X, Issue 628, 5 July 1853, Page 2:

Another of our newly-dubbed Auckland Justices, one who sets up as a mirror of the Christian virtues — Mr. T. S. Forsaith, — this Justice felt no compunctious qualms even in assisting others to personate voters, Hori Pepene, the native selected as the instrument of this intended fraud was led to the polling booth, by Mr. W. C. Wilson, one of the stoops of the Wesleyan body, and co proprietor of the 'New Zealander.' He (Wilson) was cautioned before he entered the booth that the native was not on the Register; and when the objecting elector called the attention of the Returning Officer to the fact, Mr. Forsaith voluntarily declared that he (the native present) was Hemi Pepene, and that too in defiance of both natives being well known in Auckland for many years, and to no one better than to Mr. Forsaith himself. When thus detected he persisted in the truth of his statement, until the formal questions, as to identity were put by the Returning Officer, when, the native then admitted that he was Hori, and not Hemi Pepene (the native sought to be personated.)

New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, Volume IX, Issue 864, 12 November 1853, Page 3 *New Zealander* October 15.

The following is extracted from the *Maori Messenger* : — " Our native readers are in all probability aware that the Governor, Sir George Grey, having obtained leave of absence from Her Majesty the Queen, is now on the eve of his departure from New

Zealand on a visit to Great Britain. His Excellency has already taken his farewell of the inhabitants of the South and that amidst the most lively expressions of respectful regret on their part. All classes seemed to have vied with each other in manifesting their cordial appreciation of the many great and shining qualities of his Excellency, — qualities alike conspicuous in the Governor and the man. In equal and heartfelt appreciation of the character of Sir George Grey, the native race has again and again furnished incontestable evidence they especially participate. And it would be surprising indeed if they did not; since to elevate the native Race in the scale of moral, social, and religious intelligence has always been the earnest and unremitting aim of Governor Grey.

1854

Otago Witness, Issue 143, 11 February 1854, Page 3:

CHURCH OF OTAGO.

Arrival of the Rev. Messrs. Will and Bannerman. We present our most cordial congratulations to the members and adherents of the Church in general, and specially to our friends in the rural districts, on the safe arrival of these two reverend gentlemen in the colony by the "Stately." This most auspicious event will at once provide for the spiritual necessities of the rural population, and secure the immediate formation of a Presbytery. Their respective spheres of labour have been already assigned to each by the act of their separate ordinations by the Church in the home country — Mr. Will being ordained to the Taieri and Waihola districts, and Mr. Bannerman to the districts of Clutha and Tokomairiro. Both reverend gentlemen will preach in the Church of Dunedin on Sabbath next (tomorrow); and on the following Sabbath (the 19th instant) Mr. Burns will introduce Mr. Will to his congregation in the School-house of East Taieri, when, we doubt not, the opportunity of taking their future Pastor by the hand will be joyfully embraced by all — West Taieri as well as East — and even in the native village.

New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, Volume IX, I issue 921, 31 May 1854, Page 3

The usual sittings of the Supreme Court for the despatch of criminal business will not be held tomorrow for the best of all reasons — because there are no prisoners to try. We refer with gratification to the fact as affording strong proof of the healthy moral condition of the Province, though the criminal business of the Court is generally very light, and very rarely includes any serious case, especially against an original settler, or any of the native population.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XI, Issue 741, 4 August 1854, Page 2

I propose it, sir, as a matter of good policy for the Colony to hold out an inducement in the shape of land, to men well trained to arms, able in any emergency, not only to act themselves, but to instruct and encourage others, against a common enemy. You must also remember that it is the cheapest mode of obtaining immigration, since those men's passages to the Colony would be already paid. It should be confined to men of good character— and the exact character of every man taken from the defaulter sheet, in which is entered every offence he may have committed since he commenced his career as a soldier, may be at once ascertained from the parchment certificate which he receives on discharge, to protect him from apprehension as a deserter. Thus we would obtain in addition to an efficient soldier in the hour of need, a settler of good character, quite as valuable as a cultivator of the soil, as the man in a blue frock and horny hands, who could not, from want of training, even defend himself. We are now in a state of actual war with a powerful enemy, and know not when the troops may be recalled from the colony. The good judgment of securing trained soldiers must therefore surely be obvious. Troops have been removed from Hong Kong and the

Cape. Sir George Grey was strongly impressed with the wisdom of such a course, situated as we are amongst a warlike native race, considering we cannot always expect to have so many troops stationed among us.

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XIII, 4 November 1854, Page 2:

TARANAKI

The recent native affray continues to unsettle the native population. As it is a question, exclusively under the authorized control of the General Government, I have not considered it advisable to appear at any discussion of the question by the natives: such a course might have devolved on the Province a portion of the responsibility which best rests where it lies — with the General Government. Mr. Commissioner McLean, the best qualified officer in the colony to investigate this internal quarrel of a tribe, has been deputed by his Excellency, and I have no doubt but that everything that can be done will be done by that gentleman, at whose disposal in carrying out the intentions of the General Government I have placed the cooperation and assistance of the Provincial Government. I have every reliance on the good feeling that has always subsisted between the two races continuing to prevent the European population from interfering in this native quarrel. As some evidence of the good feeling of the native race to the European, I may mention that while one party applied for military aid, the chief of the other stated, that, if afforded by the Government, he should not consider the settlers as involved by it.

1855

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XII, Issue 802, 6 March 1855, Page 3:
SUPREME COURT.

The Criminal Sessions of the Supreme Court commenced on Thursday last. The following cases were for trial. Walter Huntley was indicted for the murder of an aboriginal native, named Tekopa, on the 25th December last. The evidence adduced in this case was in substance the same as that published in the 'Southern Cross' of the 29th of December last. After a long and patient inquiry, the Jury returned a verdict of "guilty of manslaughter."

Otago Witness, Issue 193, 16 June 1855, Page 3

TARANAKI:

Mr. Chilman, in the course of his remarks in Council, stated that any attempt to skin over the present state of the affairs of the natives by means of pecuniary sacrifice was bad in principle, and would prove ineffectual in operation. Any course of the kind would only be calculated to increase the unruly and overbearing spirit of the natives. He had himself suffered, and knew that there were many amongst those around him who had also suffered from the want of subjection of the natives to civilized rule, and it was impossible, he believed, not to feel that ultimately it must result in a collision. It was useless to assert that the state of the place was not known — it was known far and wide. Look at the Government proclamation against the sale of arms. At any day, at any hour, we might find ourselves suddenly opposed to them. The slightest cause might bring it about. Only the other day the taking of a few peaches from the natives by some children was replied to by entering a house and seizing a gun which they had in vain tried to purchase. Another case also very recent, of horses travelling on the road to Whanganui from New Plymouth. £20 was demanded for pasturage through a certain district, and a threat held out that they will seize any horses travelling on the road. They lay down the law and do what they like. Nor is there any chance of redress against such extortions.

Taranaki Herald, Volume IV, Issue 163, 12 September 1855, Page 2

The return of the 'Duke of Portland' from Wellington with upwards of 200 rank and file of the 65th Regiment and several field pieces renders the Military force in Taranaki thoroughly effective for any service to which it may be called; and we heartily congratulate the settlement upon the wise energy displayed in its favor. An excellent effect has already been produced on the native mind. Not a shot has been fired by either party since the soldiers landed. Ngati Ruanui has shrunk home again, armed natives no longer parade our streets, the tapu is taken off the Waitara road; in short, the most profound tranquillity appears to reign throughout the district. But when we seek to ascertain what guarantee exists for the continuance of so serene a state, we reluctantly admit that we are at fault. No man in his sense can doubt that on the removal of the Troops the settlement would instantly relapse into a state worse than that from which it has emerged, and even a large reduction of the force would

probably, as matters now stand, be followed by bad results. Is there any policy at once practicable, humane, and just, whereby the permanent tranquillity of the settlement may be secured and its prosperity be settled on a sure foundation?

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XII, Issue 884, 18 December 1855, Page 3

Selling spirits to natives. Yesterday, at the Court of the Resident Magistrate, A. Bishop, barman at the Caledonian hotel, appeared to answer information, charging him with selling one bottle of rum to a native named Peter. Mr. Merriman appeared for the defendant, who pleaded not guilty. The witness Peter deposed that, on Wednesday, the 12th instant, in the evening, he went to the bar of the Caledonian, asked the defendant for one bottle of rum, and paid him 2s. 6d. When he paid the money, Bishop told him to go into the back room; he went in, and, shortly afterwards, the rum was brought to him by a half-caste lad named Busby. Heme Karane, another native, deposed to having seen the first witness go in, pay the money, and return with a bottle of rum in his possession. For the defence, the lad Busby was called, who denied any knowledge of either of the witnesses, but who weakened his own evidence by also, in reply to the Court, denying all knowledge of the defendant. The witnesses for the prosecution were cross-examined by Mr. Merriman, but without shaking their testimony. The Court considered the case to be established, and after awakening to the evident fact that drunkenness amongst the natives was on the increase, and stating its determination, if possible, to suppress the evil, fined the defendant £10 and costs (195.).

1856

Taranaki Herald, Volume IV, Issue 182, 26 January 1856, Page 2

A complaint was yesterday made in the Resident Magistrate's Court by Mr Chilman against some natives who had seized and taken from his land two head of cattle which they retained. The defendants refusing to appear, the case was taken upon Mr Chilman's evidence, which was as follows: — The defendants held land next to his, and he had put up a fence between at his own expense which was now old and weak in certain parts; he had offered to pay half towards putting up a new one, but the offer had not been accepted. His cattle had broken down the fence and been upon their land, which was in crop. The cattle were taken off his land by the natives and they refused to give them up, and claimed £10 for damages. The amount of the damage and the question of the fencing was matter for the Magistrate's decision; but they refused to submit it to the Court, and persisted in keeping the animals. He valued the two at £60; they had offered to pay him £40 and keep them, but he had no desire to sell them, and wanted them returned. Mr H. Halse stated that he had seen the natives and tried to persuade them to give up the cattle, and claim their damages in this Court, but they would not listen to him, and declared their intention of keeping them. He had also applied to the Assessors, but they declined to interfere and appeared to sympathise with their own people. The Resident Magistrate said the case was a very clear one, and was apart from the question of damages altogether. The decision of the court was, therefore, in favor of Mr Chilman; but we did not quite understand what course it was proposed to adopt.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XIII, Issue 918, 15 April 1856, Page 3

Considerable interest has been excited within the last few days by rumours of gold discoveries at Massacre Bay and although the stories circulated have greatly exaggerated facts; they are not altogether without foundation. The real circumstances, we believe, are, that gold was found in small quantities about three months since, in the beds of some small streams between the Takaka and Aorere rivers, by two young men living in the neighbourhood, who have been engaged in gold digging in Australia, if not in California as well, and the fact was communicated to the Local Government at the time ; but, as Mr. McLean's arrival was then expected daily, to finally extinguish the native title to all the land in the province, and as there was a dispute between the settlers and the natives in the very neighbourhood where the gold was found, the Government requested the parties who had made - the discovery to remain silent respecting it until the natives had been finally settled with for the land:

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XV, Issue 28, 5 July 1856, Page 4

When Captain Cook visited the islands he saw nothing of any animal larger than a rat, and it was probable that the first settlers were natives of some country where the larger animals were unknown. Mr. Swainson then spoke of the rapid spread of Christianity amongst the New Zealanders. This might be to some extent accounted for

by the fact that when the Christian missionaries first visited the island, the native gods were consulted, and it was asserted that those gods themselves answered that Jesus Christ was the only true God. Not only had the native population been reclaimed from being a barbarous, warlike, cruel people, but they had now become industrious, peaceful, active in developing the resources of their country, and in amassing money, while their children were receiving, almost universally, instruction in the Christian schools. Of 104 labourers employed by the British Government some years ago, every one could read in the New Testament, and every one could write. The same thing would probably never be said of a like number of a similar class in this country. The natives were employed by the settlers as farm labourers, and were found industrious and trustworthy; others were employed in supplying the settlements with the produce of the colony, and were owners of the coasting vessels, &c. In a single year there had been brought in canoes to one station produce which was worth more than £10,000.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XIII, Issue 970, 14 October 1856, Page 3

A numerously attended meeting of the electors of Howick was held, on the evening of Saturday, in the Prince of Wales Hotel. Mr. Gilfillan then continued, subject to periodical interruptions from the same quarter, to state that it was his earnest desire to open up the country and that he had already taken a step in Advance by mooted, from his seat in the Legislative Council, the importance of direct purchase of land from the natives — a measure in legalization of which he hoped to see introduced during next Session of the Assembly.

