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**Foresight in Hindsight:  
Visions of the future from Julius Vogel, Āpirana Ngata,  
Truby King, and Ettie Rout, 1889-1923**

A thesis  
submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree  
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## Abstract

This thesis examines seven future-focused texts authored by four New Zealanders: Julius Vogel, Āpirana Ngata, Truby King, and Ettie Rout. ‘The future’ is a neglected lens for historical research and this thesis explores the value of such an approach, using New Zealand society from the 1880s and to the 1920s as a case study. A methodological combination of textual analysis, biography, and historical contexts, including consideration of print culture, allows for nuanced examination of depictions of the future, and suggests such connections are vital to fully understanding histories of the future. This research serves as a framework to inform further exploration of historical future imaginings, either in New Zealand or in other geographic or temporal contexts.

From Vogel’s novel *Anno Domini 2000* (1889) to Ngata’s 1892 essay *The Past and Future of the Maori* to King’s and Rout’s twentieth-century guidebooks on the care of babies and the use of contraception, the four authors utilize various textual forms to communicate their imagined future, and commonly frame their ideas within concepts of utopia and dystopia. This thesis compares the futures depicted by male and female authors, and those emerging from Māori and Pākehā cultural contexts. It examines futures envisioned by politicians, community leaders, and ostracized individuals. Shaped by preoccupations with empire, gender, and identity, these future-focused texts highlight relationships between national and global spaces. This in turn allows for a fresh exploration of New Zealand’s past, and especially the country’s colonial histories.

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## Introduction

“I must ask, Have you thought over all contingencies, not only of what has happened in the past or of what is now occurring, but of what the future may have in store?”

“I have, my mother, thought over the future as well as the past.”<sup>1</sup>

In this exchange between Albert and his mother Hilda in Julius Vogel’s 1889 future-focused novel *Anno Domini 2000, or a Woman’s Destiny* the core preoccupations of this thesis are foregrounded. Hilda is conscious of the entangled nature of time, the way in which the past shapes and informs both the present and the future. She urges her son, the heir to the British Empire, to reflect carefully before renouncing his inheritance in favour of his sister Victoria. Albert’s reply points to the main theme of Vogel’s novel, that the future is a space of gender equality in which aptitude and talent, rather than centuries old traditions such a primogeniture, should be the criteria for deciding who is fit to govern, educate, invent, or create. By acknowledging the importance and reach of the past but daring to imagine a future that is different to the present, Albert embraces change, looking forward to a new horizon of possibility.

Vogel’s imagined year 2000 is characterized by female equality in political and intellectual spheres and its positive impact on the British Empire. This transformed future was motivated by his own failed political projects and emerged from wider debates about gender that escalated during the New Zealand suffrage campaigns of the 1880s and early 1890s. By considering the content and context of future-focused narratives such as Vogel’s, we can better understand both the particular concerns and visions that these texts raise and the broader contexts in New Zealand’s history with which they intersect.

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<sup>1</sup> Julius Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000, or a Woman’s Destiny* (Auckland: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2000), p. 326.

In analysing the future-focused visions around which this thesis pivots, the theories of German historian Reinhart Koselleck provide a useful framework. Koselleck considers time to be an analytical tool with much value for historians.<sup>2</sup> Two key concepts developed by Koselleck include ‘space of experience’ and ‘horizon of expectation’. Koselleck defines ‘space of experience’ as the context in which historical actors exist; it is both their past and their present. Conversely, the ‘horizon of expectation’ is the future: ‘it directs itself to the not-yet, to the nonexperienced, to that which is to be revealed’.<sup>3</sup> These two concepts are anchored to the present and are encountered within the present. Koselleck’s space of experience is ‘present past’, and the horizon of expectation is ‘the future made present’.<sup>4</sup> He makes it clear that these ideas are not in opposition to each other; instead, they are interconnected.<sup>5</sup>

Koselleck justifies the use of these two framing devices when considering historical time due to the way in which they ‘embody past and future’.<sup>6</sup> Historians like Stephen Kern and David C. Engerman have likewise acknowledged the value of studying the past’s futures. Based upon the assumption that ideas of the future exist – and have existed – in human consciousness everywhere, present and past, Kern suggests it is possible to characterize a ‘distinctive experience’ of the future for any time period and Engerman argues that ‘how historical subjects imagined their futures is crucial to understanding their pasts’.<sup>7</sup>

In this thesis, I historicize the concept of ‘the future’ with a hypothesis that the future is a valuable lens for historical research about Aotearoa New Zealand, applying the above

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<sup>2</sup> Niklas Olsen, *History in the Plural: An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck* (Berghahn Books, 2012), p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> Koselleck, p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> Koselleck, pp. 270, 274.

<sup>6</sup> Koselleck, p. 270.

<sup>7</sup> Wendell Bell, ‘What do we mean by futures studies?’ in *New Thinking for a New Millennium*, ed. by Richard A. Slaughter (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 3-25 (p. 4).; Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 90.; David C. Engerman, ‘Introduction: Histories of the Future and the Futures of History’, *The American Historical Review*, 117.5 (2021), 1402-1410, (p. 1402).

suggestions by Engerman and Kern. To this end, I utilize Koselleck's two analytical categories to examine the work of four authors and social campaigners writing from 1889 to 1923 who envisioned different futures for Aotearoa New Zealand. All of these authors and historical actors were influenced by the cultural context they inhabited, that of settler colonial New Zealand – their space of experience – and each responded to this in different ways, producing a horizon of expectation. These horizons vary in terms of content, form, tone, intended audience, and temporality, with Vogel focused on the year 2000, more than 100 years from his present, while other authors placed emphasis on the immediate future.

A politician and former New Zealand Prime Minister, Vogel turned to fiction to map out the next stage of what he saw as New Zealand's Empire-centred progress: votes and education for women. Āpirana Ngata was more critical of the nation's direction, using the form of the essay to critique the impact of colonisation on Māori and reflect on the need for a future in which Māori culture could flourish. For Truby King and Ettie Rout the educational pamphlet was the tool for persuading others of the practical steps required to build a healthy society, King encouraging the mothers of New Zealand to build a strong future generation and Rout focusing on sexual health as a means for fostering happy marital relations and the prevention of venereal disease.

All four future-focused authors inhabited a New Zealand characterised by settler colonialism. This introduction opens with a discussion of what shaped spaces of experience in settler colonial New Zealand and how these contexts informed rhetoric and ideas that anticipated and imagined the future. The introduction then outlines the ways in which historians have used 'the future' in both New Zealand and international contexts. Finally, it summarizes the thesis' methods of literary analysis and biography; its key themes including literary form, race, and gender; and its contributions that work to pluralise understandings of spaces of experience and horizons of expectation in Aotearoa New Zealand's history.

## Settler colonialism and the future

Settler colonialism is ‘a global and genuinely transnational phenomenon’ which extends and expands on the ideology of colonialism.<sup>8</sup> As a term, it was coined in the 1920s to differentiate between different types of historic British imperial expansion.<sup>9</sup> The Australian colony of New South Wales had been populated by British convicts shipped under transportation penalties, while the settlement of South Australia had been overseen by a commercial enterprise tasked with acquiring and distributing land. While settler colonialism is not exclusive to the British Empire, Cecilia Morgan asserts that British settler colonialism was ‘particularly persistent, pervasive, and long-lasting’.<sup>10</sup> The system benefitted from the large size of the British Empire – over the course of the nineteenth century Britain acquired 26 million square kilometers of physical territory with a population of 400 million – and a prevalent ideology of “Britishness” that ensured connections to the metropole, encouraged belief in the supremacy of British values and institutions, and transferred existing social and political hierarchies to the colonies.<sup>11</sup>

Laura Ishiguro demonstrates that settler colonialism is inherently anticipatory in nature, referring to this characteristic as ‘settler futurity’. She uses this phrase to describe the ‘collective politics of aspiration’ which ‘lay at the very foundation of settler colonialism’.<sup>12</sup> Highlighting that settler colonialism is strongly linked to expectations, Ishiguro contends that settlers’ imagined futures have rested upon ‘an ongoing and exclusive settler presence, power, sovereignty, and belonging’.<sup>13</sup> Patrick Wolfe, a preeminent scholar in the international field of settler colonialism, asserts that ‘settler colonists come to stay’, labelling the process as

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<sup>8</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010), p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, ‘Introduction: Settler colonialism as a distinct mode of domination’, in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, ed. by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 1-8 (p. 4).

<sup>10</sup> Cecilia Morgan, *Building Better Britains?: Settler Societies in the British World, 1783-1920* (Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2017), p. xxii.

<sup>11</sup> Morgan, pp. xxi, xxii.

<sup>12</sup> Laura Ishiguro, ‘“Growing up and grown up... in our future city”: Discourses of Childhood and Settler Futurity in Colonial British Columbia’, *BC Studies*, 190 (2016), 15-37, (p. 15).

<sup>13</sup> Ishiguro, p. 17.

‘invasion’.<sup>14</sup> New Zealand historian James Belich contrasts settler colonists to migrants, contending that an ‘emigrant joined someone else’s society a settler or colonist remade his own’.<sup>15</sup> As Belich’s deliberate gendering implies, settler colonialism is a process of inclusion and exclusion. Categories of settlers enjoy privileges and exert power, control, and influence over a range of “others”.

Indigenous populations are significantly impacted by the permanent settling and remaking of society that defines settler colonialism. The very act of settling requires land:

Society was forged through the creation of new “homes” for... migrants and the accompanying dispersal and dispossession of indigenous peoples.<sup>16</sup>

In New Zealand, the removal of land from Māori systems of collective ownership was a significant aspect of assimilation. Land alienation and “sales” not only affected Māori communities economically but spiritually, too, as their connection with the land shaped identity and belonging.<sup>17</sup>

Alongside attempted and often successful dispossession of land from Indigenous peoples, settler societies across the British Empire also engaged in the subjugation of Indigenous culture, language, and autonomy. This process not only expedited the transference of land title from Indigenous people to settlers but also provided a justification for continued settler acquisition of land and the extension of assimilationist policies.<sup>18</sup> These were commonly framed as a process of “civilisation”, necessary for the betterment and development of

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<sup>14</sup> Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (Cassell: London, 1999), p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> James Belich, *Rise of the Angloworld*, quoted in Veracini, *Settler colonialism: a theoretical overview*, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Morgan, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Jessica Terruhn, ‘Settler Colonialism and Biculturalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand’, in *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity*, ed. by Steven Ratuva (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2019), pp. 867-883 (p. 871); Richard S. Hill, ‘Settler colonialism in New Zealand, 1840-1907’, in *The Routledge Handbook of the history of settler colonialism*, ed. by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 391-408 (p. 391).

<sup>18</sup> Ani Mikaere, *Colonising Myths – Maori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro* (New York: Huia NZ, 2013), p. 93; Terruhn, p. 872.

Indigenous populations. In New Zealand, Māori who survived initial contact with Europeans and their imported diseases were expected to essentially become “brown Europeans” through intermarriage with white settlers.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Indigenous presence in settler realities, histories, and futures is often excluded or minimized in order to ‘normalize the settler subject’ as the ‘centre of any event’.<sup>20</sup>

Despite direct and indirect policies intended to manage their cultural and sometimes physical presence in settler colonial societies, Indigenous people were ‘far from passive’ and ‘showed great resilience against settler pressure’.<sup>21</sup> Throughout the British Empire – and beyond – Indigenous people used various means to navigate relationships with settler colonists and the systems of power they brought with them, refusing to silently accept suppression of Indigenous identities, cultures, and histories.<sup>22</sup> Ranginui Walker’s *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (1990) presents a history of Māori resistance, detailing ‘the endless struggle of the Maori for social justice, equality and self-determination’.<sup>23</sup> The book challenged a long tradition of presenting New Zealand’s history as harmonious and progressive, especially in terms of race relations.

Power and control are significant tenets of settler colonialism. As established, the control of Indigenous peoples is central to the very act of settler colonialism:

[Settler colonialism is] a distinct project of power aimed at the dispossession and elimination of Indigenous peoples and the establishment of new political, legal, social, cultural, and economic orders that privilege and empower (some) settlers.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Avril Bell, ‘Half-castes’ and ‘White Natives’: The Politics of Māori-Pākehā Hybrid Identities’, in *Cultural Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: Identity, Space, and Place*, ed. by Claudia Bell and Steve Matthewman (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 121-138, (p. 123).

<sup>20</sup> Jo Smith, ‘Aotearoa/New Zealand: An Unsettled State in a Sea of Islands’, *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1.1 (2011), 111-131, (p. 128).

<sup>21</sup> Morgan, p. 3; Hill, p. 398.

<sup>22</sup> Morgan, pp. xxvii, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Ishiguro, p. 17. See also: Veracini, *Settler colonialism: a theoretical overview*.

However, settler colonialism also rests upon the inclusion and/or exclusion of categories of settlers. The process is ‘profoundly gendered’, as indicated by Belich’s masculine pronoun use quoted earlier. Settler women were generally valued for their ‘capacity for motherhood’, while men were celebrated for wielding the ‘manly independence’ that conquers and tames land and Indigenous people alike.<sup>25</sup> Class and social standing may also be considered, but perhaps less directly than gender. Often, the most dominant narratives of empire and nation are produced by political or social elites rather than working-class people.<sup>26</sup> However, Morgan does point out that there is evidence of ‘working-class support for imperial and nationalistic ventures’.<sup>27</sup>

Settler futurity is likewise a ‘project of power’ and can include and exclude certain groups of people, depending on the futures imagined and who is imagining them. For example, British settler colonists enforced their Western concepts of time – and of the future – on Indigenous populations across the empire. Indigenous studies scholar and cultural astronomer Rangi Matamua argues that the colonisation of time is one of the most significant impacts of settler colonialism felt by Indigenous people.<sup>28</sup> Māori experience an ‘ocean of time based on whakapapa’ and their interactions with the future are grounded in the past and shaped by a sense of whanaungatanga.<sup>29</sup> Māori perspectives emphasise is on human relationships and the future is shaped carefully, by considering cause and effect of actions undertaken in the present. In contrast, by the nineteenth century, changing conceptions of time resulted in the future being viewed by Europeans as ‘an abstract, empty and quantifiable entity available for free

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<sup>25</sup> Morgan, p. 135.

<sup>26</sup> Morgan, p. 135.

<sup>27</sup> Morgan, p. 135.

<sup>28</sup> Rangi Matamua, ‘Matariki and the decolonisation of time’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*, ed. by Brendan Hokowhitu, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Linda Tuhiwai-Smith, Chris Andersen, and Steve Larkin (Oxford: Routledge, 2021), pp. 65-77.

<sup>29</sup> Hana Burgess and Te Kahuratai Moko-Painting, ‘Onamata, Anamata: A Whakapapa Perspective of Māori Futurisms’, in A.M. Murola and S. Walsh (eds), *Whose Futures? Economic and Social Research Aotearoa* (Auckland, 2020), pp. 207-233 (p. 222). See also: Paula Toko King, Donna Cormack, Ricci Harris, Sarah-Jane Paine and Melissa McLeod, ‘Never ending beginnings’: a qualitative literature review of Māori temporal ontologies’, *Kotuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, 18.3 (2023), 252-267.

unrestricted use and exploration'.<sup>30</sup> Time was seen as linear, and the future became a space where 'the pursuit of progress, innovation and growth' could occur.<sup>31</sup> These characterisations of temporal space reflects settler colonial concepts of physical space, where land is valued for its potential and ability to be shaped or made into something 'better'.

Settler futurity can be expressed through specific activities, like Vogel's imagining of the year 2000 contained within *Anno Domini 2000*, or through social and cultural attitudes and beliefs, like Ishiguro's research on the adult-perceived role of children in colonial British Columbia, or the colonization of time and dominance of European ideologies. In seeking to conceptualize their new identities, settler colonists developed 'projections of better tomorrows'.<sup>32</sup> Morgan identifies these settler colonial "better tomorrows" as centered around three broad themes: 'future-oriented settler nationalism', the ideology of "better Britain", and utopianism, suggesting that the latter was distinct to settler colonial portrayals of New Zealand.

### The future in New Zealand historiography

New Zealand historians writing about the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have largely focused on imaginings of the future contained within ideologies of better Britain and utopianism. These concepts have often been framed within traditions of New Zealand historiography focused on creating narratives of national identity or nation-making and highlighting New Zealand's perceived exceptionalism. However, methodological shifts visible since the 2000s have decentred the nation-state as the default stage for historical analysis. New Zealand historians of the new millennium have also rejected or at very least complicated interpretations of New Zealand's past which argue for exceptionalism, instead linking the

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<sup>30</sup> Barbara Adam, 'History of the future: Paradoxes and challenges', *Rethinking History*, 14.3 (2010), 361-378, (p.365).

<sup>31</sup> Adam, pp. 365-366.

<sup>32</sup> Morgan, p. 153.

country with the wider British Empire, Australia, the Pacific, and developments across the globe.<sup>33</sup>

The concept of better Britain – also known as brighter Britain and ‘Britain of the South’ – was underpinned by thoughts about the future, particularly ideas and expectations of progress. New Zealand was seen to be capable of iterating positively on Britain’s present, thus improving conditions in both the colony and the empire. Britain also represented a ‘canary in the mine’, offering a glimpse into an undesirable future that could become the colony’s reality.<sup>34</sup> Belich points out that “better Britain” assumed New Zealand would ‘permanently remain Britain’s junior partner’ in terms of population numbers and wealth while boasting citizens who were morally ‘an improvement on the metropolis.’<sup>35</sup> There was no desire to unseat British supremacy over the colony’s affairs, but “better Britain” represented a gentle, indirect criticism directed at the living conditions in Britain. Careful framing was necessary as the young colony relied upon strong links to Britain for economic reasons. However, the need for societal improvement was impossible to ignore as migration to New Zealand was often considered a “way out” of the widespread poverty, suffocating class system, and overcrowded, stymied cities of Britain.

An early proponent of the better Britain ideology was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield was a key campaigner for the organised settlement of South Australia. Ultimately, he was not involved with the sale and distribution of land in the colony, but he did not abandon his dreams of ‘systematic colonization’. In the 1830s, Wakefield shifted his attention from

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<sup>33</sup> For example, see: Peter Gibbons, ‘The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37.1 (2003), 38-49; *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009); Giselle Byrnes and Catharine Coleborne, ‘Editorial Introduction: The Utility and Futility of “The Nation” in Histories of Aotearoa New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 45.1 (2011), pp. 1-14; Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand’s Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012); Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand’s London: A Colony and its Metropolis* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012).

<sup>34</sup> Steven Loveridge, ‘Soldiers and Shirkers’: modernity and New Zealand masculinity during the Great War’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 47.1 (2013), 59-79 (p. 62).

<sup>35</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001), p. 21.

Australia to New Zealand. He praised the country's suitability for settlement to the British House of Commons in 1836:

Very near to Australia there is a country which all testimony concurs in describing as the fittest in the world for colonization, as the most beautiful country with the finest climate, and the most productive soil; I mean New Zealand.<sup>36</sup>

Wakefield developed plans for the colonisation of New Zealand based upon what he perceived as failings by the British government in settling New South Wales. In 1839, he established the New Zealand Company, a commercial venture focused on introducing long-term settlers to New Zealand. Aside from financial gain, Wakefield was motivated by a desire to see New Zealand avoid the same pitfalls that stymied the Australian colonies; at the same time, New Zealand would be prevented from importing Britain's social and economic problems.<sup>37</sup>

Throughout the mid to late nineteenth century, New Zealand settlers continued to aim for the achievement of better Britain. Belich characterises the period from 1840 to 1880 as a time of 'progressive colonisation' or 'explosive colonisation'.<sup>38</sup> He identifies a 'progress industry' present in New Zealand during these decades: from organised settlement schemes spearheaded by Wakefield and others, to the construction of public works such as railways and communications infrastructure, to the development of agriculture.<sup>39</sup>

Raewyn Dalziel describes how ideas of "better Britain" contributed to the development of a British-adjacent yet distinctly New Zealand identity:

The opportunity to outstrip the old world and to march in the advance guard of progress and civilization was a major trope of antipodean settlement. These ideas were central to the discourse of nationhood that marked the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century. A desire that their new country be simultaneously like

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<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Peter Adams, *Fatal necessity: British intervention in New Zealand, 1830–1847* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1977), p. 24.

<sup>37</sup> See: Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *The British Colonization of New Zealand: being an account of the principles, objects, and plans of the New Zealand Association* (London: John W. Parker, 1837).

<sup>38</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 18-19.

the old European world and different from it led colonists to narrate a story that legitimated and valorized their experiences.<sup>40</sup>

Dalziel's identified time period and militaristic language here invokes the South Africa War of 1899-1902 and World War One, two armed conflicts that inspired narratives of New Zealand "nationhood". The South Africa War was the first time New Zealand contributed armed forces to an overseas imperial cause and a repeated refrain regarding the "quality" of New Zealand soldiers fuelled antipodean exceptionalism.<sup>41</sup> The Gallipoli campaign of World War One became a mythic event in national identity historiography of the mid-twentieth century, with the Great War 'establishing the soldier as the shining personification as the New Zealand male, and indeed of New Zealand itself.'<sup>42</sup>

The better Britain narrative is extended in descriptions of New Zealand as a "social laboratory". Dalziel traces the emergence of this label to 1896 when H. H. Asquith described New Zealand as 'a laboratory in which political and social experiments are every day being made for the information and instruction of the older countries in the world.'<sup>43</sup> This term has often been used to describe reforms of the 1890s, such as universal suffrage in 1893 and the Old Age Pensions Act 1898, but it gave a name to a sentiment that had existed in the colony for many years prior.

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<sup>40</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, 'An experiment in the social laboratory? Suffrage, national identity, and mythologies of race in New Zealand in the 1890s', in *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, ed. by Ian Christopher Fletcher, Philippa Levine, and Laura E. Nym Mayhall (London: Taylor & Francis, 2000), pp. 87-102 (p. 87).

<sup>41</sup> For example, see: John Crawford and Ellen Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 1999); *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, ed. by John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003).

<sup>42</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 163. Phillips also provides a reality check for such mythologising: 'This was not a war of dramatic death or glory; it was an incessant battle against heat and flies and lice, against a monotonous diet of bully beef and biscuits, against dysentery, against the smell of latrines and the constant stench of fly-blown bodies... By the time that the orders for evacuation came in mid-December men were bitter.' Phillips, p. 173. See also: Felicity Barnes, 'Anzac: Myth and Memory', *Newsroom* <<https://www.newsroom.co.nz/anzac-myth-and-memory>> [accessed 25 September 2019].

<sup>43</sup> Dalziel, 'An experiment in the social laboratory?', p. 87.

New Zealand's optimistic march towards a future as a better Britain impacted positively on the suffrage campaign of the 1880s and 1890s. During the debates for his Women's Suffrage Bill, Julius Vogel ruminated on the better Britain mythology, asking rhetorically, '... if the question is so much beyond all doubt, how is it that it has not been settled before? How is it that it has been left to this House to be the first British community to grant the privilege?'<sup>44</sup> Dalziel asserts that suffragists of the 1880s and 1890s capitalized on a related 'national rhetoric' that believed 'New Zealand had been populated by a special, selected people with the task of building a nation.'<sup>45</sup> The "people" referred to here are European migrants of mostly British origin or Pākehā. The portrayal of New Zealand as a social laboratory blends the imaginings of better Britain with a narrative of exceptionalism.

Better Britain is also closely associated with conceptions of colonial New Zealand as a utopia. Miles Fairburn argues that New Zealand was settled upon the presumption that it would become an 'ideal society', although he traces the failure of this dream throughout the late nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup> However, according to Morgan, political leaders, individual settlers, authors, and social campaigners frequently invoked utopian images of New Zealand 'to symbolize their hopes and dreams of the colony'.<sup>47</sup> This is reflected in Lyman Tower Sargent's identification of over 100 New Zealand-related utopian works published between 1778 and 1930.<sup>48</sup> Sargent and frequent collaborator Lucy Sargisson highlight New Zealand's 'special place' in the international history of utopianism:

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<sup>44</sup> New Zealand Government, 'Parliamentary Debates', v. 57 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1887), p. 232.

<sup>45</sup> Dalziel, 'An experiment in the social laboratory?', p. 91.

<sup>46</sup> See: Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989).

<sup>47</sup> Morgan, p. 154.

<sup>48</sup> Dominic Alessio, 'Promoting Paradise: Utopianism and National Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1930', *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 42.1 (2008), 22-41 (p. 23); Lucy Sargisson and Lyman Tower Sargent, *Living in Utopia: New Zealand's Intentional Communities* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 24.

It has historically been viewed as a land of opportunity attracting settlers, conquerors and colonisers. Paradise, Eden, and Heaven on Earth, this beautiful and abundant land has been, for many, a place in which to try to create a utopia.<sup>49</sup>

To create a utopia, one first needs to imagine it, engaging with the future and reflecting on the present.

Connections have also been made between the expression of utopianism and the development of New Zealand national identity. Sargent argues that ‘utopianism is central to the New Zealand experience and has helped create the nation that exists today’.<sup>50</sup> Building on previous scholarship by Fairburn and Belich, Dominic Alessio has sought to extend Sargent’s nascent analysis.<sup>51</sup> Alessio argues that an expansion of time period and sources is necessary for an accurate analysis of the relationship between these two concepts, criticising Fairburn’s 1890s terminus and Belich’s disregard of utopian literature and science fiction.<sup>52</sup> He concludes that utopianism was central to New Zealand’s cultural development during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>53</sup>

Scholarship investigating New Zealand as a better Britain, a social laboratory and a utopia focuses on implicit imaginings of the future. These three concepts are all oriented towards the future and are motivated by a desire for progress and transformation but fall short of actively defining a future to be achieved. Historical analyses of these concepts tend to utilize them to explore other facets of New Zealand’s past, such as motivations for British settlement in the antipodes or cultural and economic relationships between colony and metropole. I contend that these three approaches needed to be amplified in order to understand the full

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<sup>49</sup> Sargisson and Sargent, p. xv.

<sup>50</sup> Lyman Tower Sargent, ‘Utopianism and the Creation of New Zealand National Identity’, *Utopian Studies* 12.1 (2001), 1-18, (p. 1).

<sup>51</sup> Dominic Alessio, ‘Promoting Paradise: Utopianism and National Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1930’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 42.1 (2008), 22-41.

<sup>52</sup> Alessio, ‘Promoting Paradise’, p. 22.

<sup>53</sup> Alessio, ‘Promoting Paradise’, p. 22.

potential possible by studying the past's futures in the context of settler colonial New Zealand. Questions about the future itself should be prioritized. My thesis surveys six texts produced by four individuals that provide more than just an impression of a future. These imaginings record the specific characteristics of a future, and sometimes, the pathway to reach that future – or avoid it, in some cases. Additionally, I investigate these future-focused texts through a personal lens that highlights connections between subject and author.

The selection of four individuals and their future-focused texts provides an opportunity to examine a range of imaginings of New Zealand's future, emphasising their complexity and nuance, and thus, by extension, arguing that New Zealand's colonial past is complex and nuanced, too. My choice of time period reflects this multiplicity. I concur with arguments from Belich and Michael King that propose the 1880s as a key decade in New Zealand's colonial development. Belich contends that it was only during the 1880s that 'crew culture' began to be replaced with 'core culture', where groups of people settled in one place.<sup>54</sup> King argues that it was not until the 1880s that New Zealand enjoyed social and political stability. He characterizes the twenty-year period from 1840 to 1860 as a kind of 'colonisation window' where European settlers established themselves, followed by a period of destabilization in the 1860s and 1870s. By the 1880s, New Zealand's political system was centralized, with the end of provincialism and the presence of representative government, and overt Māori-Pākehā war was gone.<sup>55</sup> Belich also credits technological developments, such as rail and telegraph, with helping to 'shrink' New Zealand to a degree where communal cognizance could flourish.<sup>56</sup>

These categorizations of New Zealand in the 1880s build upon work by Benedict Andersen and Keith Sinclair. In an international context, Andersen conceptualised nationalism

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<sup>54</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 17, 19.

<sup>55</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 239.

<sup>56</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 19.

as the result of ‘imagined communities’, arguing that nations were socially constructed by their members, in a somewhat self-reflexive process.<sup>57</sup> Applying this to New Zealand history, Sinclair contends that ‘there was, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a perceptible strengthening and extension of both the foundations and the structure of nationalism’ in New Zealand.<sup>58</sup>

The development of these ‘countrywide communities of interest’ provided a discursive space for settler futurity to expand and develop in ways it had not done before in New Zealand.<sup>59</sup> Analysis of implicit imaginings of the future, such as better Britain and utopianism, demonstrates that such ideas were present in New Zealand much earlier than 1880, but a sense of strengthening national identity provided an opportunity for other New Zealanders to respond to them. A growing international print culture also permitted stronger intellectual engagement with the wider British Empire and beyond.<sup>60</sup> New Zealanders began to look outwards towards a more globalised world and increasingly concerned themselves with New Zealand’s “place” within it.

I continue to trace this settler futurity through the turn of the nineteenth century to the 1920s, encompassing the catastrophic events of World War One. World War One embodies a moment of rupture that profoundly affected nations and societies. The impacts of this seismic event are evident in the work of two of my chosen authors, Truby King and Ettie Rout, who are in part compelled to imagine a future because of this event. They are influenced by anxiety about New Zealand’s present characterized by devastating loss of life and the impact of the soldier lifestyle on both the mind and body, thus producing a potential future that seems highly

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<sup>57</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

<sup>58</sup> Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand’s Search for National Identity* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p. 61.

<sup>59</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 19.

<sup>60</sup> Morgan, p. 134.

uncertain. Yet the work of King and Rout also highlight that preoccupations with the future form a continuum. Politicians, reformers, authors, and social campaigners wrote about the future before the war and continued to do so afterwards. King pursued the same fundamental improvements to infant welfare in the pre- and post-war period, while Rout used the relative peace of the 1920s to engage with a new audience, expanding her focus from instructing soldiers to educating the general public.

By focusing on settler colonialism in the early twentieth century, I support the work of New Zealand historian Peter Gibbons who argues that colonization is an ‘ongoing process’ and that scholars have incorrectly relegated the “colonial” section of New Zealand’s past to the nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup> Like Chris Hilliard, I too wish to ‘unsettle’ such ‘implicit periodisation’.<sup>62</sup> The 1920s also serves as a “calibration point” for the settler colonial visions of the 1880s, as new generations sought to address New Zealand’s potential futures in a changing world. For Truby King and Ettie Rout, their space of experience includes the imaginings of authors crafting futures before them, such as Julius Vogel and Āpirana Ngata. Rout, for example, is an inheritor of the political rights championed by Vogel in the 1880s. By the 1920s, she seeks to expand the roles of women further, focusing on the spheres of sex and marriage. Settler colonial visions of the future are an ongoing process: settler futurity is ‘a contingent form of aspiration, a contested vision among alternative futurities’ that concerns both ‘project and projection’.<sup>63</sup> Past horizons of expectation become present spaces of experience, as imaginings of the future are affirmed, challenged, reimagined, rejected, or attained.

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<sup>61</sup> Peter Gibbons, ‘Cultural Colonisation and National Identity’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36.1 (2002), 5-17 (p. 6). See also: Felicity Barnes, ‘Settler Colonialism in Twentieth-Century New Zealand’, in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, ed. by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 465-482.

<sup>62</sup> Chris Hilliard, ‘Licensed Native Interpreter: The Land Purchaser as Ethnographer in Early-20th-Century New Zealand’, *The Journal of Pacific History*, 45.2 (2010), 229-245, (p. 231).

<sup>63</sup> Ishiguro, p. 37.

## Applying international approaches to New Zealand's past futures

Despite recent international developments, historians have not analysed the production of explicit futures in New Zealand contexts. By exploring this neglected but valuable frame for historical analysis, I provide a fresh and exciting perspective for New Zealand history that illustrates the plurality and diversity in New Zealand's past. In doing so, I suggest a new paradigm for historical analysis – the combination of biography, literary analysis, and historical context – that can be applied in other cultural contexts and geographical locales. My case studies are particularly illuminating for the histories of settler colonies such as Australia and Canada. The history of the future highlights not only the experience of settlers but also narratives that disrupted and questioned settler-centred ideals.