1857

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XIV, Issue 1008, 24 February 1857, Page 3

It ought to be publicly known that Wesleyans have a prize to contend for. Their "Board of Works" — I mean "Board of Education" — receives annually out of the public funds the sum of £2.500, nearly £1000 of which " finds its way to the Three Kings Institution." They have also Government grants of land, amounting to 800 acres, for which other brows have sweat, and hands not theirs have laboured for money wherewith to extinguish the native title and establish the British right; after which our late Governors have granted those lands in trust to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, for native education. Others (not I) have said that the moneys for native instruction have been squandered, being neither reproductive nor effecting any tangible benefit, except finding its way into the pockets of teachers and matrons.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XIV, Issue 1028, 5 May 1857, Page 2

(Re George Grey)

We pass over these to come at once to the position in which he left the native question. He found us engaged in hostilities with the natives; but he found the natives far more easy to deal with then than they have been since, or are likely to be again. Hostilities, on the part of the natives, were virtually ended by the cutting down of the flagstaff at the Bay. He might have made peace at first, without further effusion of blood, on the same terms that he did at last. But he preferred carrying on a war, took an empty (pi), and then made peace with the natives on their own terms, that the flag - staff should still lie prostrate. Through mismanagement, as we have elsewhere shewn, he created a fresh war at the South, which terminated ingloriously enough for us. In order to lessen future difficulties to himself, he proceeded to adopt a system of palliatives— what has been expressively termed, "a hand to mouth policy," dealing with isolated cases as they occurred, remedying rather than obviating — giving physic where he ought to have prevented the disease. Instead of boldly searching out the root of the evil, his endeavours were directed to the saving of appearances — to the skinning over of an ulcerated wound, without attempting a radical cure. In two instances only, that we are aware of, did he act upon a principle. He encouraged the native schools, though their obligations to him are very much over-rated and endeavoured to break down the influence of the old chiefs. Of this, we were personally informed by himself. The result has been, that the young men are now, to borrow Bishop Selwyn's expression, "a rope of sand" we have no hold upon them ; the prestige of ancestral rank is vanishing ; the more active minded, including the turbulent, are taking the lead. Again, by seeking to enlist the natives on his side in his aggression upon Governor Fitzroy's Grantees, through exciting, the cupidity of those whom he has termed "the most covetous people in the world," he destroyed, as far as he was able, that habit of inflexible adherence to agreement which was formerly so distinctive a feature in the Maori character, and which in early times was the main hold of the Government upon them.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XIV, Issue 1057, 14 August 1857, Page 2

...The introduction of municipal institutions among the native race would appear to be the only feasible means of attaining the object. Give them local self-government in minor matters, such as we could Scarcely undertake to provide for without infringing native custom and with regard to larger matters, let them feel that they have their full share of influence, if not as yet a direct voice, in forming the laws required. In short, let the Governor make the weightier laws, (if empowered by the Assembly,) with the advice and concurrence of the natives; let the natives themselves make the by-laws, reserving them, how ever, for the Governor's assent. The by-laws would be of local operation only.

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XVI, Issue XVI, 11 November 1857, Page 2

The natives at last seem disposed to sell land, but the first meeting for that purpose had proved a failure, through one of the parties who had been at war together coming armed to the rendezvous. This difference, however, was at last composed, and matters were progressing favourably.

1858

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XV, Issue 1122, 30 March 1858, Page 4

Behind our countrymen we see the natives commencing a new movement, interesting to us as illustrating the motives on which aboriginal subjects of the British Crown in distant territories have fought to recover independence and to restore old usages. The natives of New Zealand have become keenly alive to the miseries of want of law, which we have hitherto failed to supply; at all times they have shown aspirations for the maintenance of a separate nationality. This sentiment has been an effective cause of obstruction to our appropriation of land from them. More recently it has taken the share of an agitation for the establishment of "a Maori King,"— probably meaning a chief with jurisdiction in certain native matters, but subordinate to the greater power of the British Crown. Mixed up with vaguer longings, there is among the younger men trained by the missionaries, a strong desire to imitate the social arrangements of the British colonists. The spontaneous agitation is described as taking a practical form. Self-constituted native magistrates are administering justice after the European fashion in several Waikato villages; and the Maories are ambitious to try their hands at legislation, — probably aiming at a species of Witenagemot or Maori general assembly, which they wish the Governor to convene. In all this we perceive a plainly-asserted claim of natural and national independence, based on an earnest desire for better government.

Taranaki Herald, Volume VI, Issue 307, 19 June 1858, Page 2

...It was at the recent meeting of the ratepayers of the First district, which includes the Bell block, that the Maori was elected as one of the Commissioners for the current year. When we reflect that a native war, in which several hundreds of natives engaged, was carried on for many months close to the Bell district, and that the premises and even dwellings of the residents were invaded by armed savages who almost invited collision with them, the proceeding we record reflects infinite credit upon the electors of the Bell district, evincing as it does a friendliness of disposition still towards their Maori neighbours and an earnest desire to cooperate with them, if they will, in carrying out objects of local improvement

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XVII, Issue 76, 22 September 1858, Page 2

Talking of roads, the principal one is in a terrible state; and the natives, who use it for carting off all their produce, and through whose reserves it runs for nearly two miles, are exempt from all liability to contribute to its repair. I should think that as the Commissioners of native Reserves must now be in receipt of a tolerable revenue from this source, they might by their contributions not only improve the property, but in some degree remedy what now strikes us here as a glaring injustice.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XV, Issue 1198, 21 December 1858, Page 3

We have been rather excited lately by the following occurrence: Some time since a European here was convicted of giving spirits to natives and sentenced to a fine of ten pounds. This was not paid and some cattle were distained, said to belong to the defendant (they ultimately proved to be another person's and were restored), on which the natives, accompanied by the defendant's wife, demanded restitution. This being refused, they proceeded to the government property, broke down the fence, and drove away some 13 head of cattle belonging to our Resident Magistrate and others; there the matter rests. A pretty state of things, you will say, for a so called British colony. The fact is there has been such a temporising policy adopted in all matters pertaining to natives that the government is (here at least) treated by them with the most supreme contempt. It is in fact a farce — a most unmitigated humbug to place a paid magistrate anywhere without; power to enforce his decisions, how can mulct the unfortunate European who has committed some trifling fault that never would have been noticed had there not been a court to apply to, but is fairly bullied and laughed at by the natives if he endeavours to coerce them. Language the most insulting to him, when on the bench, and to the government, and at other times, is used by the natives, both in and out of court

1859

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XVI, Issue 1205, 14 January 1859, Page 4

The "native" question was forced on the Colonial Government of New Zealand by the importunity of the Maories themselves, who besiege the British Government on all sides with requests for some organization of the British principles of justice and administration within their own native region. Hitherto no policy had been definitely adopted, defining the relations of the native chiefs and their decrees to British rule. During the Government of Sir George Grey this question had been rather deferred than determined. A court of justice had been instituted, with the cooperation of the "native Assessors," of which natives might and sometimes did avail themselves in settling disputes between themselves and European immigrants. But the cases in which both the parties to proceedings in this court were natives have varied from about thirty to sixty a-year, while the great majority of their disputes have been settled by the old and summary methods of barbarous tribes. The court was, in many respects, unsuited to native habits, and no other institution had been attempted for the purpose of introducing British customs and principles among the native tribes. It was clear, from the importunities of the natives themselves, that some more comprehensive system—some general policy, in short, towards the natives, must at length be determined on.

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XVIII, Issue 28, 6 April 1859, Page 3

On Tuesday a meeting of the Moturoa, Town, Waiwakaiho, Puketapu, and Waitara natives was held in a paddock adjoining the residence of the Land Purchase Commissioner. It was less numerously attended than many former ones, the muster of the Waitara natives being particularly small. Shortly after 11 o'clock his Excellency the Governor, accompanied by his Private Secretary and the Chief Land Purchase Commissioner, arrived on the ground, and was welcomed by the assembled natives, the whole rising up to receive him, with the exception of William King and some few of his followers. The principal chiefs then paid their respects to the Governor. Tahana, a native assessor, opened the proceedings by acknowledging the benefits conferred on the natives by the introduction of Christianity and European customs, and expressed the desire of himself and his tribe to have British law established amongst them. Mr McLean, on behalf of his Excellency, spoke as follows:— The Governor wished them to understand that the Queen regards equally all her subjects; that all her Governors have had and would have the same instructions, viz.:— to do their utmost to promote the welfare of her subjects without distinction of race. The missionaries had imparted to them the blessings of Christianity and translated the Bible for their use. It was not in the power of man to confer any other gift which would bear comparison with that of the Bible; but, out of regard for the natives, his Excellency had caused an abstract of English law to be translated into Maori. He had no wish to enforce this law; on the contrary, it would only be put in force in those districts where the people are wise enough to desire it, and prepared to carry it into

effect themselves. Some tribes in the north had already desired to have English law; and a magistrate had been appointed to instruct them how to put it into practice. They were now engaged in doing so, with every prospect of becoming a peaceful and prosperous people, and uniting themselves with the Pakeha. This tribe is the Ngapuhi. The Governor had but two subjects on which he desired to speak, particularly, to the tribes living near Taranaki, and they were — first, in reference to criminal offences'; second, in reference to land. He wished these subjects to be considered separately, and as having no sort of reference to each other. The tribes in the vicinity of Taranaki have greater advantages than most others, as they are much intermixed with the Pakeha, and ought to profit by their intercourse with them. If they chose to live peaceably and cultivate their lands, they would grow rich and multiply instead of which they were constantly at war with each other, and their numbers were decreasing. Their disputes were almost always about matters of little or no importance, or about land which was not worth quarrelling for. Had the Governor been in New Zealand when Katatore slew Rawiri, he would have had him arrested and brought before the Judge; and, if the Judge had sentenced him to be hanged, he would have caused him to be hanged; that he had not thought proper to arrest Ihaia, because, though the murders to which he was a party were horrible and disgraceful, yet they admitted of some extenuation, inasmuch as they were committed in retribution for the murder of Rawiri. All this, however, now belongs to the past; but for the future he had determined that every man (whether he be Maori or Pakeha) who may commit any violence or outrage within the European boundaries shall be arrested and taken before the Judge, and the sentence of the Judge, whatever it may be, shall be carried into effect. He was determined that the peace of the settlers should no longer be disturbed by evil doers, and that those Maories who are not content to live in peace among the Pakeha had better go elsewhere. In reference to the second subject, the Governor thought the Maories would be wise to sell the land they cannot use themselves, as it would make what they could use more valuable than the whole; but that he never would consent to buy land without an undisputed title. He would not permit any one to interfere in the sale of land unless he owned part of it; and, on the other hand, he would buy no man's land without his consent. Tahana again addressed his tribe, approving of that portion of his Excellency's speech declaring that if murder were again committed, that the murderer should be arrested and tried by British law. He then supposed a case of a native policeman or assessor (himself) shot whilst arresting a murderer, and inquired who would avenge him. He stated that if he were assured of the support of his Excellency, as he knew his Excellency would receive the support of the Queen, he could hereafter, singlehanded, arrest offenders. Te Teira, a Waitara native, then stated that he was anxious to sell land belonging to him; that he had heard with satisfaction the declaration of the Governor referring to individual claims, and the assurance of protection that would be afforded by his Excellency. He minutely defined the boundaries of his claim, repeated that he was anxious to sell and that he was the owner of the land he offered for sale. He then repeatedly asked if the Governor would buy this land. Mr. McLean, on behalf of his Excellency, replied that he would. Te Teira then placed a parawai (bordered mat) at the Governor's feet, which his Excellency accepted. This ceremony, according to native custom, virtually placed Teira's land at Waitara in the hands of the Governor. Hemi Kuku then followed and stated his desire to dispose of land at Onairo, but in consequence of

violent opposition his offer was not then entertained. Piripi, a relative of Ihaia's, then offered his land at Waitara ; his right to sell was denied by Te Teira, Te Waka (a town native), and several of the Waitara natives, who asserted that his land was forfeited as payment for the murder of Katatore by his relatives. Paora then informed the Governor that Te Teira could not sell the land he had offered without the consent of Wereriki and himself, as they had a joint interest in a portion of it. Te Teira replied to him, and was immediately followed by William King, who, before addressing the Governor, said to his people, "I will only say a few words, and then we will depart," to which they assented. He then said, "Listen, Governor. Notwithstanding Teira's offer, I will not permit the sale of Waitara to the Pakeha. Waitara is in my hands, I will not give it up; ekore, ekore, ekore," [i.e., I will not, I will not, I will not). "I have spoken!" and, turning to his tribe, added," Arise, let us go — whereupon he and his followers abruptly withdrew. Kipa, a Waiakato native, then expressed the satisfaction that the Governor's speech afforded him, and proposed that henceforward British law should not prevail beyond the Waitaha. Matiu, a Hua native, wished to address his Excellency on the King movement, but was informed that another opportunity would be afforded him. The meeting then separated.

Taranaki Herald, Volume VII, Issue 364, 23 July 1859, Page 3

The grand complaint against the native Secretary has been that he did not acquire land from the Maories when he could easily have accomplished his purpose. So, when he has acquired between two and three hundred thousand acres, the time appears in the minds of our logical correspondents, to have arrived to reproach him for not having made the desired purchases. Just when the settlers are congratulating themselves on the appropriation of the Waitotara, and large blocks at the Manawatu, they are assured that Mr McLean has been spending leisure hours, which he ought not to have enjoyed, in playing the fine gentleman at Auckland; assuming that he knew nothing of the change in the Maori mind in the Province — had no correspondence with the natives on the subject — had done nothing, in short, to prepare them for the recent sales.

Otago Witness, Issue 411, 15 October 1859, Page 6

It is our duty to report to the Committee, that we proceeded to the native reserve at the Heads on the 19th instant, but, owing to a protracted detention of the steamer at Port Chalmers, we had not so much time at our disposal as could have been desired. We were much struck with the improvement in the social condition of the natives, who, instead of being huddled together amongst the sand hills on the beach as formerly, are scattered in various localities along the margin of the bush at the foot of the hills, each house having the owner's cultivation around it, laid out with some degree of regularity, and substantially fenced, according to European ideas.