At its core, my thesis surveys four individuals as they stand in their present, exploring their space of experience and their perspective of a horizon of expectation. However, my research expands on Koselleck's two concepts. I suggest that pluralizing these phrases is more appropriate due to the multiplicity of futures imagined in settler colonial New Zealand. My research explores the individual and collective *spaces* of experience for four future-oriented authors. The *horizons* of expectation differ for each author and are informed by the scale of the futures expressed as well as the form in which they are presented.

Reinhart Koselleck's methodological developments have formed the foundation for many scholarly works that engage with histories of the future. Niklas Olsen recognises Koselleck's distinct 'lines of research' with regards to historical time, culminating in two essay collections: *Vergangene Zukunft* (1979) and *Zitschichten* (2000).<sup>64</sup> In a special edition of the

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<sup>64</sup> Olsen, p. 221. The former was published in English with the title *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* while the latter retained its German title due to the fact it was a portmanteau coined by Koselleck himself: the word *zitschichten* merges 'time' (*zeit*) with 'strata' (*schichten*) in order to convey a sense of the multiplicity of time. See: Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann and Sean Franzel, 'Introduction: Translating Koselleck', in Reinhart Koselleck, *Sediments of Time: On Possible Histories*, trans. by Sean Franzel and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), pp. ix-xxxii (p. x).

*American Historical Review* published in 2012, editor David C. Engerman notes a collective intellectual debt to Koselleck, particularly Koselleck's distinction between 'horizon of expectations' and 'space of experience'.<sup>65</sup> Many historians have adopted Koselleck's vocabulary, and some, like Anders Schinkel and Matthew O'Hara, have extended and expanded on his work.

Koselleck characterises the horizon of expectation as being 'that line behind which a new space of experience will open, but which cannot yet be seen'.<sup>66</sup> Building on this, Schinkel suggests a third category – imagination – that provides a space in which historical actors can *articulate* the future beyond the horizon, instead of simply *anticipating* it. However, this does not mean that imagination is not a vital part of anticipation, too. Schinkel argues that

It takes imagination to have expectations at all – to be able to distinguish the future from the past, and to have some sense of what this future might be and to have an attitude towards it.<sup>67</sup>

Furthermore, Schinkel rejects Koselleck's claim that, in the modern era, experience informs expectation less. Schinkel uses the concept of imagination to instead demonstrate the changing relationship between experience and expectation, thus suggesting that historical actors *imagine more creatively* during modernity. His definition of "creative" here refers to the extent to which the imagined future diverges from the possibilities of the present.<sup>68</sup> Schinkel is clear that expectation and experience remain closely linked, regardless of the amount of imagination utilized:

Even in cases of very strong and creative imagination there will always be a connection to some experience that makes highly divergent expectations comprehensible.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Engerman, p. 1402.

<sup>66</sup> Koselleck, p. 273.

<sup>67</sup> Anders Schinkel, 'Imagination as a Category of History: An Essay concerning Koselleck's Concepts of *Erfahrungsraum* and *Erwartungshorizont*', *History and Theory*, 44.1 (2005), 42-54, (p. 48).

<sup>68</sup> Schinkel, p. 48.

<sup>69</sup> Schinkel, pp. 48-49.

Matthew O'Hara too rejects Koselleck's suggestion that the past eventually ceases to guide the future. He argues that Koselleck's use of the category of modernity emphasizes 'dramatic transitions, and inflection points' while obfuscating 'longer-term transformations, subtle changes, and reproductions' and those circumstances where tradition informed innovation.<sup>70</sup>

Furthermore, O'Hara suggests that the most fruitful approach to studying the past's future is to analyse *all* types of futures. He specifically refers to imagined futures as well as 'the concrete steps involved in attaining any future'.<sup>71</sup> O'Hara advocates this combined method which examines broader ideas as well as specific practices and strategies.<sup>72</sup> Focusing on the role of religion, O'Hara utilizes a series of historical case studies from colonial Mexico to disrupt the stereotype that Latin America is 'a place and people locked in the past, consumed by the present, and unconcerned about the future'.<sup>73</sup> In order to reclaim some of those 'lost futures', O'Hara asks two broad questions:

What if we were to replace an implicitly comparative vision... to one that considers how historical actors related to past, present, and future in their own historical moments?

...

What if we take our starting point an examination of historical futures rather than historical legacies?<sup>74</sup>

It is these questions that also underpin my research. Does the history of New Zealand look different if we shift our temporal vantage point? My research is not concerned with the truth or viability of the futures expressed: the focus is on *what* futures were expressed, *how* they

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<sup>70</sup> Matthew D. O'Hara, *The History of the Future in Colonial Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 7.

<sup>71</sup> O'Hara, p. 8.

<sup>72</sup> O'Hara, p. 8.

<sup>73</sup> O'Hara, p. 2.

<sup>74</sup> O'Hara, pp. 2, 6.

were articulated and circulated, and *why* the ideas existed rather than if the possibilities suggested became reality.

Using O'Hara's dual approach to examining the past, and relying on Ishiguro's characterization of settler futurity, I suggest that the wider idea of the future in New Zealand's past is inextricably connected to settler colonialism and offer case studies of four individuals as examples of specific practises and strategies related to thinking about the future. These individuals are influenced by settler colonialism but not exclusively informed by this phenomenon, as their own personal agency influences their actions too:

Although imperial authorities and imperial policy played a significant role in these colonies' development, settlers also brought with them their own desires, hopes, and fantasies, ones that did not always mirror or directly follow those of imperial governments.<sup>75</sup>

Furthermore, their texts illuminate the ways in which imagination, as defined by Schinkel, is harnessed to anticipate certain futures at certain times in New Zealand's past, especially highlighting links beyond the border of the nation state and the continued transmission of intellectual and cultural ideas across the British Empire, as well as the significance of individual agency and authority. Investigating the future illuminates the ways colonial hierarchies of, for example, race and gender were extended, reinforced, and/or challenged in New Zealand.

Like O'Hara and others, I too utilize textual analysis. Laura Ishiguro presents settler colonialism as inherently anticipatory in nature.<sup>76</sup> I assert that settler colonialism forms the foundation for the collective space of experience in New Zealand and influences the individual spaces of experience. In New Zealand, the use of texts as a tool of colonization is well-explored and my research aligns with this. Peter Gibbons suggests that the production of text is related

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<sup>75</sup> Morgan, p. 171.

<sup>76</sup> Ishiguro, p. 37.

to colonization, and that writing provides a way of ‘classifying, marginalizing, and gendering experience’ within New Zealand.<sup>77</sup> He asserts that writing and printing were important ways that ‘the power of the settler society’ was extended and maintained over Māori.<sup>78</sup> Not only were obviously political modes of writing used to disseminate imperial ideas, such as treaties, proclamations and laws, but so too were books, newspapers, memoirs, guidebooks ‘and other mechanically reproduced materials with no direct relationship to the more obvious acts of colonization’.<sup>79</sup> Gibbons’ concept of cultural colonization is widely accepted in New Zealand historiography, with Felicity Barnes recently writing that it is “now bordering on orthodoxy”.<sup>80</sup> It is clear that any textual analysis of New Zealand’s past requires engagement with colonialism and imperialism, but my research suggests the inverse is also true: to usefully investigate settler futurity in Aotearoa New Zealand, we should look to texts.

My research is underpinned by postcolonial assumptions as suggested by Gibbons and others. A postcolonial examination of futures expressed in New Zealand is particularly beneficial as it allows us to unpack the imperial desires bound within horizons of expectation. The expansion of European power and control was a fundamental characteristic of many expressed futures in settler colonies, as Ishiguro has argued. Colonisation, migration, and imperialist philosophies were spatial manifestations of temporal aspirations.<sup>81</sup> Accordingly, the exercise of power and questions of control are key themes throughout historic visions of the future. Michael Thompson concisely explains that the producers or creators of future-focused visions

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<sup>77</sup> Peter Gibbons, ‘Non-Fiction’, in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, ed. by Terry Sturm (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 31-118 (pp. 32-33).

<sup>78</sup> Gibbons, ‘Cultural Colonization and National Identity’, p. 9.

<sup>79</sup> Gibbons, ‘Cultural Colonization and National Identity’, p. 9.

<sup>80</sup> Felicity Barnes, ‘Rethinking Cultural Colonization: *New Zealand’s Heritage* and the Writing of New Zealand History’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 57.2 (2023), 1-23, (p. 1).

<sup>81</sup> Kern, p. 92.

tend to act in ways that, so far as they can judge, will tend to strengthen their preferred ways of life and weaken those of others.<sup>82</sup>

In a special edition of the *American Historical Review* published in 2012, contributors ask, ‘how did their historical subjects envision the future, and what do those visions reveal about their own time?’ in order to investigate the politics of imagining.<sup>83</sup> The relationship between depictions of the future and the claiming or exercise of power and control is a key theme within these three articles.<sup>84</sup> Jenny Andersson’s *The Future of the World: Futurology, Futurists, and the Struggle for the Post Cold War Imagination* (2018) investigates historical futures studies predictions from 1945 to the 1990s.<sup>85</sup> With emphasis on power, control, and influence in the Cold War era, Andersson highlights competing claims of ‘how to know and change the future, and through that future, the world’.<sup>86</sup>

The future-focused imaginings of Vogel, Ngata, King, and Rout oscillate between hopeful imaginings of a better world and anxiety-inflected reflections on the problems that best both the present and the future. Scholarship on utopian and dystopian discourse thus also provides a useful framework for my discussion, some if it relating directly to New Zealand and much of it entangled with rhetoric about settlement and empire. For Carna Zacharias, utopia is wielded by those in power, writing that ‘those who rule, decide what reality is and what is utopia’.<sup>87</sup> However, the genre also demonstrates the reach and utility of future-focused narratives in a range of contexts. For example, Ignacio Sánchez Prado’s analysis of Mexican utopian essays concludes that while they are derivative of European developments, authors

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<sup>82</sup> Michael Thompson, ‘Visions of the Future’, in *Thinking Utopia: Steps into Other Worlds*, ed. by Jö Rüsen, Michael Fehr, and Thomas W. Rieger (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 32-52 (p. 35).

<sup>83</sup> Engerman, pp. 1402, 1403.

<sup>84</sup> Engerman, p. 1403.

<sup>85</sup> Jenny Andersson, *The Future of the World: Futurology, Futurists, and the Struggle for the Post Cold War Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>86</sup> Andersson, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> Carna Zacharias, quoted in Kjell Dahle, ‘50 key works: a beginner’s guide to the futures literature’, in *New Thinking for a New Millennium*, ed. by Richard A. Slaughter (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 84-102 (p. 93).

reconstructed the form into ‘a genre central to the formulation of anti-colonist and liberationist thought’, thus undermining the inherent Eurocentrism of existing utopian texts.<sup>88</sup> He suggests that utopian essays were vital for colonized Latin American peoples to conceptualise liberation and their future.<sup>89</sup> While originally literary devices, these categories can provide effective terminology for the tone of depictions of the future, whether they are fictional or practical. A given horizon of expectation may be utopian, dystopian, neither, or both.

The term utopia was first used by Sir Thomas More, whose 1516 novel *Utopia* was named after a play on words of the Greek *eutopia* (meaning “good place”). As a word, utopia roughly translates to “no place”, but More’s intention was to invoke ‘a good place that does not exist’.<sup>90</sup> Utopian literature creates ‘ideal [societies] free of the defects of existing societies’.<sup>91</sup> Literary theorist Darko Suvin describes utopia as a ‘verbal construction’ where ‘sociopolitical institutions, norms and individual relationships are organised according to a *more perfect principle than in the author’s community*’ (emphasis added).<sup>92</sup> Lyman Tower Sargent describes the construction of a place that should be viewed by a reader as ‘considerably better’ than the society currently familiar to that reader.<sup>93</sup>

Fátima Vieira identifies a narrative structure of utopian literature that was consistently used in England, France, Italy and the United States: an individual would travel to or be

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<sup>88</sup> Ignacio Sánchez Prado, ‘The Utopian Essay’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Essay*, ed. by Kara Wittman and Evan Kindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 141-153 (pp. 141-142).

<sup>89</sup> Sánchez Prado, p. 142.

<sup>90</sup> Jeff Prucher, ‘Utopia’, *Oxford Reference*, updated 2007

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/view/10.1093/acref/9780195305678.001.0001/acref-9780195305678-e-834>> [accessed 29 June 2017]; Fátima Vieira, ‘The concept of utopia’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. by Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 3-27 (p. 4).

<sup>91</sup> Craig Calhoun, ‘Utopia’, *Oxford Reference*, updated 2002

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/view/10.1093/acref/9780195123715.001.0001/acref-9780195123715-e-1743>> [accessed 29 June 2017].

<sup>92</sup> Darko Suvin, *Metamorphoses of Science Fiction: On the Poetics and History of a Literary Genre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 49.

<sup>93</sup> Lyman Tower Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 6.

transported to a new-to-them place, where they would be given a guided tour of the society and its organization. On return to their own country or city, they would circulate ‘the message that there are alternative and better ways of organizing society’.<sup>94</sup> The speculative fiction variation on this trope is that the individual falls asleep and wakes many years into the future, although they do not always get to return to their present.<sup>95</sup> Satire is another common element of the utopian literary tradition. Suggestions of near ‘perfection’ are often expressed with the intent to mock or question the *status quo*. Many texts of this genre use exaggeration as a means to ‘hold the present up to ridicule’.<sup>96</sup>

Despite its potentially playful, parodic tone, Krishan Kumar reminds us that utopia is serious: it is fiction shaped by reality, but in such a way that makes it somewhat easier for the public to digest.<sup>97</sup> Kumar cites an excerpt from a letter written by Thomas More where he explains *Utopia* was ‘smeared with honey, [so that it] might a little more pleasantly slide into men’s minds’.<sup>98</sup> Vieira also highlights the ‘speculative discourse’ of utopian literature, with its focus on improved social experiences, as a way to present a potentially subversive message about reality.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Vieira, p. 7.

<sup>95</sup> For examples, see: Henry Crocker Marriott Watson, *Erchomenon, or the Republic of Materialism* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1879): The novel opens in 1877, where the protagonist has returned home from a lecture titled ‘The origin of all things’ – perhaps a reference in both name and subject to Darwin’s *On the Origins of Species* or L.M. Arnolds 1852 *History of the Origin of All Things* – and is digesting the discussed themes and implications, particularly a religious one. Pursuing a curious birdsong, he gets lost, and at daybreak finds himself transported 600 years in the future.

The Inhabitant, *The Great Romance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008): The Great Romance begins with the protagonist, John Hope, waking from a deep sleep. It is explained that he voluntarily took a sleeping draught in 1950 and has now awoken in 2143. The text follows his reintroduction into society, where he learns about telepathy, which is now commonplace as a method of communication, and other technological advances.

<sup>96</sup> Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction*, p. 24.

<sup>97</sup> Krishan Kumar, ‘Aspects of the Western Utopian Tradition’, in *Thinking Utopia: Steps into Other Worlds*, ed. by Jö Rüsen, Michael Fehr, and Thomas W. Rieger (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 17-31 (p. 19).

<sup>98</sup> Thomas More to Peter Giles, *Utopia*, ed. by Edward Surtz and J. H. Hexter (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 251, cited in Kumar, p. 19.

<sup>99</sup> Vieira, pp. 7, 8.

Imagined utopian societies can vary in form, and just as diverse are the responses to their 'ideals'. What is utopian for one group or individual may not be utopian for another.<sup>100</sup>

Over the course of his academic career in utopian studies, Sargent has identified:

socialist, capitalist, monarchical, democratic, anarchist, ecological, feminist, patriarchal, egalitarian, hierarchical, racist, left-wing, right-wing, reformist, free love, nuclear family, extended family, gay, lesbian, and many more utopias, and all these types were published between 1516 and the middle of the 20th century...<sup>101</sup>

As evidenced by the vastly different forms of utopian literature that have emerged, the essence of 'utopia' has changed since More's creation of the word. Prior to the end of the eighteenth century, the conventional location of a utopic society was 'some other geographical place at the same time', but an emerging archetype increasingly positioned utopias in 'the same place but at a future time'.<sup>102</sup> Scholarly application of the term 'utopia' has also expanded. It can refer to general utopianism or the utopian literary tradition specifically.<sup>103</sup> Therefore utopia can relate to both fiction and non-fiction sources. The same is true of its antonym, dystopia.

The word 'dystopia', when used as an opposite to utopia, was coined by English philosopher John Stuart Mill in 1868.<sup>104</sup> Previously, Jeremy Bentham had used 'cacotopia' with the same intention. Gregory Claeys, however, points out that dystopia did not become a common term until the twentieth century.<sup>105</sup> Dystopia indicates a 'bad place' where circumstances are 'extremely' negative and are the consequence of 'the continuation of some current trend to an extreme'.<sup>106</sup> Like utopia, dystopia is an alternative of contemporary reality,

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<sup>100</sup> Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction*, p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction*, p. 21.

<sup>102</sup> Bell, 'What do we mean by futures studies?', p. 5.

<sup>103</sup> Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction*, p. 5.

<sup>104</sup> Gregory Claeys, 'The origins of dystopia: Wells, Huxley and Orwell', in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. by Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 107-132 (p. 107).

<sup>105</sup> Claeys, 'The origins of dystopia', p. 107.

<sup>106</sup> Jeff Prucher, 'Dystopia', *Oxford Reference*, updated 2007

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/view/10.1093/acref/9780195305678.001.0001/acref-9780195305678-e-131>> [accessed 29 June 2017].

and while still recognisable to the reader, dystopia emphasizes ‘negative developments concerning the (global) political, economic and ecological situation’ of that contemporary world.<sup>107</sup>

Dystopia is often defined in terms of being the ‘opposite’ of utopia. Literary scholars Raffaella Baccolini and Tom Moylan label dystopia as ‘the dark side of utopia’.<sup>108</sup> Claeys explains that the distinction between the two concepts is much less clear, citing Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) as ‘the most famous exemplar’ of dystopian literature but revealing that Orwell did not write the book with an anti-utopian sentiment in mind.<sup>109</sup> Claeys points out that a dystopian literary tradition emerged and grew in popularity throughout the twentieth century as a response to the ‘failed utopia’ of totalitarianism, not as a reaction against utopian literature or other utopian visions.<sup>110</sup>

My thesis applies international methodologies and terminologies to a new context: the future in settler colonial Aotearoa New Zealand. In doing so, I challenge and extend existing historiography of New Zealand’s past futures and provide an innovative methodology for exploring the future in New Zealand. Similarly to O’Hara, who utilizes visions of the future to ‘reconsider Mexico’s colonial era’, I too examine the relationship between past, present, and future in order to illuminate New Zealand settler colonial past.<sup>111</sup> The selection of four individuals and their future-focused texts provides an opportunity to examine a small range of imaginings of New Zealand’s future, investigating their horizons of expectation and the spaces of experience from which those horizons are produced. My analysis demonstrates the

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<sup>107</sup> Frauke Matz, ‘Alternate Worlds – Alternate Texts: Teaching (Young Adult) Dystopian Novels’, in *Learning with Literature in the EFL Classroom*, ed. by Werner Delanoy, Maria Eisenmann and Frauke Matz (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 263-282 (p. 264).

<sup>108</sup> Raffaella Baccolini and Tom Moylan, ‘Introduction: Dystopia and History’ in *Dark Horizons: Science Fiction and the Dystopian Imagination*, ed. by Raffaella Baccolini and Tom Moylan (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 1-12 (p. 1).

<sup>109</sup> Claeys, ‘The origins of dystopia’, p. 107.

<sup>110</sup> Gregory Claeys, *Dystopia: A Natural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 5.

<sup>111</sup> O’Hara, p. 17.

congruences and dissonances inherent in imagining the future in New Zealand, arguing that these same tensions were also present in settler colonial New Zealand society.

I explore over 30 years of New Zealand's past, specifically through the publications and lives of Julius Vogel, Āpirana Ngata, Truby King, and Ettie Rout. These four individuals and their work provides examples of the anxieties and concerns that were held by some New Zealanders between 1889 and 1923, and the textual formats in which those anxieties could be expressed. I have sought historical contextualisation both from within and beyond New Zealand's shores and retained a central focus on the historical actor as an individual. Influential scholars of New Zealand history – James Belich, Peter Gibbons, Giselle Byrnes, Tony Ballantyne, for example – suggest that approaches like transnationalism and postcolonialism are useful to push back against a narrow-minded narrative of New Zealand exceptionalism or nation-making.<sup>112</sup> My research investigates 'the future' with these methodologies in mind, and in turn, extends these well-established directions in the writing of New Zealand history, while also combining them with international trends in the analysis of historical future-focused narratives.

### Thesis structure

This thesis is grounded in New Zealand history and moves through several decades of the country's settler colonial past, and several decades of settler colonial futures. While chronologically ordered, chapters are framed around key themes, particularly gender, race, and empire, reflecting the shifting spaces of experience that influenced the imagined horizons of

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<sup>112</sup> For example, see: Peter Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37.1 (2003), 38-49; *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009); Giselle Byrnes and Catharine Coleborne, 'Editorial Introduction: The Utility and Futility of "The Nation" in Histories of Aotearoa New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 45.1 (2011), pp. 1-14; Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012); Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012).

expectations. I begin with a visionary – almost whimsical – future presented in the form of a novel, Julius Vogel’s *Anno Domini 2000* (1889), then I move to a more pragmatic depiction that blends imagination with realism, an essay titled *The Past and Future of the Maori* (1893), authored by Āpirana Ngata. The thesis culminates in the final two chapters which explore early twentieth century guidebooks that set out very clear incentives for change and solutions to adopt in order to achieve desirable futures and avoid what the authors regard as imminent disaster: Truby King’s *Feeding and Care of Baby* (1913), *Baby’s First Month* (1913), *Save the Babies* (1917), and Ettie Rout’s *Safe Marriage* (1922) and *Two Years in Paris* (1923). Questions of power and control persist throughout all four chapters as I scrutinize who produced depictions of the future and why, and the characteristics of those imaginings, with particular attention paid to the target audience and excluded individuals or groups.

Chapter One: ‘A recognized dominance of either sex is unnecessary’ explores the portrayal of gender in Vogel’s 1889 novel *Anno Domini 2000*. Born in London, Vogel arrived on New Zealand shores in 1861. Vogel worked as a journalist before entering politics, becoming Premier in the 1870s. *Anno Domini 2000* presents a future (federated) British Empire where women have the right to vote and can hold positions of political power. I investigate the text’s connections to the New Zealand suffrage movement and nineteenth-century gender expectations and reposition the text as simultaneously radical and conservative in its depiction of future men and women.

Chapter Two: ‘We are stranded on a strange shore’ considers Māori futures in the late nineteenth century through Ngata’s *The Past and Future of the Maori* (1893). A little over ten years after the publication of this essay, Ngata was elected to Parliament, and it is his long and illustrious political career that he is most often remembered for today. I engage with the text to explore conflicting ideas of Indigenous futures within a (hostile) colonial space, and issues of self-determination. I emphasize Ngata’s formulation of a positive future for Māori that blended

both European and Māori cultural elements. Themes of old versus new and modern versus traditional reflect ideas of progression from past to future present in both Ngata's essay and Pākehā conceptions of Māori futures as the nineteenth century draws to a close.

Chapter Three: 'What is sown in infancy may be reaped in middle life' highlights the relationship between babies, children, and the future in the early twentieth century. King's baby-raising manuals *Feeding and Care of Baby* (1913) and *Baby's First Month* (1913) are positioned alongside the evangelistic *Save the Babies* (1917). I assert that King, as the founder of infant-focused organisation Plunket, sought to provide a didactic baby care method for New Zealand mothers in order to stay the alarming increase of infant mortality. I argue that he attempted to achieve this by using the future as a rhetorical device, employing the idea to simultaneously educate mothers and incentivize changed behaviours.

Chapter Four: 'And now it is the married women on whom we must rely' extends the connection between babies and the future by examining venereal disease and its impact on wives and children, through the narratives of Rout's *Safe Marriage* (1922) and *Two Years in Paris* (1923). Both booklets detail Rout's work with New Zealand and Australian servicemen during World War One and their publication was part of Rout's post-war attempt to provide venereal disease prevention and management to the general public. I detail Rout's construction of a transformed future in terms of sex and marriage, and trace both historical and modern responses to her work regarding venereal disease. As a *persona non grata*, Rout and her depiction of the future serves as a bookend for this thesis by exploring a future that was extensively rejected or resisted by contemporaries, unlike the visions of Vogel, Ngata, and King, who faced fragmented criticism.

## Key themes and contributions of research

My thesis nuances settler colonial futures in New Zealand by displaying the multiplicity of experiences and horizons. While the future is a space of imagination, it is also a space of tension. The four authors selected can be seen to be in dialogue with each other through time and space, thus presenting separate yet interconnected threads of New Zealand's past. My research intersects with questions of gender, race, and empire across several decades, highlighting both continuity and change. There is also nuance to be found within the historical contexts in which these authors imagined their respective futures. Not all New Zealanders shared the same spaces of experiences as these four individuals, and not all New Zealanders imagined the same horizon in the same way either. Authority, privilege, and identity shape the production of future-focused narratives. This thesis's four chapters explore the spaces of experience and horizons of expectations encountered by each author. Its conclusion then compares, contrasts, and evaluates these visions to draw out the thesis's key themes of form, empire, gender, and race.

The four chosen authors present their horizons of expectation in different forms. I have already discussed the influence of colonization on texts produced in New Zealand; this is a broad space of experience common to all four authors surveyed. Beyond this, my research shows that the act of imagining a horizon of expectation is not confined to one medium. Various forms are used to imagine the future and to articulate the horizon: Vogel and the novel; Ngata and the essay; King and Rout and the guidebook. Historical scholarship has tended to focus on the novel as a vehicle for future-focused narratives, but my research shows that historical imaginings of the future are not confined to fiction and that imagination is equally at play in the more practical forms of the guidebook.

The British Empire looms large over all seven texts analysed in this thesis. All four authors inhabited a space of experience shaped by British settler colonialism and the impact of this is visible in the horizons they imagine. Vogel's federated British Empire boasts gender equality in the political sphere. The young Ngata imagined a Māori presence within an unstoppable, hostile Pākehā future. King worried about imperial fitness and the wider implications of ill-equipped mothers and unhealthy babies. Rout provided a practical notion of sexual health that was underpinned by her beliefs about imperial wellbeing and eugenics, and rejected by some based on imperialistic hegemony. These futures were influenced by colonisation and imperialism.

My research seeks to illustrate that New Zealand was not only connected to the Pacific but also the wider British Empire. Within each thesis chapter, I have contextualised both the author's life and the future they envision by presenting relevant local and international developments. Nineteenth-century New Zealand was 'situated within a nexus of not only overlapping but competing national communities conceived geographically as well as socially'.<sup>113</sup> The colony was also part of a "Tasman world" and associated strongly with Eastern Australia.<sup>114</sup> Through Vogel, New Zealand is connected to Australia and Britain; through Ngata, to the wider Pacific region; through King, to Australia, Britain, and Canada; through Rout, to Britain and France. These knowledge networks also contributed to the level of authority enjoyed by each author and demonstrates that their spaces of experience extended beyond the boundaries of New Zealand.

Through exploration of spaces of experience and horizons of expectation, my research proves that future imaginings are important to understanding the past and demonstrates that

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<sup>113</sup> Nadia Gush, 'With Culture Comes the Nation: Women, Cultural Citizenships and Late Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *Cultural History*, 1.2 (2012), 205-225 (p. 205).

<sup>114</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 19.

future-focused narratives are inherently nuanced and complex. Investigating imaginings and articulations of the future in New Zealand's past suggests broader questions that can be asked – and answered. Who was included and who was excluded from settler colonial projects in New Zealand? Who had the power or authority to influence New Zealand futures? Who did not? How do future-focused narratives fit within the landscape of New Zealand fictional, political, and technical writing? Vogel's *Anno Domini 2000* provides a pertinent starting point for these discussions with his horizon reflecting key settler colonial values of the 1880s such as the ascendancy of the British Empire and the family-oriented role of women. However, Vogel's imagined year 2000 also extends the boundaries of late nineteenth century spaces of experience, presenting women as politically and intellectually empowered. Creatively framed within the burgeoning genre of science fiction, Vogel's future-focused narrative epitomizes tensions between innovation and tradition in settler colonial New Zealand.

## Chapter One: 'A recognized dominance of either sex is unnecessary' - Julius Vogel's *Anno Domini 2000* (1889)

Our scene opens in Melbourne, in the year 2000... In a large and handsome room in the Federal buildings, a young woman of about twenty-three years of age was seated. She was born in New Zealand. She entered the local parliament before she was twenty. At twenty-two she was elected to the Federal Parliament, and she had now become Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs. From her earliest youth she had never failed in any intellectual exercise. Her intelligence was considered phenomenal. Her name was Hilda Richmond Fitzherbert.<sup>1</sup>

- Julius Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*.

Julius Vogel's *Anno Domini 2000* (1889), a fictional imagining of the world in the year 2000, emerges from his own space of experience and encapsulates his visions of a future in which women play a significant role in the public life of New Zealand, Australia, and the now-federated British Empire. Hilda Fitzherbert, the novel's heroine who is the focal point of my opening epigraph, epitomises this through both her intelligence and her aptitude for political service and leadership. This horizon of expectation reflects Vogel's deeply held beliefs of the need for women to be given the vote and is inextricably linked to the women's suffrage movement in New Zealand in the 1880s. While Vogel was unsuccessful in bringing about legislative transformation in his term as a New Zealand Member of Parliament, he was part of an active and vocal movement that agitated for change. This vision of a New Zealand in which women could vote and have access to higher education troubled many of Vogel's fellow politicians who were happy with the status quo and resistant to change. Having failed to get his Women's Suffrage Bill passed while in office, some years later Vogel turned to the medium of fiction as a means of sharing his vision and to persuade readers to embrace his reimagined future. This chapter utilises the organising structure of spaces of experience and horizons of expectation by first situating Vogel within his biographical, cultural, political, and social

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<sup>1</sup> Julius Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000 or Woman's Destiny* (Auckland: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2000), p. 40.

context and then turning to a detailed analysis of the future horizons he contemplates in his novel, interrogating both the radical and conservative aspects of this horizon as well as responses to *Anno Domini 2000* and alternate horizons presented by others. Before moving to these two complementary parts to the chapter, this introductory section will reflect on his chosen form, the science fiction futuristic novel.

Allan H. Pasco writes of the way in which literature can be ‘extraordinarily useful’ to the historian as ‘it is a response to reality, whether by reflection or reaction’.<sup>2</sup> The genre of science fiction, particularly the subcategory of “speculative fiction” to which *Anno Domini 2000* belongs, is invested in expanding horizons of expectations. Science fiction has been specifically identified by historian Stephen Kern as a popular form for the production and transportation of ideas about the future. The burgeoning of science fiction writing – which, in the nineteenth century, was commonly referred to as ‘scientific romance’<sup>3</sup> – from 1880 onwards, and the positive responses to such books, indicates that ‘this generation was especially eager to [look ahead]’.<sup>4</sup> Kern labels the theme of the future as ‘a piece of overripe fruit’ because science fiction authors so enthusiastically utilized it. Early pioneers of the genre like H.G. Wells, who is described as ‘the inventor of modern science fiction’, have received particular attention from scholars.<sup>5</sup> Commonly used themes in such fiction include framing the future as utopian or dystopian, as was foregrounded in the Introduction to this thesis.

Focusing on the genre’s connection to urban spaces and technological inventions, Stephen Graham makes the important point that science fiction typically reflects present-centred

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<sup>2</sup> Allan H. Pasco, ‘Literature as Historical Archive’, *New Literary History*, 35.3 (2004), 373-394 (p. 374).