1860

Taranaki Herald, Volume VIII, Issue 394, 18 February 1860, Page 3

It may not be out of place at the present time to offer a few observations upon the subject that now engrosses every person's attention — possible hostilities with a section of the natives arising out of the determination, at length openly expressed, to proceed to a survey of Teira's land at the Waitara. There has been, in our judgment, a deal of unnecessary suppression of the fact when once decided upon, since it favored endless rumors and misstatements which for a time deceived the settlers, and worse than this, the natives with whom it is far best to be plain. Our readers may remember the Governor's declaration to the natives at the meeting of March 1859 when Teira offered the land (reported in the Herald of the 12th of that month) that His Excellency would not permit any one to interfere in the sale of land unless he owned part of it; and on the other hand he would buy no man's land without his consent. Just and unobjectionable as the decision is, it has, strange to say, to be enforced in Taranaki. The natives do not claim the land in question, but they deny the right or power of the owners to dispose of it. They, in fact, assume Appropriation over the land. We shall not be permitted to advance, nor shall the well affected Maori improve his condition. The mere talk of our employing force, if requisite, is quite sufficient to account for the present excitement observable amongst the natives; but we cannot persuade ourselves that the most violent anti-land -seller amongst them seriously intends to act up to his present threat, or can count upon such an extent of aid as would furnish him with a pretext for doing so. The position is too preposterous to enlist support or sympathy, and, accordingly, whilst it is a subject of regret that the natives in question should so far lose sight of their true interests as still to threaten obstruction to His Excellency, they may depend upon it the settlers are unanimously prepared to render active aid to the government should the occasion arise. This is already known to the natives, and it may possibly have occurred to them that there must be something more than a mere taste for struggle and strife to move a whole community to exchange home (if need be) for the stockade and blockhouse. That the people are in downright earnest, the Hua and Bell settlers afford conclusive proof in the important work they are constructing in their district. The natives may affect to despise all this, and even our present available resources; and believing that they rely less upon the merits of their cause than upon an overweening sense of self superiority, it might be the shortest way out of the difficulty to concentrate such a force on the spot as would justify the natives in quietly yielding the point without any imputation upon their courage. The force at once available, say 200 of Her Majesty's 65th Foot, and 110 of the Taranaki Volunteer Rifles might, in the judgment of the Officer commanding, be sufficient for the object in view, but unless the natives think so likewise, a demonstration would probably fail of its object, and tempt the natives into the act the government would only resort to as the final expedient.

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XIX, Issue 42, 26 May 1860, Page 3

A large meeting of natives took place on Friday, the 4th of May, in the Missionary School House, to take into consideration the propriety of hoisting the Maori king's flag. About 350 natives were assembled from the different stations in the neighbourhood, the numbers for and against the hoisting of the flag being about

equal. The proceeding commenced by a very eloquent and energetic address from the Venerable Archdeacon Hadfield, calling upon the assembled natives to remember that he had been residing among them as their pastor for twenty years, appealing to them whether he had not always, during that time, given them the best fatherly advice not to alienate their lands, and ending by earnestly entreating them not to put up a flag which could only lead to trouble and confusion, and end in the shedding of blood. But, alas! The sun of missionary influence, except when in accord with a native's own views, has set, and the Venerable Archdeacon's eloquent and energetic address was met by a quiet and dogged determination, on the part of the supporters of the flag, to proceed with its erection. Speeches were made by Tamihana, Te Rauparaha, Matene, Hukiki, and all the more respectable natives, declaring their hostility to the Maori king's flag being hoisted in Otaki, and their determination to oppose its erection by every means in their power, even by force if necessary; and they referred to the number of years they had lived quietly and comfortably under the Queen's flag (authority), and protested against a change, which must inevitably lead to trouble, and stating that they were determined to support the supporters of the Maori king's flag, consisting principally of the Roman Catholic natives in Otaki and its neighbourhood, and the Ngatihuias from Porotawhao, did not give any reasons for adhesion to that side; but one man said, that he had heard that it was the intention of the Europeans to make slaves of all the Maories. This idea was scouted by the Queen's party. Everything was conducted in the most orderly manner at the meeting, and the language on both sides was mild, but determined to support the Queen's authority with all their influence.

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XIX, Issue 62, 4 August 1860, Page 3

The remarks upon the Maori King, which form the substantial matter of the address, and the folly of the Maories allowing themselves to be seduced into the commission of any act which would render them liable to forfeit the rights and privileges of British subjects, are to the purpose, and may yet check some in their career of mischief and ruin ; but why was this declaration withheld until a section of the Maories had committed themselves to overt acts of rebellion, and stained their hands in innocent blood? That the Government are not free from responsibility for so long regarding the King movement and league against the further sale of land as a harmless device of the moment, is virtually admitted in the address, the whole movement being designated as an act of disobedience and defiance to her Majesty's authority, which cannot be tolerated.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XVII, Issue 1346, 2 November 1860, Page 7

To the Editor of the Southern Cross. Sir, — I have often thought that the league among the natives, which has been styled the King movement, is in naught, save the name and flag, at all treasonable. In the present state of the colony it is decidedly impolitic to magnify offences — to make a molehill appear a mountain. If then the Waikato natives who adhere to the so-called "King" (who in truth must be considered as nothing more than President of a combination, such as is common among

tradesmen) will not condescend from their high estate, it is worth enquiry whether they are not in some points justifiable. It is admitted, by the Treaty of Waitangi that the whole of New Zealand belonged to the native tribes ; and when they saw the land which they sold to Government rapidly increase in value, it is not to be wondered at that such a reasoning people as the Maories should be dissatisfied that they had received such an insignificant price. I know of one most respectable native who sold a piece of land to Government for a penny and afterwards bought it back, as a town allotment, for seven pounds, the land in the meantime having received the benefit of a Crown title. "in what sense can one in the knowledge of such facts regard the monstrous expression, so frequently addressed to the Maories, " The Queen regards equally all her subjects" It is high time that Her Most Gracious Majesty's name should be no more profaned in these islands, and that all her subjects be accorded equal rights of property. I am astonished at the fallacious argument often used on this subject— that native land acquires value by becoming Government land, and thus entitled to a Crown grant, as if the clearing work of settling native title, and individualizing it, could not be done without being invaluablely accompanied with the estrangement of the land to Government. As for the danger of the land falling into large proprietor of the Pakeha kind — the land would not be more unproductive than it is at present, and then it would be under the law. The system pursued in this province of inviting labour into it, and subsidizing it, may have many advantages, and is, I believe, followed in many instances with happy results; but it overlooks one of the grand principles of human action, namely the desire of wealth. If capital could be brought into the province, or discovered in it, labour would flow into it as certainly as water finds its own level. Were it widely known that such a one were possessed of several thousands of pounds, and disposed to part with it for labour, there would be naturally a flow of labour towards that quarter. The new chief of the " King movement" is said to be " peaceably" inclined: how then can he be looked upon as an independent power, or as a rebel really the natives have, since the foundation of the colony, been so much accustomed to do as they pleased, being even encouraged to crime by the extreme forbearance of the Government authorities, that it would be hard to blame them for disobedience. But settlers do not want military protection to enable them to get on with their farms; if such were necessary, farming would be impossible: but we want good civil government; and I believe the Maories, if fairly treated, will not prove to be aggressive; they will not, however, stoop to be slaves, and have a very keen perception of injustice. I am very much astonished to hear from many people, and to perceive that in our legislative chambers, it is commonly argued that a Maori war was inevitable, sooner or later — although it might have been staved off for a time. I must also dissent from the position, that the Maories must be humbled by a military force, and that the reason why they have latterly been so unmanageable is because they have never been so humbled.

1861

Taranaki Herald, Volume IX, Issue 450, 16 March 1861, Page 2

This morning (Thursday) the interviews were again renewed. Mr Hay, having arrived early from Waitara, moved up towards the pa with a flag of truce. A native also bearing a flag, approached and met him half-way, and, after exchanging a few words, the Maori conducted Mr Hay into Te Arei pa, where he remained in conference with the insurgents for several hours. It may be worthy of remark, that while Mr Hay was approaching Te Arei the hills on the right of it were covered with Maori spectators, but when he entered the pa they all disappeared like a shadow. Every one here is in suspense as to the object and the probable issue of the truce, and it is amusing to see the eagerness with which groups of men gather around the several horsemen that gallop to and fro with despatches, endeavouring to read in their faces the purport of their message, and whether it presages war or peace.

Taranaki Herald, Volume IX, Issue 462, 8 June 1861, Page 3:

THE BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND AND HIS MAORI CLIENTS.

There is one very distinct and irresistible conclusion on which all the voluminous evidence that has been collected concerning the origin and conduct of the Maori war in New Zealand converges, — the necessity of bringing the native population more effectually under the authority of the British Government. Whatever may be our duties to the natives, —and they are difficult and grave, — they can none of them be adequately discharged while the Maories continue to be half-exempted from the duties of subjects, though claiming all the rights of favoured dependents or spoiled protégés. It is a characteristic and honorable feature of British colonisation, that wherever we go we take with us a body of independent and disinterested clergy or missionaries, who no sooner arrive on a foreign shore than they identify themselves with the interests and wishes of the natives, whether civilised or savage, and who would almost rather give up the ties of race and kindred than surrender that influence over the natives for spiritual purposes which only a constant bias to their interests in secular disputes will give. Accordingly, whether it be in Africa, or India, or New Zealand, the views of the English settlers are sure to be balanced, and often strenuously opposed, by the views of the English missionaries, who invariably detect with the acuteness of an advocate the first symptoms of selfish and greedy aggression on native rights, and by strong representations to both the local and Imperial Governments demand guarantees of both safety and redress.

Taranaki Herald, Volume X, Issue 477, 21 September 1861, Page 3:

Natives of Taranaki. We were among the natives nearly three hours, as we could hardly leave without their consent. Our attention was directed to the arrival of Manahi the traitor. With him were five natives, who for some time sat in a group by themselves. I have often thought since, that perhaps these were the murderers of my neighbours. Manahi is now known to be one. The Ngatiruanui tribe drew off in a body towards the spot where he and his five followers were seated, and at once

squatted in a circle round him. He soon rose up and threw off his mat to make & speech ; in the course of which, delivered in the native peculiar manner — sometimes running a few yards, then suddenly stopping and leaping up in the air— he seemed to work up his hearers to a pitch of excitement like that he was exhibiting himself. Our interpreter told us he was urging the Maories to “slay and spare not.” The whole 400 rose as one man, divided off into three parties, stripped naked to the waist, began the war dance, each party in succession going through the dance three times. This, to a timid person, and a stranger to native customs, is most frightful. The horrid noises simultaneously made — the hissing like a multitude of serpents — with the sonorous ugh, the sound forced out with all their pent-up breath, their eyes rolling and starting as if coming out of their sockets, their tongues protruding, their demoniacal expression of face, the whole frame quivering with wrought-up excitement, and the rapid gesticulations of unimaginable nature — all gave a hellish kind of reality to War, and all its direful calamities. Then, in one body, in this fearfully excited state, they started down the hill towards the stockade. We also all left, overwhelmed with apprehension respecting our brethren at the stockade, and an inward prayer was offered up for the safety of my poor son, and a deliverance of all from the perils that seemed shadowed over the stockade.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XVII, Issue 1460, 13 December 1861, Page 3:

The following document, translated into Maori, is being circulated amongst the natives: These are some of the thoughts of the Governor, of Sir George Grey, towards the Maories at this time. His desire- is, how to arrange things, that there may be good laws made, and those laws put in force; and how all men, both European and Maori, may be taught to work for the common good of the country in which they live: that they may be a happy people, rich, wise, well instructed, and every year advancing in prosperity. For it is the desire of the Queen (whose heart was dark when she heard of the troubles in New Zealand), that all her subjects, both Europeans and Maories, in all parts of these islands, should have the benefits of law and order; that the lives and persons of all men should be safe from destruction and injury; and that every man should have for himself and enjoy his own lands, his cattle, his horses, his sheep, his ship, his money, or whatever else belongs to him. And it is the desire of the Queen that all her subjects should help in making the laws by which they are governed, and that from amongst them should be appointed wise and good men as Magistrates, to adjudge in cases of disputed rights, and punish the wrong-doer, and to teach the law, how it should be obeyed. The Europeans in New Zealand, with the help of the Governor, make laws for themselves, and have their own Magistrates; and, because they obey those laws, they are rich, they have large houses, great ships, horses, sheep, cattle, corn, and all other good things for the body. They have also Ministers of Religion, Teachers of Schools, Lawyers, to teach the law; Surveyors, to measure every man's land; Doctors, to heal the sick; Carpenters, Blacksmiths, and all those other persons who make good things for the body, and teach good things for the souls and minds of the Europeans. It is because they have made wise and good laws, and because they look up to the Queen as the one head over all the Magistrates, and over all the several bodies of which the English people consists. It is the desire of the

Queen, and this also is the thought of Governor Grey and of the Runanga of the Pakehas, that the Maories also should do for themselves as the Europeans do.