<sup>3</sup> The term ‘science fiction’ was not invented until the 1920s and was not commonly used until the 1940s but science fiction-type literature did exist prior to the 1920s. A more correct phrase for early writings within this genre is ‘scientific romance’. See: Brian Stableford, *Scientific Romance in Britain, 1890-1950* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Kern, p. 94; Wagar W. Warren, ‘Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow’, *Technology Review*, 96.3 (1993), 50-59 (p. 50); Simon J. James, *Maps of Utopia: H. G. Wells, Modernity and the End of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Peter J. Bowler, *A History of the Future: Prophets of Progress from H.G. Wells to Isaac Asimov* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

anxieties, such as the ‘fragility of modern civilisation’ and concerns about the balance of power and control.<sup>6</sup> Lisa Yaszek likewise highlights that ‘stories about the future mirror our hopes and fears about life in the present’ and that this is substantiated by analysis of science fiction.<sup>7</sup> Yaszek contends that science fiction authors often create futures based upon their opinion of the ‘key social and material forces shaping history’ and specific philosophies or ways of thinking appropriate to their present.<sup>8</sup> She argues that the study of science fiction can reveal much about cultural history, including the social values and practices of the past – whether the text in question confirms, complicates, or challenges those values and practices.<sup>9</sup> Adopting Yaszek’s approach to science fiction, this chapter focuses on questions of gender in Vogel’s novel and argues that his future imagining is both a utopian hope for a transformed future and a reflection of contemporary gendered hierarchies and tension in 1880s New Zealand.

Vogel’s narrative presents a future that disrupts contemporary ideas of gender while simultaneously reinforcing late nineteenth-century gender ideals. *Anno Domini 2000* imagines a world where females can and do hold great political power, Roger Robinson praising ‘the enlightened central vision of women’s political, social and economic equality’.<sup>10</sup> The novel’s depiction of gendered change is aligned with “rational” liberal feminist philosophies of the nineteenth century, particularly those championed by John Stuart Mill. Linking the novel to wider settler colonial debates, Philip Steer highlights the way in which Vogel ‘foregrounds two areas of social and political innovation – imperial federation and gender equality in the public sphere – and attributes the attainment of both to colonial interventions’.<sup>11</sup> Yet this radical

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<sup>6</sup> Stephen Graham, ‘Vertical noir: Histories of the future in urban science fiction’, *City*, 20.3 (2016), p. 390.

<sup>7</sup> Lisa Yaszek, ‘Cultural History’, in *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction*, ed. by Mark Bould, Andrew Butler, Adam Roberts and Sherryl Vint (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 194-203 (p. 194).

<sup>8</sup> Yaszek, p. 194.

<sup>9</sup> Yaszek, p. 194.

<sup>10</sup> Roger Robinson, ‘Introduction’, in Julius Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000 or Woman’s Destiny* (Auckland: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2000), pp. 11-21 (p. 12).

<sup>11</sup> Philip Steer, *Settler Colonialism in Victorian Literature: Economics and Political Identity in the Networks of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 156.

reworking of nineteenth-century gender roles exists in tension with a concern that women cannot effectively show political leadership *at the same time* as being wives and mothers. Marriage and motherhood remain valuable and desirable for all women. Despite women working outside the home, Vogel does not suggest men could be primary caregivers to children or could be responsible for household demands. Masculinity is associated with war, and the ability of men to lead the military is an important characteristic of the “desirable” male. Furthermore, the novel presents men as holding supreme authority over women. The female characters do possess independent political power but they ultimately defer to a male, the Emperor of the British Empire. Female succession to the throne is eventually allowed, but only due to male benevolence and male consent.

#### Sir Julius Vogel, 1835-1899

At the time Vogel wrote and published *Anno Domini 2000*, New Zealand women had not won the right to vote but were in the midst of a sustained campaign for their suffrage. They would be successful in 1893, making New Zealand the first self-governing country in the world to grant universal suffrage, but women would not be able to stand for election to Parliament until 1919.<sup>12</sup> Vogel’s personal interest in women’s rights combines with this wider space of experience to produce a novel that reflects his professional statements and actions and responds to debates regarding gender circulating throughout the 1880s.

Born in London in 1835, Julius Vogel only spent eighteen of his sixty-four years in New Zealand, but he is oft quoted as saying that they were ‘the best years of his life’.<sup>13</sup> Migrating to Australia in 1852 to follow news of gold discoveries in the colony of Victoria, Vogel embarked on a series of business ventures which were ‘more notable for inventiveness

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<sup>12</sup> The first female Member of Parliament was not elected to the New Zealand House of Representatives until 1933, when Elizabeth McCombs retained the Lyttelton Seat for the burgeoning Labour Party.

<sup>13</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986), p. 9.

than profitability', a characterization that Roger Robinson asserts became a pattern in Vogel's life.<sup>14</sup> While in Victoria, Vogel worked as a journalist, and within a month of his arrival in New Zealand in 1861, he co-founded the *Otago Daily Times*, New Zealand's first daily newspaper. The publication debuted on 15 November 1861, with Vogel as editor.<sup>15</sup> He continued to be involved with the newspaper until 1868.<sup>16</sup>

Vogel also quickly became involved with politics in New Zealand, and he enjoyed a long career holding various positions in provincial and central government from 1862 until 1876. Entering politics with election to the Provincial Council of Otago in 1862, he became the Member of Parliament for Dunedin and Suburbs North the following year. He was MP for various electorates outside of Otago in the 1870s, including Auckland East and Wanganui. From April 1873 to July 1875, and again from February to August 1876, he was Premier of New Zealand.<sup>17</sup> He was knighted in 1875. In 1876 he resigned from the premiership and became Agent-General, widely considered the most prestigious political appointment offered by New Zealand.<sup>18</sup> He remained in this London-based role until late 1880, when he began exploring numerous business ventures. Most of these had failed by 1884 and faced with 'no employment, a frightening pile of debts, and heavy expenses', Vogel returned to New Zealand.<sup>19</sup> He re-entered politics and was elected as MP for Christchurch North.

The 1870s have been described as Vogel's 'peak decade as a politician' and it is this 'Vogel Era' that historians most commonly associate with narratives of the man today.<sup>20</sup> Vogel imagined a future for New Zealand that was economically independent from Britain.<sup>21</sup> During

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<sup>14</sup> Roger Robinson, 'Sir Julius Vogel, 1835 - 1939', *Kōtare*, 7.2 (2008), 86-92 (p. 87).

<sup>15</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>16</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, *Sir Julius Vogel* (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1968), p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, 'Vogel, Julius - Dictionary of New Zealand Biography', *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 2013 <<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1v4/vogel-julius>> [accessed 25 September 2019].

<sup>18</sup> Dalziel, *Sir Julius Vogel*, p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 249.

<sup>20</sup> Robinson, 'Introduction', p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Robinson, 'Sir Julius Vogel', p. 88.

this decade, the Main Trunk railway line was constructed and many new roads were built as part of Vogel's Public Works Scheme. A system of subsidized immigration also offered employment on Public Works projects to suitable migrants. Capitalizing on feelings of economic stagnation in the colony, Vogel's expansionist ideas 'laid the foundation of New Zealand's full development as a modern nation'.<sup>22</sup>

Vogel's infrastructure developments allowed for settlement in much of the previously inaccessible interior of the country.<sup>23</sup> While initially incredibly popular, over time Vogel's Public Works Scheme suffered heavy criticism. It was financed by large amounts of borrowing which magnified New Zealand's experience of the global economic recession of the 1880s. With hindsight, Vogel's scheme was detrimental to Māori as it hastened the speed of land acquisitions by settlers. Increased spending on public works projects also shifted the bulk of political power to central government and away from the Provincial system that had governed the colony since 1852. This contributed to the eventual dissolution of Provincial governments in 1876.<sup>24</sup>

Vogel's support of the New Zealand suffrage movement, and women's rights more generally, has been somewhat overlooked by historians who tend to focus on his grand schemes of public works and their impact on the making of "modern" New Zealand. Michael King labels Vogel 'the dominant politician of the era after the New Zealand Wars' and details his plans to improve transport and communication networks and increase immigration.<sup>25</sup> James Belich highlights similarities between the expansionist policies of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Vogel, implying a 'founding father' status on both men.<sup>26</sup> He refers to Vogel as 'brilliant and

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<sup>22</sup> Robinson, 'Introduction', p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> Dalziel, *Sir Julius Vogel*, p. 19.

<sup>24</sup> See: André Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier: The Creation and Demise of New Zealand's Provinces, 1853-76* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016).

<sup>25</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 228.

<sup>26</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders* (Auckland: The Penguin Press, 2001), p. 21.

ebullient' and described the 'Vogelian spurt of public spending in the 1870s' as the apex of progressive colonization.<sup>27</sup> Belich also emphasizes Vogel's Judaism, overstating his achievements as triumphs over a surreptitiously anti-Semitic British empire.<sup>28</sup> Various chapters of *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* refer to Vogel in terms of his political and economic influence on New Zealand.<sup>29</sup> Entries for Vogel were also included in the 1966 *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand* and the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.<sup>30</sup>

Vogel's endorsement of higher education for women and their capabilities for engagement with politics as both voters and officeholders existed prior to the production of *Anno Domini 2000*. In 1863, Vogel argued in favour of higher education for girls and ten years later publicly expressed his agreement with John Stuart Mill's notions of women's rights.<sup>31</sup> In May 1887, Vogel – then the Colonial Treasurer to Robert Stout's government – introduced a Women's Suffrage Bill into the New Zealand Parliament. The Bill not only sought to grant universal suffrage but also to allow women to stand for election to the New Zealand House of Commons. Throughout the night, the Bill was debated intensely with over 25 individual Members of Parliament speaking on the topic, before a vote to move the Bill to the second reading. The Bill passed to its second reading with 41 MPs in support and 22 in opposition.<sup>32</sup> A week after its introduction to the House, the Women's Suffrage Bill's progress through the Select Committee stage was reported to Parliament. Discussion and votes were centred around Clause 2 of the Bill which sought to amend the existing Qualification of Electors Act 1879,

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<sup>27</sup> James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), pp. 280, 351.

<sup>28</sup> Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 280; Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 231.

<sup>29</sup> *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>30</sup> Warwick Robert Armstrong, 'Vogel, Sir Julius, K.C.M.G.', *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand* <<https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/vogel-sir-julius-kcmg>> [accessed 25 September 2019]; Raewyn Dalziel, 'Vogel, Julius – Dictionary of New Zealand Biography', *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 2013 <<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1v4/vogel-julius>> [accessed 25 September 2019].

<sup>31</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 268.

<sup>32</sup> New Zealand Government, 'Parliamentary Debates', v. 57 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1887), p. 257.

adding the words ‘and female’ after every instance of the phrase ‘every male’.<sup>33</sup> This Clause was removed with a majority of two, which resulted in the Bill being rendered ‘virtually dead’ as it would not achieve its purpose.<sup>34</sup> Due to its prompt defeat, the Bill is perhaps overshadowed by the success that came in 1893, but Vogel’s proposed legislation is an important part of the New Zealand suffrage story that demands recognition.

Robert Stout’s government was defeated at the 1887 general election, just a few months after Vogel’s Women’s Suffrage Bill was introduced and opposed. With this also came Vogel’s final exit from New Zealand politics. His health declining, ‘almost insolvent’, and with no reputable future in politics or business, Vogel sailed from New Zealand shores for the last time.<sup>35</sup> He spent the last years of his life in England, mostly reading and writing, and eventually becoming wheelchair bound.<sup>36</sup> Vogel died in 1899 after two heart attacks in as many months, leaving his family almost destitute.

*Anno Domini 2000* was written over the Northern Hemisphere summer and autumn of 1888.<sup>37</sup> Vogel’s main motive for writing the novel was financial gain. By the late 1880s, Vogel was heavily in debt. He believed a novel would sell better and be better received than an essay.<sup>38</sup> He was also described as having a ‘taste for romanticism’.<sup>39</sup> Through fiction, he could explore these more “whimsical” ideas without relinting his reputation as a practical statesman.<sup>40</sup> Vogel saw fiction as a tool that could influence and persuade others. Historian R.M. Burdon describes Vogel’s desire to see his ideas to reach a wider audience, particularly the ‘warm-hearted, impressionable public’ rather than the readers of ‘solemn, instructive

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<sup>33</sup> Women’s Suffrage Bill 1887, section 2.

<sup>34</sup> New Zealand Government, ‘Parliamentary Debates’, p. 372.

<sup>35</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 301.

<sup>36</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, pp. 302, 309.

<sup>37</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 302.

<sup>38</sup> R.M. Burdon, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Vogel* (Christchurch: The Caxton Press, 1948), p. 220.

<sup>39</sup> Burdon, p. 220.

<sup>40</sup> Burdon, p. 220.

periodicals'.<sup>41</sup> A work of fiction underpinned by such a premise as gender equality may have been received more sympathetically. However, the novel received overall negative reviews and was a financial failure.

*Anno Domini 2000* also provided Vogel with a platform for (imagined) wish-fulfillment. While it "set the world right" according to Vogel's personal views, it also highlighted his failings.<sup>42</sup> The book is deeply personal and hypothetically autobiographical:

The book... is a predication of Vogel's political theory and philosophy of life, a tribute to people and things he admired, but it is also a summary of all the wishes of his lifetime fulfilled, of all his aims and objects accomplished.<sup>43</sup>

The obvious example is Vogel's failed Women's Suffrage Bill, but this is not the only instance of the novel breathing life into lost dreams. A scheme to divert the Molyneux River in order to efficiently mine gold from its mineral-rich bed is undertaken in *Anno Domini 2000*.<sup>44</sup> Vogel had conceptualized a similar scheme as early as 1864 and took financial steps to make it happen in 1886, but it did not eventuate.<sup>45</sup> The novel intended to achieve, on paper, Vogel's 'ambitions which had been denied him in the world of reality'.<sup>46</sup>

Western world politicians often wrote and published works of fiction in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most valuable parallel to be drawn is between Julius Vogel and Benjamin Disraeli. Disraeli was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in the 1870s and simultaneously enjoyed an illustrious literary career, publishing novels, poetry, and non-fiction. He often wrote

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<sup>41</sup> Burdon, p. 210.

<sup>42</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 303.

<sup>43</sup> Burdon, p. 220.

<sup>44</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 120.

<sup>45</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 303.

<sup>46</sup> Burdon, p. 221.

on causes he personally supported. An astute observer in 1889 noted that *Anno Domini 2000* may have been inspired by Disraeli's *Lothair* (1870).<sup>47</sup>

Vogel entertained aspirations of becoming a successful novelist post-politics; he expected his book would make him much-needed money and hoped it would herald a new career.<sup>48</sup> The novel was 'part of a doomed strategy to establish himself in London as a colonial public intellectual'.<sup>49</sup> Philip Steer views *Anno Domini 2000* as an example of a specific kind of 'speculative utopianism' underpinned by settler colonialism. He argues that this utopianism

comes into focus in New Zealand in the 1870s as a means of securing two interrelated forms of credit for the settler colony: the reputational credit associated with Britishness – what one of Vogel's successors as agent-general would describe as 'the honesty, credit, and standing of industrious, patriotic British communities' – and the financial credit that might as a result be extended from London.<sup>50</sup>

By examining connections between the author, the needs of the colony, and the utility of metropole support, Steer concludes that *Anno Domini 2000* 'gives fullest expression to [Vogel's] political commitment to an imperial federation of Britain and its settler colonies.'<sup>51</sup> The economic and political advantages to maintaining a strong association with Britain was adjacent to nineteenth-century conceptions of New Zealand as a "better" or "brighter" Britain, where the colony would replicate but also improve on the imperial example.

Before the release of *Anno Domini 2000*, the publisher – London based Hutchinson & Co. – believed the book would be a success.<sup>52</sup> Reflecting this, Vogel was paid an advance of

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<sup>47</sup> 'Is It Possible', *Wanganui Herald*, 6 May 1889, p. 2. However, Vogel was not able to replicate Disraeli's success and did not publish any more novels after *Anno Domini 2000*, perhaps in part due to its negative reception and in part due to his ailing health.

<sup>48</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 302.

<sup>49</sup> Steer, *Settler Colonialism in Victorian Literature*, p. 155.

<sup>50</sup> Steer, *Settler Colonialism in Victorian Literature*, p. 146. Steer follows this trope and its variations from Samuel Butler's *First Year in Canterbury Settlement* (1863) and *Erewhon* (1872), through Anthony Trollope's *The Fixed Period* (1882), and concludes his analysis with *Anno Domini 2000* and Henry Crocker Marriott Watson's *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (1890).

<sup>51</sup> Steer, *Settler Colonialism in Victorian Literature*, p. 155.

<sup>52</sup> 'Literature', *Lyttleton Times*, 1 January 1889, p. 3.

£50.<sup>53</sup> The book was, however, a financial failure. Vogel only earned another £10 by October 1890.<sup>54</sup> The first edition of the novel numbered 3000, with sales spread between Britain and New Zealand.<sup>55</sup> Newspapers reported decent demand; one bookseller in Dunedin claimed they sold close to 500 copies by May 1889.<sup>56</sup> Enthusiasm soon waned, however. By September 1889, approximately 2000 copies of the novel had been sold in New Zealand, and booksellers complained of little to no interest.<sup>57</sup> One year later, there were still large numbers of the book in the hands of the publisher, and in 1892 they sold the remaining stock to Vogel and considered the venture ‘absolutely dead’.<sup>58</sup> *Anno Domini 2000* did not help Vogel attain the literary success he chased, nor did he make enough money from its publication to repair his dire financial situation.

The novel’s impact was initially minimal. In the nineteenth century, *Anno Domini 2000* was ‘never talked about’ except by New Zealanders, and the publisher had (correctly) predicted that the first edition would adequately satisfy demand.<sup>59</sup> Common phrases describing the venture included ‘failure’ and ‘disappointing’.<sup>60</sup> However, *Anno Domini 2000* did inspire an imitation novel in the early 1890s, titled ‘Lady Gwen, or, The Days That Are To Be. By a Welsh Nationalist’. The story was serialised in the journal *Cymru Fydd* but remains incomplete due to the periodical’s dissolution in 1891. ‘Lady Gwen’ acknowledged *Anno Domini 2000* and ‘openly appropriated Vogel’s whole narrative’ including federation of the British Empire and gender equality in politics.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> ‘Anglo-colonial Notes’, *Auckland Star*, 14 October 1890, p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Anglo-colonial Notes’, *Auckland Star*, 14 October 1890, p. 5.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Anglo-colonial Notes’, *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1889, p. 6.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Local and General’, *Ashburton Guardian*, 11 May 1889, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> *New Zealand Times*, 21 September 1889, p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 304.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Sir Julius Vogel’s Intentions’, *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 8 March 1889, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Sir Julius Vogel’s Intentions’, *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 8 March 1889, p. 3; ‘Sir Julius Vogel’s Book’, *New Zealand Herald*, 11 May 1889, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> Kirsti Bohata and Roger Robinson, ‘Vogel in Wales: *Anno Domini 2000*, ‘Lady Gwen’ and the Federated Empire’, *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 21 (2003), 140-146 (p. 140).

Throughout the twentieth century, *Anno Domini 2000* was the ‘kind of book that many have heard of but almost no one has read’ with its availability limited to scholarly libraries and the occasional boutique book shop.<sup>62</sup> A commemorative edition was published in 2000, with an introduction by Roger Robinson that reflects on Vogel’s vision for the new millennium. Additionally, in 2002, Vogel was indirectly honoured for his innovative use of fiction to speculate about the future. The Sir Julius Vogel Awards were presented for the first time at the New Zealand National Science Fiction Convention. The organisers of the awards, the Science Fiction and Fantasy Association of New Zealand, explain they selected Vogel’s name as he authored ‘what was probably the first full length Science Fiction novel by a New Zealander’ – *Anno Domini 2000*.<sup>63</sup> The awards have been presented each year since 2002 and recognise exemplary science fiction and fantasy print and video media produced by New Zealanders.

Scholarly interest in *Anno Domini 2000* has increased in the wake of the new edition, released in the year 2000 to coincide with the time period of the novel. Literary studies of the book have resulted in its ‘secure standing as a point of reference in histories of literary utopias, the women’s movement, and imperialism, especially but not only in New Zealand.’<sup>64</sup> Gender analyses of the novel commonly promote *Anno Domini 2000* as a strongly feminist production. Peter Brigg considers the truth of Vogel’s predictions, Dominic Alessio explores themes of race, gender and proto-nationalism, Kirby-Jane Hallum focuses on Vogel’s vision of a harmonious empire and colony, and Kirstine Moffat briefly discusses the text’s relationship to

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<sup>62</sup> Robinson, ‘Introduction’, p. 11.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Sir Julius Vogel Awards’, *Science Fiction and Fantasy Association of New Zealand (SFFANZ)* <<http://www.sffanz.org.nz/sjv/sjvAwards.shtml>> [accessed 21 April 2017].

Note: the claim that Vogel was the first New Zealander to author a science fiction novel can be disputed depending on the definition of “New Zealander” and/or “science fiction”.

<sup>64</sup> Robinson, ‘Sir Julius Vogel, 1835 - 1939’, p. 86.

the New Woman trope.<sup>65</sup> Philip Steer builds on Alessio's foundation and highlights the connections between economics and empire contained in the novel.<sup>66</sup>

Despite his impact on New Zealand with his divisive Public Works Scheme, the first book-length biography of Julius Vogel was not published until 1948.<sup>67</sup> Randall Burton explores Vogel's early life and political career and dedicates an entire chapter to *Anno Domini 2000* with a detailed summary of the text and reproduction of short passages. A series of booklets were published in the 1960s, providing brief biographies of several "famous" New Zealanders (mostly politicians). They were '[w]ritten primarily for secondary schools' but could be valuable 'as quick-reference material' for anyone.<sup>68</sup> The edition on Julius Vogel was authored by Raewyn Dalziel. It reflects the structure and content of Burdon's earlier text and included the biography as "further reading".<sup>69</sup> The booklet only briefly covers Vogel's life and mentions *Anno Domini 2000* in passing.

Dalziel went on to publish her own book-length biography of Vogel in 1986.<sup>70</sup> In the preface, she explores reasons why a new biography of Vogel was necessary. She compliments Burdon's work as 'lively and stimulating' but points out his limited access to resources, particularly private papers.<sup>71</sup> In the time between both biographies, private papers previously kept by Vogel's youngest son had been gifted to the Alexander Turnbull library. She reduces

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<sup>65</sup> See: Peter Brigg, 'Sir Julius Vogel's *Anno Domini 2000*; or *Woman's Destiny: On Mispredicting the Future*', *Extrapolation*, 42.4 (2001), 357-361; Dominic Alessio, 'Race, Gender and Proto-Nationalism in Julius Vogel's *Anno Domini 2000*', *Foundation*, 91 (2004), 36-54; Kirby-Jane Hallum, 'The New Zealand New Woman: Translating a British Cultural Figure to a Colonial Context', *Literature Compass*, 11.5 (2014), 328-336; Kirstine Moffat, "'Devoted to the cause of woman's rights": The New Zealand New Woman novel', *Women's Writing*, 26.3 (2019), 304-327.

<sup>66</sup> Philip Steer, 'National Pasts and Imperial Futures: Temporality, Economics, and Empire in William Morris's *News from Nowhere* (1890) and Julius Vogel's *Anno Domini 2000* (1889)', *Utopian Studies*, 19.1 (2008), 49-72; Philip Steer, 'Speculative Utopianism: Colonial Progress, Debt, and Greater Britain' in *Settler Colonialism in Victorian Literature*, pp. 164-208.

<sup>67</sup> Burdon, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Vogel*.

<sup>68</sup> Dalziel, *Sir Julius Vogel*, back cover.

<sup>69</sup> Dalziel, *Sir Julius Vogel*, p. 31.

<sup>70</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*.

<sup>71</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 10.

*Anno Domini 2000* to a small part of Vogel's 'Defeat and Retirement', the final chapter of her biography.

The following discussion of gender ideals and realities in settler colonial New Zealand society canvasses the wider space of experience that shaped the production of *Anno Domini 2000*. This chapter seeks to reevaluate the historical significance afforded to the novel by exploring its connection to wider historical contexts. Scholars have praised the proto-feminist elements of the text without adequately exploring the contradictory narrative present: Vogel's future-focused vision of gender is imaginative but also remains grounded in nineteenth-century gendered stereotypes, that project expected qualities and behaviour for men and women. Interrogating this duality of progression and conservatism provides valuable insights into the gender dynamics of nineteenth-century New Zealand society, and reinforces the strong connection between spaces of experience and horizons of expectation.

#### Gender ideals and realities in settler colonial New Zealand

It is well established that texts reflect the historical context of their production. This thesis extends such an analysis by demonstrating that future-focused narratives – horizons of expectations – are shaped and influenced by relevant spaces of experience. Vogel's *Anno Domini 2000* is situated within debates around the potential impacts of granting female suffrage. The novel also amplifies a struggle between gender realities and gender ideals in New Zealand in the mid to late nineteenth century. Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law argue the value of exploring such debates of gender equality produced during this period of New Zealand's past:

For a brief time prior to the granting of the vote in 1893, those opposed to enfranchisement feared that the world would be turned upside down: that emasculated men would be forced to mind babies while masculinised women took to politics. Their

fears were unrealised, but they indicate the apparently fragility of understandings of gender.<sup>72</sup>

To this end, this chapter uses *Anno Domini 2000* and other sources to investigate what authors like Vogel believed men and women should do and be, as well as considering the context of what men and women really were doing and being at this time. How was the horizon presented in *Anno Domini 2000* influenced by changing spaces of experience regarding gender during the late nineteenth century and how might the novel, in turn, contribute to wider understandings of gender at this time?

The simultaneously radical and conservative nature of Vogel's depiction of gender reflects competing expectations and realities in nineteenth century New Zealand. Within colonial New Zealand society there were attempts by those in privileged positions to construct a monolithic gendered identity based upon a delicate balance of imperial and colonial desires and framed from a middle-class Pākehā perspective. In reality, there was, and continues to be, 'a plurality of masculinities and femininities'.<sup>73</sup> Vogel constructed a transformed future – for example, female political leaders are commonplace in his year 2000 – but it was also a future that conformed to the gender *ideals* of his present, particularly with regards to domesticity, marriage, and leadership. In this section, I explore what those ideals were in New Zealand society and how *Anno Domini 2000* was influenced by and contributed to its historical context.

A large body of academic work has explored why New Zealand women won the right to vote in 1893.<sup>74</sup> Women were not enfranchised in 1893 accidentally or randomly. A sustained

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<sup>72</sup> Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law, 'Situating Gender', in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939*, ed. by Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), pp. 1-14 (p. 2).

<sup>73</sup> Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, 'Introduction', in *The Gendered Kiwi*, ed. by Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), pp. 7-15 (p. 10).

<sup>74</sup> For example, see: Patricia Grimshaw, 'Politicians and Suffragettes: Women's Suffrage in New Zealand, 1891-1893', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 4.2 (1970), 160-177; Patricia Grimshaw, *Women's suffrage in New Zealand* (Auckland: University of Auckland Press, 1987); Tania Rei, *Māori women and the vote* (Wellington:

campaign had begun in 1885 when New Zealand branches of the American Women's Christian Temperance Union were established across the country. However, agitation for women's rights began much earlier. For example, Polly Plum (Mary Colclough) and Femina (Mary Ann Müller) wrote in newspapers and gave public lectures on female enfranchisement and other related subjects in the 1860s and 1870s. There were also unsuccessful attempts to pass legislation regarding women's suffrage in 1878, 1879, and 1887, the latter spearheaded by Vogel as previously outlined. While discourse regarding suffrage logically focused on the role of women within families and society, a strong binary conception of gender during the nineteenth century allows for extrapolation of male places, spaces, and characteristics, too.

In colonial New Zealand, due to his gender, birthplace, and career, Vogel possessed implicit and explicit power and prestige. In colonial New Zealand, men exclusively held political power. While women were granted the right to vote in 1893, female representation in Parliament was not possible until 1929, and even then, the first woman was not elected as a New Zealand Member of Parliament until 1933. It is unclear to what extent women voted without influence from husbands or other male family members.

Pākehā held the lion's share of political control in colonial New Zealand, while Māori and other ethnic groups were relatively disenfranchised. Pākehā enjoyed demographic dominance by the late nineteenth century, and due to the ideological foundations of British colonization, Pākehā prioritized European ideas and institutions. Māori men had gained universal suffrage in 1867, somewhat surprisingly 12 years before Pākehā men, but their voting capacity was limited. All Māori men over the age of 21 were eligible to vote (regardless of property ownership) and stand for Parliament but only within the four special Māori

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Huia, 1993); *Suffrage and beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, ed. by Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994); Neill Atkinson, *Adventures in democracy: a history of the vote in New Zealand* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003); Megan Hutching, *Leading the Way: how New Zealand women won the vote* (Auckland: Harper Collins, 2010); Jenny Coleman, *From Suffrage to a Seat in the House: the path to parliament for New Zealand women* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2020).

electorates. Prior to the abolishment of individual property ownership requirements in 1879, Māori men who met these conditions could also vote in the general electorates alongside Pākehā. But, from 1893, a dual system separated Māori and Pākehā voters, with Māori only allowed to vote for candidates standing in the Māori electorates. While Māori women were also granted the right to vote in 1893, this decision was underpinned by racial prejudice and not proof of tolerance or respect. Politicians were satisfied that any political influence held by Māori women ‘would be contained within preexisting Maori-only electorates.’<sup>75</sup> Instead, importance was placed on the ways Pākehā women could use *their* newly obtained political influence to keep New Zealand “white”.<sup>76</sup>

Vogel’s expectations about gender were therefore created by and applied to middle-class Pākehā, a privileged class of New Zealanders who influenced and vocalised gender ideals, such as men who had enough community support to be elected to Parliament and women who had enough free time to campaign for suffrage. Understanding gender in any context also requires an understanding of relationships of power, as recognised by eminent scholar Joan Scott in international historiography and endorsed by Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie within a New Zealand framework.<sup>77</sup>

The absence of Māori in *Anno Domini 2000* is underscored by one line in the novel’s epilogue: ‘natives of countries... are not, as a rule, industrious’.<sup>78</sup> The implication is either that, through idleness and indifference, fatal impact theory has become a reality, or that Māori did not contribute to the development of Vogel’s imagined society and empire and therefore do not deserve a mention. Typically, Māori were afforded a peripheral role in colonial New Zealand society, as British immigrants and their descendants considered themselves ethnically superior.

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<sup>75</sup> Patricia Grimshaw, ‘Settler Anxieties, Indigenous Peoples, and Women’s Suffrage in the Colonies of Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai’i, 1888 to 1902’, *Pacific Historical Review*, 69.4 (2000), 553-572 (p. 572).

<sup>76</sup> Grimshaw, ‘Settler Anxieties’, p. 559.

<sup>77</sup> Daley and Montgomerie, p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 183.

Policies of assimilation sought to reduce Māori to a ‘golden tinge on the faces of New Zealanders’.<sup>79</sup> Many believed in the truth of fatal impact theory which expected Māori to ‘die out’ as a race following contact with Europeans. Accordingly, if white New Zealanders did not consider Māori to have a present, they would not have a future either, and therefore could and would be excluded from Pākehā depictions of the future. Despite the novel’s utopian tone, Dominic Alessio asserts that *Anno Domini 2000* was influenced by a racist worldview common of Vogel’s time.<sup>80</sup> Phillip Steer observes the misrepresentation of colonial frontiers implied by the exclusion of ‘any indigenous presence’ in *Anno Domini 2000*.<sup>81</sup>

And yet, in 1893, Vogel wrote sympathetically but pragmatically about Māori, alongside criticisms of so-called ‘effective’ governance from London (which possibly hints his belief in federating the British Empire, a major feature of *Anno Domini 2000*). In terms of race relations in New Zealand between settlers and Māori, Vogel explained:

Many of the most serious difficulties arose from misunderstandings on both sides. Hosts of mistakes were committed by the Imperial Authorities as was necessarily the case as long as they insisted on governing from Downing Street.<sup>82</sup>

He lauded ‘the natives’ as imaginative and intelligent, and argued that characterising them as ‘naturally ferocious and savage’ was incorrect.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, Vogel echoed a common refrain of lament for the (apparently) dying race, referring to ‘a profound misfortune’ if Māori vanish entirely, and also affirmed a belief in British superiority by encouraging the survival of only ‘a civilised remnant’.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 190.