1862

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XVIII, Issue 1466, 3 January 1862, Page 4

The accounts from New Zealand are no longer filled with details of sanguinary battles between the Pakeha and the Maori; of warfare in the bush, and of desperate hand to hand encounters in native pahs or British stockades; or of that frightful destruction of human life and property from which both parties have equally suffered. New Zealand no longer threatens to become a huge graveyard for the native race, and in which, too, the prosperity of the colony, the fruits of long years of toil and enterprise, would lie hopelessly buried. Whence, it will be asked, has this change come! Why his peace again promised to smile upon those antipodal valleys, which so recently reverberated with the roar of cannon, or echoed with the war song of the indomitable Maori ' Why, also, is it that that immeasurably more serious conflict with the native tribes of the north island, which only a few weeks ago was considered inevitable, is now fast becoming a phantom, hideous enough, it is true, but, in the light of present events, happily unreal and impalpable* There are the same grounds of controversy now as then — the same pretexts for war, if pretexts are wanting, are still in existence. The simple fact is that there has been a change of policy at the seat of Government as well as of men; and that wise, temperate, and Christian measures, promise to bring about that just and enduring peace which Colonel Browne, with his purely military dogmas, was wholly unable to realize.

Taranaki Herald, Volume X, Issue 505, 5 April 1862, Page 3:

The proceedings were commenced by a body of natives, 350 in number, fully armed with muskets, double-barrelled guns, and rifles, marching in regimental order twice round the flag-staff, and king up a position in front, in four divisions. A prayer was then read by the Roman Catholic teacher, and the two flags were hoisted half-mast, under a salute of blank cartridges; when fully hosted a further salute. Cheers were then given by all assembled. The armed natives formed themselves into three companies and each successively performed a war dance. The whole of proceedings were conducted with attention and seriousness. The armed were in fighting costume — stripped to the waist and bare-legged. The flags hoisted were — the original flag given by Potatau, and a new "one recently received from the present King, and named Tainui. At the foot of the flag-staff was placed a large image, decorated with flowers and Maori mats, to represent Maui, the ancestor of the Maories.

Taranaki Herald, Volume X, Issue 518, 5 July 1862, Page 3

NATIVE INTELLIGENCE:

We hear from Auckland by the Queen the reason of our not receiving our usual overland mail. It appears that, in consequence of some of their demands not being complied with, the Kihikihi natives seized the Taupo and Napier mail; and the Postmaster at Otawhao, to avoid a similar occurrence, returned the mail for this place to Auckland. Both mails are to be discontinued for the future, until that happy state of

things which, according to some, is already here, shall have been recognised by the Maories themselves as well as by the Ministry and its hangers-on.

Taranaki Herald, Volume XI, Issue 534, 25 October 1862, Page 4:

THE MAORI DIFFICULTY:

The condition of the country is vastly and unequivocally worse since Governor Browne was removed and hope for the natives is fading hourly; but it would be false to attribute the whole evil to time, which, after all, is not properly an agent; a large share of the blame must fall on the self-sufficiency of Sir George Grey, and the infatuated party spirit of his late native Minister, Mr Fox. The progress of the evil is so rapid, that most readers will be prepared to believe in at least the probability of the rumour, which a correspondent brings to public notice in another column. The climax may well be at hand, and though the concentration of so large a body as 10,000 armed natives at one spot in the country, even for a few days together, is not likely to be accomplished, yet some great stroke is very likely to be attempted. The state of affairs cannot be more agreeable to the Maories than to ourselves. Men do not long tolerate a condition of sudden distrust, and the desire for excitement, the impulse to work off the splenetic humour, is instinctive in us. Our correspondent's tale may be the same as the rumours of large gatherings of the natives which are to settle our difficulties finally.

1863

Otago Witness, Issue 587, 28 February 1863, Page 6:

A large number of British subjects have been induced to settle in New Zealand under the protection which would be afforded to them by not merely the flag but, if necessary, the whole force of the country. By their emigration these colonists have rendered good service. They have opened up new markets for British manufactures, and they have developed new sources of supply of the raw material for one or more branches of industry in the old country. Owing to circumstances over which they have had no control, but to a course of policy enunciated and to acts committed by the representative of the British Government, hostilities between the colonists and the native population have for some time past been going on, and now the British Government, finding it expensive and somewhat difficult to repair the blunders of the Colonial Office, coolly propose to withdraw their forces and leave the protection of the lives and property against infuriated savages entirely to the small handful of Englishmen who relying on the performance of its duties by the Home Government, have embarked their fortunes in this colony. We can conceive of nothing more unjust, and, we had almost said, cruel and unprincipled, than this mode of treating British subjects.

Taranaki Herald, Volume XI, Issue 562, 9 May 1863, Page 4

NEW ZEALAND AFFAIRS

The position of affairs in New Zealand is, as we regret to say, most deplorable, and it is difficult to foresee what may be the issue of the contest between the Government and the natives if left to themselves. All the good intentions of Sir George Grey have had no effect upon the minds of the excited rebels, and the plausible theories of native self-government, extended education and impartial administration of the law — all exceedingly useful and valuable in their way, as no person could for an instant dispute — have failed to conciliate the Maories. Sir George Grey, whose good feeling towards the aborigines of all countries and of New Zealand in particular, had, previous to the departure of the last mail, been making a tour through certain disaffected parts of the island, where he no doubt hoped that his presence and the explanations which he would afford of his new schemes for the social improvement of the natives, the assurance which he would give of the continued desire on the part of the Queen of England to promote the prosperity of all classes of her subjects, and of the power which she possessed in her army and navy to punish rebellion, would calm the rebels and induce them to return to their allegiance. We can imagine few things that could have caused the estimable Governor more disappointment and grief than the ill success which attended his mission and the insolent manner in which he was received by these spoiled and petted savages.

Taranaki Herald, Volume XI, Issue 574, 1 August 1863, Page 4:

Early in the day the Kirikiri natives, came out of the bush at the foot of a range, and attacked some men who were engaged sawing timber. One of these, James Hunt, fell

dead, shot through the body by a bullet. The other man escaped. Intelligence of the outrage quickly spread. Mr. Anderson, V.S., who was returning from Auckland, accosted a youth riding to the camp, and on being told that the Maoris were attacking Mr. Hay's house, put spurs to his horse and conveyed intelligence to the camp at Drury. The 65th speedily turned out, commanded by Colonel Wyatt, and accompanied by Mr. Anderson and Ensign Hay of the militia. They skirmished through the flat bush to Pukekiwiriki, without meeting opposition. They found the body of the murdered man, and brought it with them. The 65th then skirmished up the hill, and saw the natives enter the bush in advance, but as Colonel Wyatt did not consider it prudent to follow them, having only a force of 100 men at his disposal, he halted his force. After remaining for a considerable time, during a great portion of which they heard heavy firing at the skirt of the bush, the force retired, the firing having altogether ceased.

Taranaki Herald, Volume XII, Issue 589, 14 November 1863, Page 4:

Six natives who returned from Taranaki on Tuesday, reported that Pehi was greatly disgusted at the result of the fight on the 2nd instant (in which it would seem more Maories had fallen than they at first admitted), and that he and Tahana had declared their intention of returning home, and becoming supporters of the Queen's authority.

1864

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XX, Issue 2090, 31 March 1864, Page 8

Some very important news was received from the Thames yesterday — namely, that all the rebel natives in that district had agreed to surrender under the terms proposed by the Government. This very satisfactory intelligence was brought by Captain Hamilton, of the 'Esk,' who arrived in harbour yesterday morning, and by Mr Macky, Assistant Native Secretary. In token of the submission, this gentleman brought with him sixteen guns, one tomahawk, and one spear, which had been voluntarily given into his hands, as the representative of the Government, by certain influential chiefs and other natives who have more or less actively taken part with the rebels. Mr. Macky, we are informed, will return to the Thames in a few days, for the purpose of receiving the arms and submission of the mass of the natives there, who are now preparing to surrender, the present instalment of guns being a pledge of their good faith.

Taranaki Herald, Volume XII, Issue 621, 25 June 1864, Page 3

Whatever may have been the mistakes of the powers that be and have been in New Zealand, that of appointing Mr. Gorst to an important colonial office was certainly amongst the most serious. In the work before us he has not only made use of his official experiences for the getting up of a highly colored and strongly partisan case for the Maoris against the settlers, but has scarcely the decency to suppress the satisfaction with which, in his official capacity, he received and accepted rebuffs and insults from the adherents of the Maori king. The Maoris are quite able and ready enough to find out and make the most of weaknesses and flaws in the settlers' case, without having the advantage of the official knowledge of a "Pakeha" Commissioner placed before them in the form of an open attack on our whole policy and conduct in New Zealand. At the same time, we cannot think that Mr. Gorst has done much to forward his cause after all. In the course of a very animated and cleverly written — as well as cleverly colored narrative of New Zealand events since 1830, he has in reality stated with telling effect the case of those who hold that the preservation of the Maori race can only be secured by a thorough assertion of British supremacy, and not by any hollow compromise. On his own showing, the more contact of Europeans is rapidly producing all its accustomed effects on an inferior race, and though he talks a great deal of our duty of civilizing the Maori, it is difficult to see how anything but still further and ruinous deterioration can take place if European rule is not finally established,

New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, Volume XIX, Issue 1997, 21 September 1864, Page 4:

So we have to content ourselves with the beggarly consolation that, though we are killing the natives slowly, they are only 60,000; and that though we don't shoot many, yet famine and disease are doing our work, and we shall eventually succeed in

exterminating a brave and high-spirited race. The disaster at Gate Pah tells its own story.

Taranaki Herald, Volume XIII, Issue 646, 17 December 1864, Page 4:

The Chatham Islands Natives. — The schooner Flying Cloud, Captain Hans Anderson, from the above islands, which arrived in this port last week, brought no less than 52 Maories, amongst whom are the principal chiefs of the islands. These natives, we are informed, belong to the Te Ngatinuitunga and Ngatitawa tribes, and have, with the exception of one individual, emigrated from New Zealand, the exception in question being a native of the islands. They have come to New Zealand, we believe, for the purpose of seeing His Excellency the Governor respecting a block of land, their property, to the northward of the Waitara.

1865

Taranaki Herald, Issue 649, 7 January 1865, Page 3:

THE LAW OF DIRECT PURCHASE APPLIED TO ALL NATIVE LANDS.

A PROCLAMATION was issued in yesterday's Gazette to the following effect : "Now, therefore, I, Sir George Grey, the Governor as aforesaid do hereby proclaim and declare that the Said " native Lands Act, 1862' shall, from the date thereof, come into operation and be in force, within the whole of the said colony. Under the conditions of the Act, therefore, it is competent for natives, whose lands are not included in the confiscation proclamation, to sell to whom they choose, whatever portion of their lands they may think fit, and for whatever price they may be able to obtain.

Taranaki Herald, Volume XIII, Issue 664, 22 April 1865, Page 4

ENGLAND AND NEW ZEALAND:

You will allow a settler to say a few words upon the questions at issue before the settlers and the natives and between the colony and the mother country. Of course I shall not attempt to enter into details in answer to the charges brought against the colonists in their dealings with the Maoris. It is at all times difficult to prove a negative, more especially if in the accusation there is no mention of time, place, or persons; and the word of the accused does not go far towards establishing his innocence. A large part of the English press and of the speaking portion of the English public have called the colonists of New Zealand, as often as it was necessary to speak of them, " greedy," " rapacious," " oppressive," and " bloodthirsty." Charges so grave deserved at least a specific statement, and at first sight it seems strange that no instances in support were given or invented. But the explanation lies in the mental condition of that portion of the English public to which I refer. They are willing to believe without evidence, and therefore none is offered them. The presumption is so overwhelming that colonists desire to seize the land of their dark-skinned neighbours, and are completely free from the ordinary restraints of morality and honour, that merely to accuse them of their favourite crimes is sufficient to ensure condemnation — indeed to most people it would probably be as simple a contradiction in terms to speak of an honourable colonist as it would be to speak of an honourable felon. Sir, the New Zealand settlers, so far as I am aware, have never claimed to be more than ordinary Englishmen, but they are ordinary Englishmen, and with hardly an exception every one who has a voice in the conduct of public affairs here was born and bred in England, and there go this notions of right and wrong, which, whatever they are, are not a special growth of this under-world.

North Otago Times, Volume IV, Issue 72, 6 July 1865, Page 1

The "Wellington Independent," June 24, has the following: — "Mr Parris arrived in town yesterday from Taranaki, having ridden the whole distance. As must be generally known, a great part of the road that Mr Parris must have taken was through the heart of the country infested by the rebel natives. The Maoris must have been

cognizant of Mr Parris' journey, and his safety either proves that they are intimidated, or that it is their intention not to wage a murderous war against the colonists. The latter is the most probable solution of the question, and it is evident that the aborigines do not look on the settlers as their bitterest enemies, and do not attribute to them the prolongation of the war. At any rate, the fact stands that Mr Parris, alone and unprotected, an easy prey to a merciless foe, rode a distance of over 250 miles through the very centre of a hostile country with the utmost security."