<sup>80</sup> Dominic Alessio, ‘Promoting Paradise: Utopianism and National Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1930’, *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 42.1 (2008), 22-41 (p. 33).

<sup>81</sup> Steer, *Settler Colonialism in Victorian Literature*, p. 155.

<sup>82</sup> Julius Vogel, ‘New Zealand: Its Past, Present and Future’, paper read at the Imperial Institute, 4 December 1893 <<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Stout71-t31.html>> [accessed 23 June 2020], p. 6.

<sup>83</sup> Vogel, ‘New Zealand: Its Past, Present and Future’, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>84</sup> Vogel, ‘New Zealand: Its Past, Present and Future’, p. 6.

Advocates of the wider women's rights movement of the nineteenth century frequently referenced the Enlightenment, when middle- and upper-class European women began enjoying more personal freedoms. Philosophers such as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau discussed gender equality, and early feminist writings such as Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) gained much attention. Specifically, Enlightenment era texts suggested that a society's level of "civilization" could be measured by that society's treatment or view of women. This idea persisted for many years and in fact, continues to be a point of discussion within modern international relations scholarship. Political scientist Ann Towns contends that while the freedom of women remains a measure of civilization, definitions of both women's rights and civilization have varied wildly throughout history. She recognises that, since the nineteenth century, the political status of women that is considered to indicate advancement or progress has 'changed – dramatically'.<sup>85</sup> Towns also emphasizes that '[c]ivilization is clearly not a static concept, and its meanings have been both contested and plural.'<sup>86</sup> In terms of the nineteenth century, and particularly the Western world movements for female enfranchisement, Towns argues that European interpretations of civilization promoted the *exclusion* of women from political life; therefore, she concludes that New Zealand, in granting women the right to vote in 1893, 'defied expected behaviour'.<sup>87</sup> Elsewhere, Europeans argued that women were "free" from the burden of voting and political careers, and in wider circumstances, were not required to work outside the home to afford the basics of life because their husbands would provide for their needs. But, this ideal was never the reality for a range of women including many working-class women, unmarried women, women abandoned by their husbands, and widows.

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<sup>85</sup> Ann Towns, 'The Status of Women as a Standard of 'Civilization'', *European Journal of International Relations*, 15.4 (2009), 681-706 (p. 684).

<sup>86</sup> Towns, p. 683.

<sup>87</sup> Towns, p. 686.

The influential English philosopher John Stuart Mill also mused on women's rights as a measure of civilization. In his liberal feminist treatise, *The Subjection of Women* (1869), Mill recognised 'the legal subordination of one sex to the other... is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement.'<sup>88</sup> He also likened the oppression of women as a kind of slavery, and concluded that modern, democratic states should not and do not enslave people.<sup>89</sup> However, his definition of freedom for women was underpinned by his belief that 'even given the same education, economic opportunities, and civil liberties as men, women will still choose marriage and motherhood over other, competing occupations.'<sup>90</sup> Therefore, Mill interpreted freedom (in terms of women's rights) as the *choice* of financial and political independence rather than the invoking of *actual* independence. Both of these definitions contrast starkly with Towns' suggestion that upper-class people in nineteenth-century Europe considered a lack of need for women to be financially and politically independent as the pinnacle of civilized society. These varied notions of freedom and civilization highlight the plurality inherent in social constructions.

Due to their temporal proximity to colonization of the antipodean colonies, Mill's philosophies were well-known in New Zealand and Australia throughout the nineteenth century. Patricia Grimshaw describes their reach and impact:

Many male politicians could quote John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women*, and, in the absence of an entrenched conservative ruling class, the political culture was sympathetic to radical democratic proposals.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1869), p. 1.

<sup>89</sup> Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, p. 55.

<sup>90</sup> Rosemarie Tong, *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2006), p. 18.

<sup>91</sup> Grimshaw, 'Settler Anxieties', p. 557.

Early New Zealand feminists such as Polly Plum (a pseudonym of Mary Colclough) and Mary Ann Müller were influenced by Mill's ideas of women's rights.<sup>92</sup> Polly Plum expressly referred to Mill in 1871, writing to the editor of the *New Zealand Herald* and imploring men to read *The Subjection of Women*.<sup>93</sup> Vogel also declared himself a supporter of Mill, declaring to the crowd at the Otago Girls High School prizegiving in 1873 that he was 'one of the disciples of John Stuart Mill's theory of the right of the female sex to the franchise.'<sup>94</sup> Prophetically, he also correctly predicted that New Zealand would be 'among the first' of the colonies to grant women the right to vote.<sup>95</sup> He did, however, temper his views by explaining that

None of us – I am now speaking of persons of my own sex – are admirers or what are known as strong-minded females; nor do we, I think, care much for blue stockingism...<sup>96</sup>

This is an early example of Vogel's simultaneously radical and conservative ideas regarding women's rights, similar to what is visible in *Anno Domini 2000*. On the one hand, he approves of women with 'minds of their own [and] ideas of their own' but simultaneously deplores those who are considered too opinionated or too intellectual.<sup>97</sup> The "ideal" woman must therefore exist somewhere in between these subjective expectations placed on them by males like Vogel, who exerted their power and influence over women by formulating and expressing these expectations. This is reflected in Vogel's protagonist, Hilda Fitzherbert, who is intelligent and

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<sup>92</sup> Charlotte Macdonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink: A History of Feminist Writing in New Zealand, 1869-1993* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), p. 14.

<sup>93</sup> 'Polly Plum's Opponents', *New Zealand Herald*, 14 August 1871, p.3.

<sup>94</sup> 'The Girls' High School', *Otago Daily Times*, 17 December 1873, p. 3.

<sup>95</sup> 'The Girls' High School', *Otago Daily Times*, 17 December 1873, p. 3.

<sup>96</sup> 'The Girls' High School', *Otago Daily Times*, 17 December 1873, p. 3. "Blue stockingism" is a derogatory label for a woman who pursues literary or intellectual pursuits to the detriment of all else: 'Bluestocking', *Encyclopedia Britannica* <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Bluestocking-British-literary-society>> [accessed 10 March 2023].

<sup>97</sup> 'The Girls' High School', *Otago Daily Times*, 17 December 1873, p. 3.

confident yet self-aware enough to defer to others in times when her own knowledge is lacking, especially with regards to the proposed changes to primogeniture laws.

New Zealand women also wrote about the future to depict their hopes, dreams, and goals for their female compatriots. Their narratives were most often presented in public lectures and were seldom disseminated in print. For example, a series of public lectures delivered by Mrs. D. W. M. Burn throughout the South Island were reported on frequently throughout 1893. Her topic was ‘Woman in the Twentieth Century’ and covered subjects such as marriage, domestic life, clothing, and employment. Her first speech was at Waimate in July, where ‘[t]he room was densely crowded’.<sup>98</sup> Burn continued lecturing throughout 1893, with newspaper reports placing her in Timaru, Temuka, and Ashburton. The *Timaru Herald* referred to her as ‘one of the most thoughtful advocates for the improvement of her sex’ and praised her discussions at this ‘opportune time’ – a reference to the imminent climax of the suffrage movement.<sup>99</sup>

Further articles combined these points with new assertions.<sup>100</sup> In Timaru, Burn is reported to have discussed the future of women’s clothing and sexual relations, topics that earlier articles did not reproduce.<sup>101</sup> She discussed employment in Temuka, expressing her expectation that women would ‘be paid on an equal scale with men for doing equal work’ in the future.<sup>102</sup> From Burn’s speech in Ashburton, the *Otago Daily Times* referenced her belief that future women would be much improved beings, ‘physically, morally, and intellectually’, and would possess a more liberal outlook.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> ‘Woman in the Twentieth Century’, *Star*, 17 July 1893, p. 3; *North Otago Times*, 17 July 1893, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup> ‘Town and Country’, *Timaru Herald*, 16 September 1893, p. 2.

<sup>100</sup> It is unclear if Burn’s speech changed over time as her popularity grew or if the newspapers included varied material based on the interest of the journalist and expected interest from readers.

<sup>101</sup> ‘The Coming Woman’, *South Canterbury Times*, 20 September 1893, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Woman in the 20th Century’, *Temuka Leader*, 7 October 1893, p. 2.

<sup>103</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 9 October 1893, p. 2.

Women's oratory was reported by male journalists who were inclined to mock female speakers during an era when women's rights such as enfranchisement were divisive subjects. A bias existed as men were in control of media, particularly newspapers, in nineteenth-century New Zealand. While females contributed to newspapers, authorship of specific articles was rarely noted. The first female newspaper editor in New Zealand was Kate Sheppard, figurehead of the suffrage movement.<sup>104</sup> The Women's Christian Temperance Union established the *White Ribbon* in 1895, with Sheppard as editor and managed by a team of women. The very creation of a female-led newspaper implies a publication free from male bias was necessary, particularly when the WCTU promoted some controversial ideas like prohibition and the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act. Men in control of newspapers could choose to publish or not publish content relating to women's rights, and male journalists could portray the words of women in unflattering ways. For example, in 1895, 'Auckland lady' imagined Auckland's future in the year 1945.<sup>105</sup> However, her speech was mocked in the *Star*: her imagined future would please only 'namby-pambys' and New Zealand was lucky that her view was not held by all women.<sup>106</sup> The flippant and innominate appellation of the individual further undermined her message. The use of the word "namby-pamby" also echoes criticism levelled at *Anno Domini 2000*: one reviewer labelled Vogel as such.<sup>107</sup>

The most prolific women agitating for female enfranchisement did not utilize "the future" to narrate those changes. Typically, those spearheading the suffrage movement were more focused on realizing pragmatic, contemporary change and did not see value in imagining "what might be". In her 1869 pamphlet 'An Appeal to the Men of New Zealand', Mary Ann

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<sup>104</sup> However, it was not until 1984 that a female was appointed editor of a "mainstream" newspaper when Judy McGregor took over the *Sunday News*.

<sup>105</sup> 'To-Day', *Star*, 14 October 1895, p. 2.

<sup>106</sup> 'To-Day', *Star*, 14 October 1895, p. 2.

<sup>107</sup> "Namby-pamby" is a derogatory term coined in 1745 and used to describe 'any piece of writing that was insipidly precious, simple, or sentimental, and later to anyone considered pathetically weak or indecisive': 'Namby-pamby', *Merriam Webster* <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/namby-pamby>> [accessed 4 April 2023]. See also: 'Round the Corners', *New Zealand Mail*, 12 April 1889, p. 19.

Müller, writing under the pseudonym Femina, asked if the injustice of women not being allowed to vote would be remedied for the future.<sup>108</sup> Her work contains themes of innovation and progress but does not include the sustained construction of any future. Other publications on the topic of enfranchisement authored by women follow this pattern. Woman writers presented female suffrage as a just and a natural progression of earlier changes in women's rights rather than a fanciful or whimsical possibility.<sup>109</sup>

While the support of men in positions of power – like Vogel – was crucial for the realization of female enfranchisement, Raewyn Dalziel points out that a common argument linking “civilization” with women's rights ‘allowed the appropriation of women's suffrage for male agendas’.<sup>110</sup> Pro-suffrage men, particularly Members of Parliament, could (in theory) claim that their role was vital for women to gain political independence, thus entrenching themselves in the historically significant moment, but these men could also point past women at the polling stations to the wider positive effects of enfranchisement, most significantly that of social progress, and claim credit for that, too. Dalziel contends that, after 1893, men co-opted female enfranchisement as ‘a symbol of the advanced state of the nation’ and promoted it as a basis for national identity.<sup>111</sup> She concludes that universal suffrage was ‘deployed as evidence of nationhood and its enactment became an indicator of the progressive national identity being forged by the colonial state’.<sup>112</sup>

Just as Vogel migrated from London (via Australia) to New Zealand, cultural norms were imported into the colonies from Victorian Britain, too. Historian James Belich recognises

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<sup>108</sup> Femina (Mary Ann Müller), ‘An Appeal to the Men of New Zealand’, reproduced in Macdonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*.

<sup>109</sup> For example, see: ‘Sixteen Reasons for Supporting Women's Suffrage’, reproduced in Charlotte Macdonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*.

<sup>110</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, ‘An experiment in the social laboratory? Suffrage, national identity, and mythologies of race in New Zealand in the 1890s’, in *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, ed. by Ian Christopher Fletcher, Philippa Levine, Laura E. Nym Mayhall (London: Taylor & Francis, 2000), pp. 109-124 (p. 88).

<sup>111</sup> Dalziel, ‘An experiment in the social laboratory?’, p. 88.

<sup>112</sup> Dalziel, ‘An experiment in the social laboratory?’, p. 99.

that ‘formal myths of settlement interacted with a set of informal myths, which reinforced the formal at some points and subverted them at others.’<sup>113</sup> While Belich is referring to the wider context of British colonization, his statement also includes and applies to gender in colonial New Zealand. Gender was part of colonization: from Edwin Gibbon Wakefield’s organised settlements that relied upon women and the family unit to morally police the frontier, to the ideology of “better Britain” that was underpinned by a desire for colonial progress and advancement from British origins, to arguments in defence of *and* in opposition to female enfranchisement that both claimed women’s rights were a signal of the creation and maintenance of a civilised society (civilisation being a major goal of British colonization).

Jock Phillips writes extensively on the expectations of masculinity present in New Zealand’s past in *A Man’s Country?* (1996). He clarifies that gendered ideals were echoes of ‘the economic or imperial needs of the society at that point in time’ and the value in exploring these stereotypes is to illuminate the broader context of their construction.<sup>114</sup> The main expectations placed on New Zealand men during the late nineteenth century was that of peak physical fitness, and sole income provider. Vogel highlights the strength and hardiness of his male characters, and female politicians do not continue their careers once married as children become the necessary priority.

Phillips contends that colonial New Zealand masculinity was an amplification of British experiences.<sup>115</sup> He reflects on the purpose of his research, noting ‘the masculine identity of New Zealand was created by imperial needs, by what British upper-class commentators wanted to see in the colonies, and this reflected their own anxieties’.<sup>116</sup> Phillips suggests that the very

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<sup>113</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 22.

<sup>114</sup> Ruth Schick and John Dolan, ‘Masculinity and *A Man’s Country* in 1998: An Interview with Jock Phillips’, in *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, ed. by Robin Law, Hugh Campbell, and John Dolan (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1999), pp. 46-63 (p.53).

<sup>115</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man’s Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996), p. 4.

<sup>116</sup> Schick and Dolan, p. 55.

act of migrating to colonies like New Zealand was a reaffirmation of masculinity.<sup>117</sup>

Urbanisation had changed the nature of employment in Britain:

The rise of urban and sedentary occupations threatened such [gendered labour] distinctions. Though heavy factory work may have reinforced an identification of masculinity and physical strength, the same was not true of the work of clerks or shop assistants.<sup>118</sup>

Conversely, the colonies were viewed by many Europeans as a frontier of sorts. Rough and uncivilised, with manual labour almost guaranteed, nineteenth-century New Zealand had the potential to cultivate the desired virility and strength. Phillips quotes Charles Hursthouse's emigration guide, which claimed that migrating to the colony required 'pluck, bottom, energy, enterprise, all the masculine virtues' and that only 'the strong and the bold' would be brave enough 'to go forth to subdue the wilderness and conquer new lands.'<sup>119</sup>

Furthermore, the economic opportunities available in the colony were expected to allow for sole male breadwinning. Annabel Cooper argues that in colonial New Zealand, exclusive income providing was important to both 'respectable masculinity' as well as a measure of status.<sup>120</sup> It was considered a man's duty to earn enough money to support his family in order to release 'children, and especially wives, from the burden of paid work'.<sup>121</sup> This desire relates to "better Britain" narratives: back "home", wives and children were increasingly expected to supplement family income. New Zealand could be a utopia, not dissimilar to the Britain of centuries past, where children could remain in school for longer and wives could return to domesticity.<sup>122</sup> Vogel's future world reflects this ideal, and furthermore, Vogel combines

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<sup>117</sup> Phillips, p. 5.

<sup>118</sup> Phillips, p. 5.

<sup>119</sup> Phillips, p. 5.

<sup>120</sup> Cooper, p. 246.

<sup>121</sup> Cooper, p. 252.

<sup>122</sup> Cooper, p. 252.

idyllic domesticity for women with empowerment, allowing his female characters to enjoy successful careers in politics and science before committing to married life.