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXIV, Issue 123, 12 October 1865, Page 6

By later intelligence received in Wellington from Wanganui, it appears that two Europeans have been murdered by the Hau-haus, at Patea, one of whom is Mr. W. C. Broughton, who has been acting as interpreter to the Imperial forces, and the other a man of the Military Train Corps, whose name is not given. The Wanganui Chronicle, of Saturday last, says: — "On Wednesday, one of the Military Train Corps, whose name is not yet known here, was out on horseback near the Patea redoubt. A party of Maories came upon him, and shot his horse, and, before he could get himself disentangled, they came on him and tomahawked him. His body was afterwards found by Mr. Fisk. Beneath the head was a Maori letter, dated the 9th January, addressed to Te Ua from the Wereroa pah. There was nothing particular in the letter, which seems to have been dropped by one of the Maoris. One side is disfigured with gore.

1866

North Otago Times, Volume V, Issue 103, 8 February 1866, Page 1

NEW ZEALAND SELF RELIANCE:

The "Daily News " remarks that every successive mail from New Zealand confirms the wisdom of those who maintain that the British colonist ought to be left not only to govern himself, but to provide for his own military defence, at least against those enemies who are not made so by his connection with the mother country. How long the war between the British troops and the natives of New Zealand would have continued it is impossible to conjecture; but since the Colonial Secretary announced his intention of withdrawing the British troops the colonists have displayed an activity and vigor in war for which their warmest friends in this country had not given them credit. The colonists have adopted new tactics. The plan of attacking the native pahs with overwhelming numbers, and of making approaches according to the regular system, is now abandoned. It was tedious, and even when most successful the mass of the fighting garrison always managed to escape. Whether it be that the colonists know the country better, or that they are reaping the benefit of the knowledge possessed by the friendly natives, their allies, or that the officers of colonial volunteers are more dashing or more earnest in the task which they have undertaken, we do not pretend to decide; but certain it is that since the colonial troops have come to the foreground the defeats of the natives have been more disastrous, and they have been accomplished with smaller numbers. The colonists themselves have given ample proof that they are quite fit to cope with the natives in the field, and the presence of the imperial troops must be admitted to have been a mere useless expense. When the imperial troops were withdrawn the colonists certainly lost an army, but what they lost in numbers they gained in strength

North Otago Times, Volume VI, Issue 111, 5 April 1866, Page 1

THE NEW ZEALAND WAR. (From the "Times," 15 January.):

At last the New Zealand question — that is to say, the New Zealand War — is likely to be terminated; but before that desirable consummation actually arrives we hope the lessons of our experience in those islands will be thoroughly impressed upon the public. New Zealand contains probably at this moment a population of 200,000 colonists, in which the males are about twice as numerous as the females. The native tribes with which we have been so long at war comprise about 50,000 souls, including, perhaps, 15,000 males of fighting age. There would appear, therefore, to be no room for much difficulty between settlers and savages, since the former could overpower the latter with ease and control or chastise them at discretion. But this is not the whole of the case. We never had 15,000 Maories in arms against us, or the half of them or, as there is reason to believe, even the fifth part of them. Some tribes were always friendly, and ready to fight on our side, in addition to these allies, we actually had, if, indeed, we have not at this moment, an army of 10,000 Imperial troops in the Colony imported from the home establishments to take part in the war.

North Otago Times, Volume VII, Issue 132, 28 August 1866, Page 2

The native race of this country is linking rapidly to decay — of that there cannot be a doubt; but it is equally certain that it has very considerable numerical strength left even now. So long as the Maoris are to be reckoned by tens of thousands, rather than by tons of hundreds, just so long will they remain a subject for anxious thought and careful management. The native policy of each of our late Ministers has been somewhat different from that of its predecessor, and it has not been a thing unheard of that the same Ministry had changed its views between two sessions. Thus Mr Weld's native policy in 1864 was of the militant kind. The natives had deserved punishment, and the way in which they were to have it administered was all that the Premier had time to think of in 1864. By the time the session of 1865 had come round, circumstances had altered, and a new native policy was inaugurated by a new native Minister. This was to be a policy of pacification.

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXV, Issue 159, 22 December 1866, Page 3

LATE NATIVE NEWS.

The following, which we extract from the Daily Southern Cross of the 17th, gives a less hopeful view of native matters than we would gladly take. Happily, the correspondents of Auckland papers from exposed districts have a tendency to take views more gloomy than events warrant; and we dare say the facts will shew that, after all, the Maori king means nothing very dreadful. From all we can gather, we see reason for thinking that, however much the natives bluster, the day of active rebellion has now nearly gone by.

1867

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXIII, Issue 2995, 1 March 1867, Page 6

A Telegram was received by his Honor the Superintendent, on the 4th February, from Mr. James Mackay, jun. Cambridge, who had just returned from a visit to Matamata, to the effect that the Ngatihauas were peacefully inclined. Mr. Mackay was on his way to Ngaruawahia to attend the native Land Court, at present sitting there. From Ngaruawahia, we learn that the Waikato' natives were much excited about the fighting, at Tauranga, but did not show any inclination to assist in the rebellion. From the upper Thames, by far the, most dangerous district, the news as to the disposition of the natives is also good. Matutaera has, we believe, sent to Waikato and the Thames, telling all the tribes to sit down quietly.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXIII, Issue 3057, 14 May 1867, Page 5:

Our Raglan correspondent sends us some important native news from that district. From a private source, we learn that, on the occasion of Major McDonnell's last raid at Rotorua, the Hauhaus were so completely frightened that they dispersed all over the interior, abandoning their pas in every direction. The King and Rewi, who have been anxious to cease fighting, sent a priest amongst the fugitives, telling them to meet them at Hangatiki, and they would give them land if they would settle down there. The natives have been since assembling at Hangatiki and now number from 700 to 1,000 men. Whether their large numbers will induce them to appeal to arms once more, or whether they will settle down quietly, is a problem time alone will determine. The chances are greatly in favour of peace, as they see that they can make no lasting impression upon the European race.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXIII, Issue 3146, 19 August 1867, Page 4

MAORI DISABILITIES.

To the Editor of the *Daily Southern Cross*. Sis, —Justice, perfect equality, and representation in the Legislature —the source, it may be said, of all power —have always been looked upon as the most important rights of mankind. Hence Maori political independence, and a cessation of partial, exceptional, and class legislation, which tends to perpetuate distinctions between the races, would undoubtedly cause peace, prosperity, and the improvement of the natives, than which no subject demands our more serious or immediate attention. We are sensible that the Maoris take a deep interest in their own political affairs, that they are intelligent, enormously wealthy —as land-owners, —and number one-fourth of the population of these islands; and, shame to say, they are unjustly excluded from the franchise, and the sole power of legislating for them has always been, and is still, given to the Europeans. Instead of having one fourth of the representation, they are political blanks. They have not even one representative in the Assembly, able and willing to afford full information of native wants, opinions, and countless grievances, —one who would speak their sentiments, assert their claims, and promote their interests. We have seen them misgoverned, treated as children, kept in leading strings, and in a state of

pupilage. Our Superintendent thinks still to perpetuate the treatment of them as inferiors. He would weaken their public intelligence to such a point as would keep them out of the law courts. Is it because he knows that the maxims of equity are invaluable *ubi jus ibi remedium*: i.e., there is no right without a remedy; for every wrong there is a remedy. But a Maori should have no rights, personal or political; equity will administer no remedy for such as he; and, if he goes in for satisfaction (more sue, the only way he has left), we shoot him and confiscate his property. Would not it be far better to develop our ideas of law, order, and equity (provided justice were administered promptly and cheaply) in the native minds which line of policy holds out the best assurance of preserving the peace and interests of the country from injury.

West Coast Times, Issue 683, 2 December 1867, Page 6

A large number of Maories visited town during the past week, headed by their chiefs. Their object was to procure the appointment of an interpreter who might also fill the office of police constable. Their object is a very commendable one. They desire to be on terms of closer relationship with the colonists, and to have better opportunity of having their interests represented in any cases of litigation that may arise or any cases in which they may be witnesses. We believe the Goldfields Secretary has the opportunity of appointing a very competent person to fill the post of interpreter, and should he glad to see him do so. We subjoin a copy of the petition which has been presented to Mr Bonar in the original, with a full translation appended.

1868

Evening Post, Volume III, Issue 276, 4 January 1868, Page 2:

It having been learnt in Auckland that the Ngatiporous had burnt down a monument erected by Mr. Firth, to Thompson, and had given notice of their intention to attack Kihikihi, much alarm was excited. To allay the agitation and want of confidence in the peaceful intentions of the Maories Mr. George Graham has published the following letter he has received from a leading chief: To George Graham. O Friend your letters have come safe to hand, and it appears that you have been anxiously awaiting a reply from me. O friend I feel sad in consequence of the robberies committed by natives. The Maories and Europeans have been selling and leasing the property of other natives on the sly. This practice is very cunningly earned by some persons who fly over to that side. Now, my friend, if horses and other kind of property belonging to Europeans is stolen by any of my party I will not let the matter rest; let this be understood. Is not this work of ours the work of love? You inform me that you are going to visit Te Hira Te Tiura, at Ohinemuri. It is good you have told me of your intended visit. Enough; go forth and labour on to carry out your good work, relying upon God's help, without which nothing can prosper. — With greetings from your affectionate friend, Na Tamati Ngapora.

North Otago Times, Volume X, Issue 322, 23 June 1868, Page 2:

We condense the following items from Wellington telegrams in the "Daily Times:" — Sergeant Cahill, a military settler at Ketemaria, near Putea, and two laborers' (Squires and Clarke) have been murdered by Hau-haus. They were sawing timber for Cahill's house, when ten natives fired, shooting all dead and then mutilating their bodies. A trooper, named Smith, was catching his horse, and was fired on by some natives in ambush, and mutilated by cutting off his legs and hacking his body. The murderers are supposed to be resident natives — not strangers. Two tribes, only numbering 130 fighting men, appeared to have been concerned in the murders. Major McDonnell had gone out with all the force he could muster, the telegram stating that he had only 100 men at his disposal. He had since been to Wellington for instructions, and was understood to have applied for authority to raise 300 Europeans and 100 natives, in aid of the present European force, for six months the general belief is, that these Ngatemanui natives mean mischief unless speedily checked. The result of the Major's visit has been the enlisting only -a small temporary force, to be aided, if necessary, by the Constabulary now at Waikato, as the Government refuses to commit the country to much expense, so near the meeting of the Assembly. He left on the 18th for Wanganui. The forty men enrolled were to follow in the Sturt, which was then to go on to Auckland for Major Von Tempsky's Company of seventy. Forty more Europeans and fifty natives will be enrolled at Wanganui.

Evening Post, Volume IV, Issue 121, 4 July 1868, Page 2

The Wanganui Times of the 30th says: — Our readers may rest assured that up to ten o'clock yesterday, no fight had taken place at Patea, and that Colonel McDonnell, after a hard and fatiguing ride of three or four days to enrol a few men of the native Contingent — whose services are absolutely necessary, not only as guides, but for other most important purposes — rode post-haste for Patea yesterday morning.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXIV, Issue 3500, 3 October 1868, Page 3:

A great native meeting is being held to-day at Pakowhai (Karaitiani's pa); very numerously attended. The object is to deliberate upon the very serious position of affairs. The natives here consider an invasion of Hauhaus to be imminent.

1869

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XV, Issue 3611, 13 February 1869, Page 5:

BAY OF ISLANDS. ENLISTMENT OF NATIVES.

We were informed last evening, by a gentleman who arrived by the S.S. Goathead from the Bay of Islands, that Captain Gundry, who had gone down to the Bay to enlist natives for the Constabulary force, had succeeded in enlisting about 40 men of the Arawa tribe. When about to proceed to Auckland, a gentleman well known to Captain Gundry— a surveyor—and whose conduct will be reported to the Government adopted the extraordinary course of exerting all his influence upon the natives in dissuading them against leaving their homes to fight for the pakehas; and succeeded so well in working upon their superstition and fears that only six out of the 40 who had volunteered were willing to come on board when the Goathead left. It is stated that the main argument used was that a number of the native friends of the Aarawas, who had fought at Ngatapa, had suffered a terrible defeat whilst under European command.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXV, Issue 3672, 26 April 1869, Page 3:

THE GREAT NATIVE MEETING. EUROPEANS NOT ALLOWED TO ATTEND. MR. SEARANCKE REMAINS AT L. HETTIT'S.

"We hare received the following special telegram from our correspondent; — Alexandra, April 24, 2.40 p.m. Te Wheoro and the other friendly natives on their way up to the great native meeting were met by the Hauhaus yesterday at Orohira, between here and Hangatiki. There were a very large number of natives present. A korero took place, but no speech, of any importance was made on either side. The whole of the natives, Hauhaus and friendlies, proceeded up to Hangatiki this morning to see Tawhiao. The object of the meeting is now said to be to induce the friendly natives to join the Hauhau party. No Europeans are at present permitted to go up. Mr. Searancke remains at Hettit's place.

Nelson Evening Mail, Volume IV, Issue 164, 15 July 1869, Page 2

A SCOTCH VIEW OF THE MAORI REBELLION.

"Put not your trust in savages", the Scotsman says, is a maxim which should never be absent from the mind of a New Zealand colonist. The Maori race is a savage race, and bloodthirsty, and it has in it no single element of fidelity or stability. A Maori will take a veneering of civilization, but at the first temptation he will break through it and become again the savage. He knows how to make a bargain — no one better. He is brave, and well versed in all the arts of savage warfare. When the missionaries first went to New Zealand, they were delighted with the people. Christianity .apparently took a deep hold-upon the native mind, and the proselytes in the course of a short time came to be counted, not by hundreds but by thousands. It seemed, indeed, as if the whole of the Maori race was to become Christian and civilized. But as it turns out the missionaries have done little more than put new source of heathenism into the hands and minds of the Maoris. The Hauhau fanaticism is said to be based upon the

Old Testament, and it has reduced the native Christians from thousands to hundreds. The bright hopes of the missionaries are dashed, and some of them are all but convinced that in such a soil as the Maori mind it is not easy to plant Christianity. The Maori, it is true, utilized some of its teachings, but in a distorted fashion until scarcely a trace of it can be found in the fierce sanguinary fanaticism which takes the place of religion. The recent outbreak is evidence of the power of this new madness. Through it almost the whole of the North Island is in a blaze, and atrocities like that at Poverty Bay, reported a day or two ago have, it is to be feared, been perpetrated in various places. The Maoris are all in arms and apparently they are endeavoring to wage a war of extermination against the settlers.

North Otago Times, Volume xiii, Issue 469, 23 November 1869, Page 2:

THE CANTERBURY DIOCESAN MAORI MISSION:

The following interesting paper on the above subject—read at a recent Church gathering in the Town Hall, Christchurch, by the Rev J. W. Stack, Maori Missionary, is published in the "Lyttelton Times:" — The time allotted for this paper will only permit me to refer briefly to some of the causes that hasten the decrease and retard the civilisation of the Maori, find to what has been done by the Diocesan Maori Mission to remove them.

The Maori population is rather under four hundred. They reside on the reserves made for them in different parts of the Province. They have no desire to amalgamate with the white population. They prefer to consider themselves a separate nation — (?), rather than subjects of the Crown. They feel their inferiority to us, and it wounds their pride. They feel that it would be useless to attempt to compete with Europeans in the higher walks of civilised life, and their pride forbids them to choose their lot in its lowlier walks. They prefer to stand aside on neutral ground, where they can meet us as equals, where they can govern themselves, and provide for their wants in their own way, only having recourse occasionally to the white man for assistance,

Their domestic habits and customs, and their ideas of the relative importance of matters connected with the concerns of daily life, differ so widely from our own, that it is only by isolating themselves within their own reserves that they can carry out their own schemes for the happiness and well-being of their community. Whenever a difference arises between two persons about any matter (however trivial), a public meeting 'is called, a chairman elected, and the subject in dispute discussed and disposed of. Domestic squabbles scandals, the ownership of property, breaches of the moral code, trespasses, are, for the most part, settled in this way.

These runangas or public meetings exercise a wholesome check upon the few drunkards to be found among the Maories; for, as a community, they are at present sober. Not so much because they dislike the taste of intoxicating liquors, as because they have seen the ill-effects of the abuse of them.

Thirty years ago, when the whaling ships refitted in these- Southern ports, spirits flowed at times like water through the Maori villages, and men, women, and children

might be seen lying dead drunk in and around their huts. At such seasons dreadful crimes were perpetrated, the horrors of which still haunt the older men, and cause them to hail with pleasure the efforts made by their European friends to preserve them from the curse of drunkenness.

A drunkard, with us, can only annoy his own family with impunity, but a drunken Maori can annoy a whole settlement. He can enter house after house, and do and say what he likes. The laws of hospitality forbid the door being shut against any countryman, or his forcible ejection from the house, however disagreeable his conduct may be to the owner. Some people think that the restriction on the sale of intoxicating drink to the Maories ought to be withdrawn, but I have no hesitation in saying that it would be positive cruelty to do so. It would neutralize all our endeavors to benefit the Maori, and would speedily destroy them, body and soul. As it is, our drinking habits, and the practice of treating, is steadily weakening the influence of the older and wiser among them, who still regard waipiro as their greatest enemy. Maories have very little power of self-restraint, and if they had an unlimited supply of liquor in their houses, very few would be able to use it in moderation.

Many are, perhaps, aware that the Maori hold a wake before any funeral. We have had some difficulty of late to prevent the introduction of a new feature into this ceremony, namely, the whisky bottle, the free use of which, on similar occasions by our Irish friends, has disposed them to think that they are too far behind the age in not adopting this very objectionable addition to the funeral feast.

There is a great want of earnestness in the character of the Maori, a defect only observable since the colonization of the country. In former times what his hand found to do he did with all his might his fortifications, houses, cultivations, his canoes his carving and tattooing were well and neatly done. Now, however, he seems incapable of finishing anything he begins. There is aimlessness about his life, painful to witness in any human being. If he builds he never completes it; if he puts up a fence, how over well he may begin he is sure to leave a gap somewhere, and to patch that up just to make it do for the present. He may die before the crop he has planted so slovenly is reaped, and then what will it matter to him that cattle broke in and destroyed it. If his wife or children are ill, sometimes he will sit motionless beside them till all hope of recovery is passed, and then rush hither and thither for food, or medical advice, selling anything he has to procure what they need or, on the other hand, he will get everything on the first alarm of illness, and tend them with the greatest devotion, and then suddenly drop into that listless, hopeless state of mind, and neglect them altogether.

I will briefly mention some of the probable reasons that occur to me for that sulkiness of character; In the first place, the sudden change- from the active life of heathenism to the even calm of Christianity — involving, as it did, the change of all his customs, habits, and modes of thought, most of which he was taught to look upon as wicked and hateful to God. Then the colonization of the country, and the entire change in his position from being lord of the soil to a tolerated occupier of a very small portion, appears to have bewildered and paralysed the faculties of the Maori. Look where he

would, he found he was hemmed in by customs and laws that he does not clearly understand, he feels a stranger and a foreigner in his own bed. He can no longer fish and shoot and hunt without permission. He cannot keep a living creature about him without its becoming a source of anxiety, lest it should involve him in the transgression of some known or unknown law. Everywhere law confronts and casts a shadow on his path. Yet he does not hate the law or try to resist it. He admits its justice and the fairness with which it is administered. The fault, he confesses, rests with himself; yet, nevertheless, he seems powerless to remedy it. The future offers no hope. He cannot look forward to his children entering upon some honorable career now closed to him, for they precede him to the grave. Under such circumstances, can we wonder at Maories moping about their huts and feeling disinclined to work, content to make spasmodic effort occasionally to supply their absolute wants.

The position of the Maori is inevitable; nevertheless it is hard for any human being, especially one as self-conscious, to feel that he is of no more use or importance in the land in which he dwells than the dumb brutes of the field.

I think it mainly to this cause that we must attribute the rapid decrease of the Maori population.

1870

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXIX, Issue 21, 12 March 1870, Page 3:

An important and largely attended meeting of natives — Kingites and Queenites — was held at Kakariki, Rangitikei, on the 18th February, to discuss the very unsatisfactory relations at present existing between the Maori and European races, and to propose some scheme for their amelioration. Wi Hapi, in a forcible speech, called upon the tribes to cease killing each other at the bidding of the pakehas; and to unite under the King in an earnest endeavour to frame laws for the peace and good order of the native race. Parakaia te Pouepa, after fully agreeing with Wi Hapi as to the urgent necessity for combined action on the part of the natives, went on in a very eloquent speech to prove that a combination of the tribes under King Tawhiao, or any other Maori, was hopeless; and proposed as an amendment, that the natives race should join in a petition to the Queen, to take the Government of New Zealand into her own hands. Henare to Herekau had another amendment to propose. The Hauhaus, he said, had set up a King, while the Kawanatanga looked to the Queen for good laws. But Queen and King had alike failed to secure peace and good order in the land. He would not obey their King, and they would not be guided by his Queen. The troubles of the land began at Waitara under Governor Browne, and they petitioned the Queen. Governor Browne was removed, and the Queen sent Governor Grey. But no good followed; rather, much greater evil was the result. Waitara was a little evil compared to Waikato, which affected the country throughout its length and breadth. Then they called upon the Queen again, and she sent them Governor Bowen. But the result was only from very bad to still worse. They had fighting and quarrelling before, but now they were cannibals again, and there was murder on every hand. He called upon Wi Hapi to admit that his King had been a failure, as he was free to admit that the appeals to the Queen had only resulted in making bad worse. 110 proposed, therefore, that Wi Hapi and all the Hauhaus and Kingites should at once join with him and the Pakeha in the election of some persons to whom all should give allegiance. Let them look together all through New Zealand, and select some man to guide them. Wi Hapi again rose, and said: But you would select one man and I would select another, and we should quarrel as before. My idea is to have one head for the Maories and one for the pakehas. We are two peoples; we must have two heads. Henare to Herekau replied: True! There is the Maori skin (kiri Maori) and there is the white skin, but we have only one house (New Zealand), and one God (Jehovah). He is the God of the Hau-hau and of the Christian, and He has placed us in this house. Did He place us here that we should destroy one another? In my opinion, it is His desire that we should live in peace, but we cannot do so if we set up different laws in the same house. After this, speaker after speaker got up, and the meeting was perfectly unanimous in condemning the existing state of affairs, and affirming the necessity for a change. Wi Hapi then wound up the proceedings by calling upon the tribes present to give the several propositions laid before them their most earnest consideration, with a view to the adoption of one of them at a subsequent meeting, the date of which would be fixed on the return of the Wanganui taua. The tribes present were

Wanganui, Ngatiapa, Ngatiraukawa, Rangitane, Ngatitua, and Ngatikahungunu; the first and last tribes by deputation, the others its full force.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVI, Issue 3962, 4 May 1870, Page 5:

GREAT NATIVE MEETING PROPOSED EXHUMATION OF BODIES AT RANGIRIRI:

We learn that on Tuesday last about 300 natives from West Coast, between the Waikato and Kawhia, assembled at Maurea, opposite Rangiriri, at the invitation of Te Wheoro, to consider the question of disinterring the bodies of the natives who fell at Rangiriri on the 20th November, 1863. After long deliberation, the proposed exhumation of the bones was overruled, and the meeting broke up yesterday.

Wellington Independent, Volume XXV, Issue 3040, 1 September 1870, Page 2:

LOCAL AND GENERAL NEWS.

Selling Powder to Natives. — The brothers Southcombe, who were charged before the Resident Magistrate at Wanganui for selling munitions of war to the native chief Topia, have been forwarded for trial at the criminal sittings on Monday next Supreme Court.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVI, Issue 4164, 17 December 1870, Page 3:

The Arawas and the Ngaiterangis somehow contrived to fall out immediately after the Prince had departed. It would appear that several of them had contrived to prime themselves with stimulants to such a degree that they were "fit for treasons, stratagems, and strife;" and, an Arawa and a Ngaiterangi having got into high words, the former struck the other. This was of course the signal for a general melee, in the midst of which Mr. Swan, of the Armed Constabulary, was knocked down and severely injured. Several natives were also injured, and it is feared that more than one case will result fatally. Ultimately the contending parties were separated.

1871

North Otago Times, Volume XV, Issue 595, 31 January 1871, Page 3

THE NATIVE DIFFICULTY. (From the Oamaru Times 17th Jan.):

The telegrams from the North, although not confirming the reported massacre of sixty settlers, unhappily only too clearly show that the native race —or a large proportion of the native race —is in a state of ferment. Again reinforcements have been sent to "the Front," and again we have entered upon a war which, whatever its final result, must add greatly to the burdens —to say truth to the financial embarrassment — of the Colony. We are already encumbered with a debt involving a taxation immensely disproportionate to our population and to the amount of our revenue, and yet are we as a Colony year by year exceeding our income, and still piling up that mountain of debt, which already crushes out our prosperity, and intercepts our progress. In this case no blame whatever attaches to the Government for the renewal of hostilities: that is to say no act has been committed which gave the natives the slightest pretext for arraying themselves against the "pakeha". although, no doubt, there is some blame to be justly thrown upon the Ministry for their pampering policy. There has been too much leniency; the Maories have been made thereby just like spoilt children, and are consequently unruly. But the error has been the result of an over-anxiety to save a perishing race, and the Colony will stand acquitted in the eyes of the world, in visiting the outrages of these renegades with a punishment swift and severe; indeed, it is the bounden duty of the Ministry to take the most vigorous measures, and, having found all attempts at conciliation hopeless, to assert its right to maintain the security of life and property throughout the Colony by the firmest and most decisive measures.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVII, Issue 4308, 5 June 1871, Page 3

OPUNAKE: NATIVE INTELLIGENCE.

A correspondent, writing from this district, says: — "The natives are going [on favourably, and are on very friendly terms with their white neighbours here. The Hauhaus between this and Stony River are also becoming more friendly and sociable. As an instance of this, I may mention that, as one of the Opunake Company's carts was coming out last week laden with goods, it got stuck in the vicinity of the ' Harriet ' beach. The driver was cold and wet, and the natives came to his assistance, unloaded his cart, housed his goods and himself for the night, and reloaded his cart and assisted him on his journey next morning, without asking a sixpence as payment. Mr. Black, the Company's manager, however, very properly sent them a present to reward them for their hospitality. The telegraph wires have been stretched thus far for the last three weeks. I suppose they will end here until next summer, as the roads will be impassable for timber vans, with heavy loads, till then. Whether the natives will object to the telegraph going through remains to be seen. The conduct of the Patea settlers in closing the road against all Maoris — friendly as well as rebels— is not setting a good example to natives generally, and cannot tend to facilitate the opening up or peaceful settlement of the country in General. — Taranaki News

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVII, Issue 4361, 7 August 1871, Page 2:

NATIVE MEETING AT SHORTLAND:

Yesterday's Thames Advertiser says: — "A large number of natives met at Shortland yesterday to have a meeting with Dr. Pollen and Mr. Puckey. The subject of discussion was the much-litigated beach, which the Government wish to buy. It will be remembered that the Government have taken the rather curious course of recognising fully the title of the natives to the beach, but also passing a bill preventing them from selling or leasing it, except to the Government. We understand that the interview terminated by the natives giving a direct and positive refusal to the offers to purchase on behalf of the Government. It is also stated that the natives intend to appeal against the decision of the native Lands Court, which restricted their right to the beach to an ownership in the fisheries."

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVII, Issue 4436, 13 November 1871, Page 3

THE MAORI'S DECLINE.

Captain Cook estimated, nearly a century ago, that; the Maori had, long before his discovery of them, seen their best days — that is, the days when their number was greatest. He thought that they had, in the hundred years preceding his visit, eaten up about one-fourth of their then number. He felt for them in a large-minded way, for the great navigator and discoverer was a liberal-hearted man, and he, in some sort, excused their manners on the score that they had no animals in the country which they could hunt and kill, and cook and eat. They had brought with them when they migrated from the Malay Islands only a dog and a rat. We have Shakespeare's authority for calling rats but "small deer." Better venison they had not, and hence Cook was inclined to look with a philosophic mind upon the way they had taken to for supplying the want of animal food. Had he come to the Islands of New Zealand fifty years later, the English nation might have been saved great trouble with the Maoris, and the British exchequer a large outlay. It is possible that nearly all of the natives would by that time have eaten up one another, for there can be no doubt that such a taste as they were cultivating would have greatly increased by what it fed upon, and that in satisfying it a larger number would have to be killed than could have been conveniently eaten — whilst fresh. The Maori had to eat his man quite fresh, for he knew not, never knew, and does not know now, the virtues of salt as a seasoning to, or as a preservative of, his meat, or as anything that is useful. In the mind's eye we can see the waste of such food that must have been occasioned by the Maori taste. To get one or two bodies for a meal many must have been killed, for it is not likely that the exact quantity wanted for the week's supply could have been obtained as easily as by hunting or by purchase of animal food. It had to be fought for, — to be obtained by hand to hand warfare. The surplus food was dealt with in this way. The head was cut off and the brains having been taken out it was dried in the sun, stuffed with leaves and kauri gum, and then half baked before a slow fire. It was ever afterwards kept as a household ornament until the white man came to the islands, when these heads were all purchased for museums and travelling shows, and the other "aids to science" for which such things go. The head being off, the body was laid upon stones that had been previously heated by fire. Being laid upon them it was then covered up with branches of fern, and further covered with earth. The heat of the stones slowly

baked it, and the covering prevented any escape of vapour. Six hours afterwards, this baked meat was uncovered and put away until wanted on a platform supported by four sticks, where it remained until required for breakfast, dinner, or supper. Captain Cook did much to put an end to this kind of feeding by leaving numbers of pigs on the islands, and by supplying the Maoris with potatoes, turnips, carrots, maize and corn.

1872

Taranaki Herald, Volume XX, Issue 1168, 17 February 1872, Page 2:

We have been kindly supplied by the native Minister with the following copy of a telegram received yesterday: — a large native meeting has taken place lately at Ohinemutu, on Lake Rotorua. The number of natives assembled was computed to be between eight hundred and one thousand, and the meeting; was convened by the Arawa, the tribes inhabiting that part of the interior, and a portion of the shores of the Bay of Plenty, and to which. Kereopa belonged. The discussion included general subjects over the whole island, and the most friendly sentiments were exhibited during the meeting; the chief subject being apparently the reiteration of friendly assurances to the Government, and of promises to aid in the prosecution of public works. With regard to the execution of Kereopa, there was unanimous opinion that he had brought upon himself the punishment which he received.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4569, 16 April 1872, Page 3:

LATEST FROM THE WAIKATO. IMPORTANT GOLD DISCOVERY. SOME KINGITES ANXIOUS TO OPEN THE GOLDFIELD T... [truncated]

On Saturday afternoon I heard, very important native intelligence, but refrained from telegraphing it until I should whether there was any truth in the rumour. It has since been corroborated. Manga, or Rewi (the name he is more generally known by), has just returned from Tuhua, whither he went about ten days ago. He went there to ascertain whether the native rumour was true that gold had been got there on land belonging to his tribe the Ngatimaniapoto. He confirms the report, and. alluvial gold is said to be obtained in considerable quantities. The place where it has been found is yet is on the banks of the Taringamutu, a branch of the Ongaruhe River, which falls into the Whanganui River. It is near to Pokomotu, a trachyte cone, about 1,368 ft. high. It is a short distance south-east of Hangatiki, a considerable distance within this province, and about 50 miles from here as the crow flies. The richness of the field is highly spoken of, and the discovery seems likely to cause a division amongst the natives themselves. Topine, a most influential native from the Whanganui district, insists urgently upon bringing Europeans up at once to work the newly-found treasure, but Rewi wishes that the propriety of bringing large numbers of Europeans into the district should be decided by the Maori King, Tawhiao. Natives generally believe that the King would willingly give his consent, but they are afraid of the obstinacy of Manuhiri. Hopes are entertained however that the district will be opened ere long to the European miner.

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXXI, Issue 53, 3 August 1872, Page 7

DRIVEL:

We are glad to hear that Sir George was treated by the natives, during his late tour, with "respect and hospitality;" but we cannot admit that this is a sign of "general tranquillity which prevails in the native districts throughout New Zealand." We all know that his Excellency's visit was carefully [and wisely confined to those natives who have either never been in rebellion, or who have at present exceedingly good financial reasons for appearing friendly. Care is taken, in this valuable document not

to allude to the fact that his Excellency was not allowed to travel from Taupo down the Waikato River to the military settlements. Nothing is said of the refusal of the King, Kooti's host, to meet the Governor — • it is perhaps in consideration of our feelings that we have been spared the painful account of Rewi's invitation to his Excellency and Mr. McLean to come to Alexandra to meet Manuwhiri and himself; and how, when the illustrious guests arrived, they were received, not by Manuwhiri, not even by Rewi, but by a lot of common savages of no political importance whatever. It is a sad subject, and it is only natural that a Ministry which boasts of having conciliated the Maories should be silent thereon. Nor were they more likely to mention the fact, that telegraphic communication between Wellington and Taranaki has been stopped by Te White. These ugly things were not allowed to mar their fair pictures of "peace and progress." It would have been unwise to relate how Titokowaru has been allowed to return in peace to his lands, while the conciliatory policy of Mr. Fox has been shown by driving certain loyal hapus of natives from their houses in the neighbourhood of Taranaki.

Evening Post, Volume VIII, Issue 241, 9 November 1872, Page 2
WANGANUI. 9th November.

In reference to enquiry as to burning the bridges, Halse says the natives, have done no wrong. Major Edwards however, insists on their being, brought up charged with the offence under the clauses of the malicious injury to property Act; this collision of authority is producing great scandal. The people are indignant with the native Department.

1873

West Coast Times, Issue 2307, 20 February 1873, Page 2

ARE THE MAORIS DYING OUT.

The other day some remarks were published in the Wanganui Herald, from which it appeared that the Maoris in that quarter are fast dying out. In the district to the North of the City of Auckland the contrary appears to be the case, as will be seen from the following remarks by the New Zealand Herald. There has been a theory prevailing for some time that the Maori race is dying out, or being gradually improved off the face of the earth. We are informed, however, that so far as the Northern portion of the Province is concerned, and more especially the Kaipara district, the birth-rate is in excess of mortality, and that the race is not only holding its own, but actually increasing. At every settlement the children are numerous; the change is attributed to the improved diet of the children. Kaanga kopiro is a thing of the past; every Maori mother, with few exceptions, has her feeding-bottle, and the picaninnies get goat's milk or that of the cow. The women seem to give a great deal more care to their nursing, and the maternal instincts are better developed. The social habits of the people are becoming greatly improved. Barbarous usages are falling into disuse, and if they have not been supplanted by stricter observance of karakia, at least the semblance and gloss of civilised habits and customs are filling the void thus made. One distinguished feature of the present change is the greater consideration shown to the weaker sex by the Maori men. There is no truer test of increasing growth in civilisation than that. But the truth is the inevitable logic of facts has driven them to it. After a Maori wahine has at some rural gathering figured in the mazy waltz with an irrepressible gum-digger, got up regardless of expense, and has been handed out to the refreshment room and tendered her glass of lemonade or cordial, with as much grace and politeness as if she was an English- woman, she takes unkindly to the rough and ready ways of the kainga, or the Maori pa, and accordingly cuts up. The dusky swains, not to be outdone, however, are playing the Pakeha at their own game, hence the social improvement we have alluded to. Not only is the Kaipara, but other Northern districts, are there evidences of a change for the better. A settler, who had travelled through the native settlements lying between Wangarei and Hokianga, informs us that he was quite surprised at the number of Maori children to be seen about, compared with those he had noticed in years gone by. No right-minded man will regret this result. The land is broad enough for both races to flourish and prosper therein, and the day seems yet distant when the chiefs of the soil shall be known no more in the land with which their name and history are inseparably associated.

Grey River Argus, Volume XII, Issue 1501, 27 May 1873, Page 3

NATIVE AFFAIRS.

The following telegram is from the Canterbury press and is dated Grahamstown May 14. A large public meeting was held last night to consider the present position of native affairs. Over 1000 persons were present, Mr Swan, M.P.C, in the chair. A telegram was read from Mr Mackay, asking the meeting not to condemn the option of the Government till the result of the late negotiations was known. The following was

unanimously passed— 1. That this meeting deeply regrets the aspect which native affairs have assumed, as evidenced by the murder of Sullivan, and the attack on Mr Mackay, the representative of the Government, and is of opinion that these deplorable events have been the result of the native mal-administration pursued during the last four years. 2. That this meeting pledges itself to support the authorities in any manner desired requisite to give protection to the inhabitants of the frontier settlements, and to terminate for ever the power and influence of the so called Maori King. 3. That it is advisable that a league should be formed to secure the reform or abolition of the native Department, and a committee appointed to whom the matter be referred. It was also resolved to send a copy of the two first resolutions to the Acting Governor. Several Maories -were present and spoke during the proceedings. Taiapari said, if a Maori had been murdered they would have taken revenge and have trampled the King under foot. Government had shown great forbearance for the murderers of Todd and Whitely. If the Europeans meant to fight, he would stay and guard the women and children. Rika Poka, of Ohinemuri, said it would be a good thing to rub the King out altogether and turn him over. Kawiri, of Whangamata, said he was for the Europeans to avenge their own, blood when, it was spilt. Several Other natives urged upsetting the King.

Southland Times, Issue 1792, 12 September 1873, Page 2

A meeting of Maori chiefs, fifty in number, from all parts of New Zealand, was held on Wednesday. It was stated that the natives had assembled for the purpose of watching the progress of Ministerial native measures in the House. The meeting unanimously passed resolutions condemning the native Reserves Bill, the native Councils Bill, and the new clauses in the native Lands Bill. It was pointed out that the Government had neglected to print the native Bills in the Maori language, even for the use of the Maori members of the House that no information had been sent to the Maori people of any such organic changes in the administration of native lands that the Bill appears to give the Government a monopoly of the land market; and that the chiefs were determined to resist such an attempt. All those present signed a petition to the House of Representatives, praying that the Bill should not be allowed to become law.

Wellington Independent, Volume XLVIII, Issue 3984, 22 December 1873, Page 1

The instruction of the natives in the English language only, except in cases where the location of an English teacher might be found impossible. I find that such instruction has invariably been given in the English language, and, anomalous as it may appear, I have found that the progress of the pupils in English has been in inverse proportion to the knowledge of the Maori language by the teacher. I believe this effect arises from the constant use of English words by the teacher, who knows no Maori, whereby a necessity is caused for the exertion of the pupil's mind to comprehend the words addressed to him. In cases where the teacher has by great application, and coat to himself for Maori books, acquired some knowledge of the language, he has carried on his explanations in Maori, and the consequence has been a much smaller progress of the pupils in colloquial English. I do not find that the best educated man is necessarily

the best teacher. A less instructed man, who can perceive the points to be aimed at in native education, and has the gift of imparting what he himself knows, makes more progress than he who is able and anxious to carry his pupils to a higher stage than they will probably ever need, but who fails in the patent drudgery so necessary with beginners.

Endnotes

¹ The practice in academic writing has lately been to refer to New Zealand as *Āotearoa*/New Zealand in order to signal the author's bicultural commitment. With no less a commitment to reclamations of Māori sovereignty, the convention in this work will be to simply use 'New Zealand'.

² The Ministry of Education has only recently opened the history curriculum in New Zealand to include 'events of significance' to *New Zealanders*, which may or may not cover 19th-century legislative violations of the Treaty of Waitangi for instance.

³ The first English language newspaper to be published in New Zealand was *The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 21 August 1839. Volume I. This edition was largely a republication of the *New Zealand Gazette* published in London under the auspices of the New Zealand Company, in London earlier that year.

⁴ I use the term native deliberately. The term native is deeply politically connotative. The 'native' signifies a colonial incursion, and an imperial project, an encounter. It is a soubriquet which has been variously assigned to First Peoples and says more about the colonizer and the colonial project than it says about the people who were being colonized. The imagined native was used in settler newspapers as an adjective to describe: problem, rebels, insurgents, affairs, difficulties, issues, crises. Its use was deployed to indicate a political, economic, social and cultural contest, and suggests that white colonists understood nativeness as deeply problematic.

⁵ There is no evidence to suggest that any of the newspaper proprietors or editors during the period of study were women. While women appear during the period as diarists, novelists etc., the occupation of journalism was wholly male. The colonial journalist will therefore be referred to using the masculine pronoun.

⁶ *Pākehā New Zealanders* will be forthwith referred to (but not exclusively) as settler *New Zealanders* or colonists in order to disaggregate their identity from one of a racial appellation, to that of an activity.

⁷ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Volume 18, Issue 2, 18 April 1840, Page 2

⁸ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Vol II, Issue 61, 12 June 1841

⁹ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 23 May 1840, Page 3

¹⁰ Report of George Clarke, jun., 14/6/1843, in Waitangi Tribunal Wai I 45 Doc A31 p 394

¹¹ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, Volume II, Issue 96, 1 July 1846, Page 4

¹² This statement is an allusion to a passage in the New Testament of the King James Version of the Holy Bible, Matthew Chapter 18:7 where Jesus Christ, in likening true discipleship to childishness, warns those who would persecute the humble and meek. He warns '7 ¶ Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!' The word offences is a translation from the original Greek with the closest meaning being 'sin'.

¹³ a war party

¹⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Land Report*, para 5.3.7

¹⁵ Lord Stanley, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Instructions to Governor George Grey, 13 June, 1845). {FNREF|0-86472-060-2|5.3.6|12}

¹⁶ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Volume 25, Issue 3, 25 April 1840, Page 3

¹⁷ The patronage of this proposed school reads somewhat like the ‘whose who?’ of the British peerage whose names are indelibly printed on the geography of contemporary New Zealand. The Countess of Durham (Louise-Elizabeth Grey) was the daughter of Earl Grey or Viscount Howick who was married to Mary Elizabeth Ponsonby. Louise-Elizabeth was also the wife of John George Lambton (or Lord Durham) whose was married first to Harriet Chomondeley. Edward Wakefield had accompanied Lord Durham to Canada as his secretary where Lambton/Lord Durham was appointed on behalf of the Colonial Office in London to attend to a French uprising. Wellington’s bay was named for Lambton/Durham. When Lambton did come to New Zealand it appears that he mistook a native haka for a display of hostility and quit the country returning to Sydney then back to England.

Lady Petre was the wife of the 11th Baron Petre, the chairman of the New Zealand Company. One of his sons, Henry, arrived with the first New Zealand Company settlers to Wellington. Lady Molesworth was the wife of Sir William Molesworth or the 8th Baron Molesworth, an English politician who took an interest in the New Zealand Association. Nelson was to be originally named Molesworth but this was reassessed when it became apparent that Molesworth’s interest in the New Zealand Company was waning. The Hon. Mrs Baring was the wife of Francis Baring, 1st Baron Northbrook. Not only was he from the Baring family of Barings Bank, but Francis served as Chancellor of the Exchequer under both Lord Melbourne and Lord Auckland.

¹⁸ This article appeared initially in a Calcutta newspaper and is republished here for the Wellington Gazette. Captain Henry Shuttleworth, who was eventually to settle in New Plymouth, captained a number of vessels, some East India Company vessels, between Gravesend and India. He is found in 1830 as commander of the London undertaking a circuit between van Dieman’s land, Calcutta and London. He retained his Captaincy of the London, a large 700 ton vessel into 1840, sailing it into New Zealand waters on the 12 December 1840. The date of this article would suggest that following his departure from New Zealand he arrived in Calcutta sometime during 1841. With him were seven ‘New Zealanders’ whom he appears to have arranged to perform a war dance before an audience of ex-patriot English in India. This would have given him time to reappear in New Zealand bringing with him, among other things, the Calcutta Englishman, a newspaper that published the account. As an aside, by 1852 Shuttleworth had immigrated permanently to New Zealand and continued his maritime work sailing local vessels around New Zealand shores.

¹⁹ John Cracroft-Wilson was one colonist who enjoyed financial, military and political success in India but decided to leave for New Zealand where he settled in Christchurch after appropriating part of the Port Hill area and renaming it Cashmere after the land of his first enterprise.

²⁰ Massacre Bay was in common usage at the time. The bay has also been known as Murderer’s Bay because of the killing by ‘the natives’ of three of Able Tasman’s men who were rowing ashore on the 15th August 1642. Upon the ‘discovery’ of New Zealand by James Cook the area was given a cheerier aspect when it was renamed Golden Bay.

²¹ Tasman Bay pa sites include: Te Rae, Tomatea, Waikato & Aorere. See Mitchell and Mitchell (April 2008) “Cultural Significance of Māori Archeological Sites and Waahi Tapu in Tasman District. A Report for the Tasman Bay District Council),

²² 147 references in newspaper were found to 'waste lands' in the press between 1839 and 1846 using the Papers Past website, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz>

²³ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XIII, Issue 664, 22 April 1865, Page 4

²⁴ *The Nelson Examiner*. Nelson, February 15, 1851

²⁵ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume VI, Issue 469, 26 December 1851, Page 3

²⁶ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XI, Issue 535, 5 June 1852, Page 60

²⁷ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume VII, Issue 490, 9 March 1852, Page 2

²⁸ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIII, Issue 918, 15 April 1856, Page 3

²⁹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIII, Issue 970, 14 October 1856, Page 3

³⁰ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XVI, Issue XVI, 11 November 1857, Page 2

³¹ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XV, Issue 44, 30 August 1856, Page 2

³² *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XVII, Issue 76, 22 September 1858, Page 2

³³ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XVIII, Issue 28, 6 April 1859, Page 3

³⁴ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume VII, Issue 364, 23 July 1859, Page 3

³⁵ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XIII, Issue 646, 17 December 1864, Page 4

³⁶ *Taranaki Herald*, Issue 649, 7 January 1865, Page 3

³⁷ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVII, Issue 4361, 7 August 1871, Page 2

³⁸ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4569, 16 April 1872, Page 3

³⁹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume IX, Issue 545, 17 September 1852, Page 2

⁴⁰ *Otago Witness*, Issue 193, 16 June 1855, Page 3

⁴¹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIV, Issue 1028, 5 May 1857, Page 2

⁴² *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIV, Issue 1057, 14 August 1857, Page 2

⁴³ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XIX, Issue 62, 4 August 1860, Page 3

⁴⁴ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume IX, Issue 462, 8 June 1861, Page 3

⁴⁵ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XI, Issue 534, 25 October 1862, Page 4

- ⁴⁶ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XI, Issue 562, 9 May 1863, Page 4
- ⁴⁷ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XII, Issue 621, 25 June 1864, Page 3
- ⁴⁸ *North Otago Times*, Volume VII, Issue 132, 28 August 1866, Page 2
- ⁴⁹ *North Otago Times*, Volume XV, Issue 595, 31 January 1871, p.3
- ⁵⁰ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XXXI, Issue 53, 3 August 1872, Page 7
- ⁵¹ *Grey River Argus*, Volume XII, Issue 1501, 27 May 1873, Page 3
- ⁵² *Southland Times*, Issue 1792, 12 September 1873, Page 2
- ⁵³ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume VI, Issue 320, 23 July 1850, Page 2
- ⁵⁴ *Otago Witness*, Issue 587, 28 February 1863, Page 6
- ⁵⁵ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume IX, Issue 573, 24 December 1852, Page 2
- ⁵⁶ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume X, Issue 628, 5 July 1853, Page 2
- ⁵⁷ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, Volume IX, Issue 921, 31 May 1854, Page 3
- ⁵⁸ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, Volume IX, Issue 921, 31 May 1854, Page 3
- ⁵⁹ March 1, 1855: *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XII, Issue 802, 6 March 1855, Page 3:
- ⁶⁰ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XII, Issue 884, 18 December 1855, Page 3
- ⁶¹ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume IV, Issue 182, 26 January 1856, Page 2
- ⁶² *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XV, Issue 1198, 21 December 1858, Page 3
- ⁶³ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVI, Issue 1205, 14 January 1859, Page 4
- ⁶⁴ *Wellington Independent*, Volume XXV, Issue 3040, 1 September 1870, Page 2
- ⁶⁵ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4164, 17 December 1870, Page 3
- ⁶⁶ *Evening Post*, Volume VIII, Issue 241, 9 November 1872, Page 2
- ⁶⁷ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XI, Issue 741, 4 August 1854, Page 2
- ⁶⁸ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XIII, 4 November 1854, Page 2
- ⁶⁹ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume IV, Issue 163, 12 September 1855, Page 2
- ⁷⁰ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume VIII, Issue 394, 18 February 1860, Page 3

- ⁷¹ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume IX, Issue 450, 16 March 1861, Page 2
- ⁷² *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1466, 3 January 1862, Page 4
- ⁷³ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XII, Issue 589, 14 November 1863, Page 4
- ⁷⁴ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XX, Issue 2090, 31 March 1864, Page 8
- ⁷⁵ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XX, Issue 2090, 31 March 1864, Page 8
- ⁷⁶ *North Otago Times*, Volume IV, Issue 72, 6 July 1865, Page 1
- ⁷⁷ *North Otago Times*, Volume V, Issue 103, 8 February 1866, Page 1
- ⁷⁸ *North Otago Times*, Volume VI, Issue 111, 5 April 1866, Page 1
- ⁷⁹ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XXV, Issue 159, 22 December 1866, Page 3
- ⁸⁰ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIII, Issue 2995, 1 March 1867, Page 6
- ⁸¹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIII, Issue 3057, 14 May 1867, Page 5
- ⁸² *Evening Post*, Volume IV, Issue 121, 4 July 1868, Page 2
- ⁸³ Chapter Five, Article Five, 11 October 1845
- ⁸⁴ Chapter Five, Article 1, 24 April 1841
- ⁸⁵ Chapter Five, Article 8, 29 January 1848
- ⁸⁶ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3500, 3 October 1868, Page 3
- ⁸⁷ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3672, 26 April 1869, Page 3
- ⁸⁸ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XXIX, Issue 21, 12 March 1870, Page 3
- ⁸⁹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 3962, 4 May 1870, Page 5
- ⁹⁰ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XX, Issue 1168, 17 February 1872, Page 2
- ⁹¹ Chapter Five, Articles 1, 4, 7.
- ⁹² The Northern Wars 1845-1846
- ⁹³ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XI, Issue 741, 4 August 1854, Page 2
- ⁹⁴ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume X, Issue 477, 21 September 1861, Page 3
- ⁹⁵ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume X, Issue 505, 5 April 1862, Page 3
- ⁹⁶ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume X, Issue 518, 5 July 1862, Page 3

- ⁹⁷ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XI, Issue 574, 1 August 1863, Page 4
- ⁹⁸ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, Volume XIX, Issue 1997, 21 September 1864, Page 4
- ⁹⁹ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XXIV, Issue 123, 12 October 1865, Page 6
- ¹⁰⁰ *North Otago Times*, Volume X, Issue 322, 23 June 1868, Page 2
- ¹⁰¹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XV, Issue 3611, 13 February 1869, Page 5
- ¹⁰² *Nelson Evening Mail*, Volume IV, Issue 164, 15 July 1869, Page 2
- ¹⁰³ *Southern Cross*, 15 August 1851, p.3
- ¹⁰⁴ *Southern Cross*, Volume X, Issue 583, 28 January 1853 Page 3
- ¹⁰⁵ *Otago Witness*, Issue 143, 11 February 1854, Page 3
- ¹⁰⁶ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XV, Issue 28, 5 July 1856, p.2
- ¹⁰⁷ *Otago Witness*, Issue 411, 15 October 1859, Page 6
- ¹⁰⁸ *North Otago Times*, Volume xiii, Issue 469, 23 November 1869, Page 2:
- ¹⁰⁹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVII, Issue 4436, 13 November 1871, Page 3
- ¹¹⁰ *West Coast Times* , Issue 2307, 20 February 1873, Page 2
- ¹¹¹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume V, Issue 270, 29 January 1850, Page 2
- ¹¹² *New Zealander*, Volume 5, Issue 415, 6 April 1850, Page 2
- ¹¹³ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, Volume VII, Issue 541, 9 October 1850, Page 2
- ¹¹⁴ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume VI, Issue 407, 23 May 1851, Page 2
- ¹¹⁵ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, Volume IX, Issue 864, 12 November 1853, p.3
- ¹¹⁶ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XV, Issue 1122, 30 March 1858, Page 4
- ¹¹⁷ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 307, 19 June 1858, Page 2
- ¹¹⁸ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XIX, Issue 42, 26 May 1860, Page 3
- ¹¹⁹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVII, Issue 1460, 13 December 1861, Page 3
- ¹²⁰ *West Coast Times*, Issue 683, 2 December 1867, Page 6
- ¹²¹ *Southland Times* , Issue 1792, 12 September 1873, Page 2
- ¹²² *Wellington Independent*, Volume XLVIII, Issue 3984, 22 December 1873, Page 1

¹²³ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVII, Issue 1346, 2 November 1860, Page 7

¹²⁴ *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XIII, Issue 664, 22 April 1865, Page 4

¹²⁵ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIII, Issue 3146, 19 August 1867, Page 4