In reality, sole male breadwinning was not as easily obtained as first assumed. Work in the colonies was commonly manual labour, and the intense physical demands often had effects on health as well as mental well-being. If a husband died or abandoned his wife and children, their needs for housing, food and other necessities did not cease. Additionally, income earned by one half of the couple did not always cover all required costs, so both husband and wife worked outside the home. By 1891, over 45,000 New Zealand women were recorded as wage earners.<sup>123</sup> Another consideration is that of women who worked alongside their husbands or other male family members, particularly undertaking manual labour. Patricia Grimshaw points out that

The life of New Zealand women in the first fifty years of the colony's existence had largely been one of harsh backbreaking toil as they strove with their menfolk to establish farms and settlements in this distant territory.<sup>124</sup>

Catherine Bishop's *Women Mean Business* (2019) explores female-run businesses in colonial New Zealand, and she concludes that, regardless of the reason for their work, women business owners were 'more numerous than usually imagined' and they were part of many different industries and enterprises.<sup>125</sup> While Bishop does not reject the narrative of domesticity that has permeated gender analysis of colonial New Zealand, she certainly disrupts it.

Concerns about the future power and control of males in the workplace were also raised during New Zealand's suffrage era. Just like Vogel's future male would be a natural leader in the political sphere, the future male would maintain his authority in the workplace even as

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<sup>123</sup> Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*, p. 4.

<sup>124</sup> Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*, p. 1.

<sup>125</sup> Catherine Bishop, *Women Mean Business: Colonial Businesswomen in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2019), p. 12.

numbers of women in paid work outside the home increased in the early twentieth century. A cartoon of a woman at work titled 'The Office 'Boy' of the Future' was published in the Auckland Star in 1903 (see Figure 2).<sup>126</sup> Its implication is two-fold. First, it indicates that in the future it may be normal to see women working in offices alongside men. Secondly, the use of the word 'boy' suggests that women would be working jobs previously filled by young (inexperienced) men. This would ensure women remained subservient to men in the workplace. The cartoon depicts both a change in gendered norms and the maintenance of pre-existing gendered hierarchies.



*Figure 1: The Office 'Boy' of the Future*

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<sup>126</sup> 'The Office 'Boy' of the Future', *Auckland Star*, 18 April 1903, p. 1.

A similar scene can be viewed in a 1906 cartoon of a female lawyer earnestly addressing a courtroom of men (see Figure 3).<sup>127</sup> The judge, opposing counsel, and the entire jury are male. Their derision and mockery of the woman is obvious. While it is possible to interpret the caption's use of 'dream' as referring to lofty goals and aspirations, my reading of this cartoon is that 'dream' implies a level of fantasy and unobtainable. Not only does this cartoon comment on the radical suggestion that women could become lawyers in the future, it upholds contemporary dominance of the courtroom by men, and indicates that successful female enfranchisement was just one facet of a decades long fight for gender equality in New Zealand society. Tellingly, the visual commentary does not suggest women would be included on juries or appointed as judges in the future. This cartoon echoes the satire of Thomas Bracken's *The Triumph of Women's Rights*. Bracken presents a female-led parliament as a joke, just like the men in the courtroom perceive the woman working as a lawyer. Vogel, on the other hand, sincerely portrays the possibility of female politicians. He highlights their leadership abilities and their capacity to contribute to society in earnest, much like the lawyer in the cartoon below.

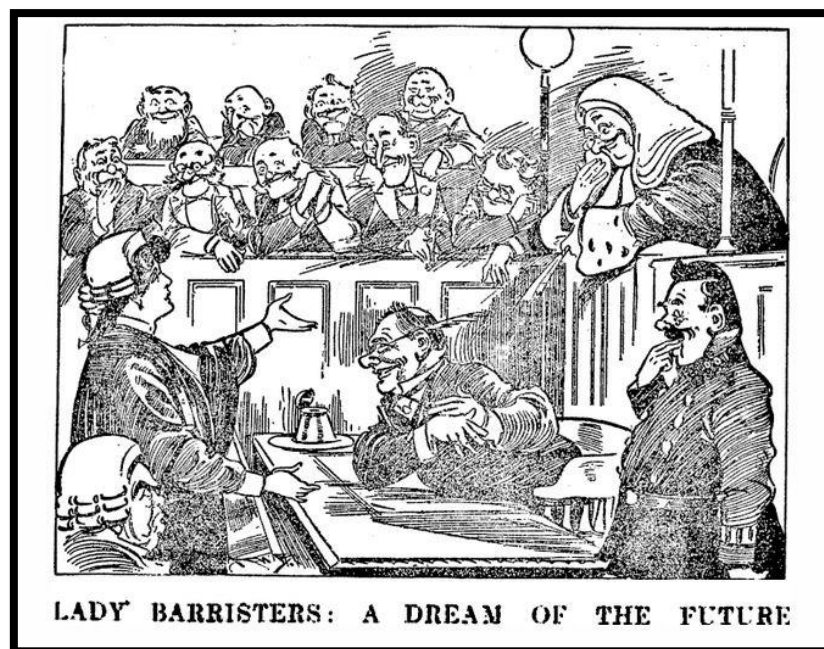


Figure 2: *Lady Barristers*

<sup>127</sup> 'Lady Barristers: A Dream of The Future', *New Zealand Herald*, 27 June 1906, p. 7.

Nineteenth-century New Zealand society was strongly underpinned by expectations with regards to family. This is visible throughout *Anno Domini 2000* with recurring comments that refer to Hilda's intentions (or otherwise) to marry. Ultimately, she relents to the pressure and finds marital bliss and maternal fulfilment. Edwin Gibbon Wakefield – 'New Zealand's colonial father' – based his model of systematic settlement on the ability of 'the family' to promote colonisation and the ways gender could be used to create an orderly, civil settler society when he formed the New Zealand company in the 1830s to settle New Zealand while also maximizing profits for investors.<sup>128</sup> Wakefield's philosophy was shaped by Victorian ideals that placed women firmly within the domestic arena. He believed that women could transform an 'unruly frontier' through moral guidance and the creation of families by producing children, and that this civilising nature of women was necessary for successful colonisation.<sup>129</sup>

From the mid to late nineteenth century, British methods of settling New Zealand shifted from Wakefield's systematic colonization to 'progressive' or 'explosive' colonisation, to use Belich's nomenclature. Belich describes explosive colonisation as 'a supercharged form of settlement, a frenzied crusade against nature and natives in honour of the nineteenth-century god "Progress"'.<sup>130</sup> This included Wakefield's idea of organized settlement but also involved 'large-scale opening-up of fresh lands for settlement, mass migration, steam technology, and abundant metropolitan credit from London'.<sup>131</sup> This metropolitan credit is the same as the financial backing and reputational approval that Phillip Steer contends motivated literary depictions of New Zealand's future in the 1870s and 1880s, including *Anno Domini 2000*. By Belich's definition, peak progressive colonisation in New Zealand was, in fact, the "Vogel

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<sup>128</sup> Angela Wanhalla, 'Family, Community and Gender' in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 447-464 (p. 458).

<sup>129</sup> Wanhalla, p. 458.

<sup>130</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 17. Tellingly, *Anno Domini 2000* includes a refrain to that 'nineteenth-century god Progress': 'Progression, progression, always progression...' Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 28.

<sup>131</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 17.

Era”, the 1870s, when Vogel spearheaded his expansionist public works project. Accordingly, Belich refers to Vogel as New Zealand’s ‘chief colonising crusader’.<sup>132</sup> For example, Vogel specifically encouraged the migration of families under his immigration schemes of the 1870s.

The reality of colonial New Zealand was that of gender imbalance. Particularly during the early stages of European settlement, the population was predominantly young and male. The gold-rushes of the 1860s exaggerated this, with men outnumbering women 100 to 1 in the province of Otago in 1861.<sup>133</sup> Assisted immigration schemes like Vogel’s targeted young, single women or families in an attempt to equalize the population. This demographic asymmetry lent itself to the title of Jock Phillip’s exploration of Pākehā masculinities:

It is this fact, the unusual social condition of a large surplus of men to women in the white population, which turned Pakeha New Zealand into a man’s country, irrespective of initial expectations.<sup>134</sup>

The gender imbalance had further consequences. Miles Fairburn recognises the inherent “boundlessness” in colonial New Zealand society. He argues that, due to the relatively recent establishment of the colony, ‘[c]ommunity structures were few and weak and the forces of social isolation were many and powerful.’<sup>135</sup> The physical distance from Britain also contributed to a feeling of detachment. Fairburn asserts that this bondlessness ‘contributed to the colonial’s powerful attachment to family life’.<sup>136</sup> A practical need for kinship increased the value of nuclear family life. Husbands became reliant on wives, wives on husbands, parents on children and vice versa, rather than depending on neighbours, colleagues, or extended family – and therefore, unmarried individuals would find themselves “bondless”. Due to the

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<sup>132</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 17.

<sup>133</sup> James Forrest, ‘Population and Settlement on the Otago Goldfields, 1861-1870’, *New Zealand Geographer*, 17.1 (1961), 64-86 (p. 80).

<sup>134</sup> Phillips, p. 6.

<sup>135</sup> Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989), p. 11.

<sup>136</sup> Fairburn, p. 12.

gender imbalance, these lonely colonists were most often male, and they were viewed with large amounts of suspicion by colonial authorities. These socially disconnected men often committed crimes, or engaged in destructive behaviour such as alcohol abuse and public disorder.<sup>137</sup> Vogel, however, depicts two female character as “bondless” in *Anno Domini*, emphasising their spouseless and childless qualities.<sup>138</sup> Both Lady Middlesex and Mrs. Hardinge provide advice to Hilda indicating she should marry and have children, therefore avoiding the anguish they have suffered.

During the suffrage campaign of the 1880s and early 1890s, some supporters suggested that granting women the right to vote would, in fact, strengthen the family unit. Raewyn Dalziel suggests the rationale: it would create a stable foundation for future developments ‘in a country where large numbers of single men still generated anxieties about order’.<sup>139</sup> Fears of bondlessness and concern for the impact of ongoing social isolation inflated the significance of the nuclear family as the centre of colonial life.<sup>140</sup> This belief was based upon broader gendered ideas that viewed women as moral guardians of men, and as a necessary civilising force of both society and colonization. Without the presence of females and their refining nature, males would ‘fall rapidly into the slough of sin and wickedness’.<sup>141</sup>

Much of the discussion of the 1887 Women’s Suffrage Bill centred on femininity but implications for masculinity can be inferred. Consistently placing women within the domestic sphere assumed men’s spaces were *outside* the home. Descriptions of women as moral gatekeepers explained men as the ‘coarser animal’ desperately in need of softening and

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<sup>137</sup> Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp. 424-426.

<sup>138</sup> Both women are, however, contributing members of society and no alcoholism or criminal behaviour is attributed to them.

<sup>139</sup> Dalziel, ‘An experiment in the social laboratory?’, p. 93.

<sup>140</sup> Fairburn, p. 190.

<sup>141</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, ‘The Colonial Helpmeet: Women’s Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 11.2 (1977), 112-123 (pp. 118-119).

civilizing.<sup>142</sup> Some Members of Parliament viewed a female presence in politics as necessary to curtail ‘barbarous scenes that have hitherto characterized some of our elections’ and to prevent future elections being ‘a field for the display of all that is brutish in the human character’.<sup>143</sup> The company of women would be effective as upper-class men of the time were expected to behave differently in front of females so as to not upset their feminine sensitivities. Masculinity and groups of men were portrayed as emotive and angry, particularly when campaigning and voting was concerned.<sup>144</sup> In contrast, Vogel’s antagonist, Reginald Paramatta, behaved in emotionally unhinged ways such as, but not limited to, his kidnapping of Hilda, while other male characters in *Anno Domini 2000* remain calm and composed even in situations of high stress.

While also using ideas of protection and guardianship as a foundation for their arguments, Members of Parliament arguing against Vogel’s Women’s Suffrage Bill in 1887 came to a different conclusion, and instead equated universal suffrage and representation with negative gendered change, such as the ineffective parliament in *The Triumph of Women’s Rights*. According to these MPs, a woman’s role was to ‘refine and purify’ men and independence would turn her from a ‘soft-hearted, motherly creature’ into something brutal and harsh.<sup>145</sup> It was suggested that women needed to be protected – by men – from the reality of the world. Full participation in political affairs would not only be ‘seriously antagonistic to a woman’s real happiness’ but would also result in the opening of floodgates: females would expect to become sailors, soldiers, judges and policemen, for example.<sup>146</sup> Thomas Bracken declared that he ‘look[ed] upon woman as the light of the home and the genius of the fireside’ and that this should not be allowed to change.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, women themselves should be

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<sup>142</sup> New Zealand Government, ‘Parliamentary Debates’, p. 232.

<sup>143</sup> New Zealand Government, ‘Parliamentary Debates’, p. 233.

<sup>144</sup> New Zealand Government, ‘Parliamentary Debates’, pp. 233-234.

<sup>145</sup> New Zealand Government, ‘Parliamentary Debates’, pp. 232, 234.

<sup>146</sup> New Zealand Government, ‘Parliamentary Debates’, pp. 232, 233.

<sup>147</sup> New Zealand Government, ‘Parliamentary Debates’, p. 233.

cognizant of the negative implications of universal suffrage. At least two Members of Parliament argued that sensible, wise, and modest women do not and should not want the vote nor the right to be elected to Parliament. These adjectives also belittled any woman who was agitating for enfranchisement by implying she was not sensible, wise, or modest. *Anno Domini*, however, depicts a future where women are enfranchised and retain qualities such as wisdom and humility. Hilda is a clear example of this, as she is politically astute without being arrogant and eventually, chooses a life of domestic bliss.

Dialogue around Vogel's 1887 Bill also considered why men currently had the vote and women did not, and used this to measure the suitability of women for the "privilege". It was suggested that men were more practically minded and more objective than women, who could be prone to fits of impulse.<sup>148</sup> Votes were viewed as being granted to citizens, and a citizen should be able to fight.<sup>149</sup> The example provided was that of being a soldier or policeman; both careers excluded women (in New Zealand and the wider Western world, at least). This reflected the Victorian ideal that held military achievement and experience in high esteem, as well as the widely accepted view that men were physically stronger than women.<sup>150</sup> Vogel too, reinforces the connection between masculinity and war in *Anno Domini 2000*.

Furthermore, Members of Parliament considered that voters should be autonomous and able to choose candidates independent of the opinions of those close to them.<sup>151</sup> It was claimed that men were not only self-determining but also dominant and would likely influence their wives to vote for their selected candidate. This was not presented as a negative state of affairs

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<sup>148</sup> New Zealand Government, 'Parliamentary Debates', p. 236.

<sup>149</sup> New Zealand Government, 'Parliamentary Debates', p. 239.

<sup>150</sup> Phillips, p. 134; New Zealand Government, 'Parliamentary Debates', p. 244.

<sup>151</sup> New Zealand Government, 'Parliamentary Debates', p. 243.

that required change. It was the accepted reality of gendered power and control, and again, echoed the Victorian belief in the subordination of women to men.<sup>152</sup>

There also existed focused concern about the “floodgates” that would open if women were to receive the right to vote, particularly the perceived ill effects on family life. The *Wairarapa Daily Times* published an article warning of the future impacts of successful female enfranchisement.<sup>153</sup> The tone of this article begins rather seriously by explaining that if women are granted the right to vote, then they would need to also serve on juries in the colony’s courts. Satirical explanations follow, however. The author bemoans the effect on men: ‘What if that unfortunate man, the jurywoman’s husband, misses his dinner, and even comes home to a cold tea, what if he goes to his work buttonless’.<sup>154</sup> Edward Tregear’s *Hedged with Divinities* illuminates the perceived binary of “female” and “male” work, and the societal breakdown that will occur if women are expected to do men’s work.

The article continues, describing necessary changes to existing processes in order to accommodate women, such as the judge allowing idle female hands to knit and crochet in the jury box, and afternoon tea provided when the jury retires. The overall implication is that female sensibilities make them unfit to serve on a jury. On retirement, not only will the verdict be discussed but also the pound cake supplied at afternoon tea – this assumes “feminine” versus “masculine” interests, and branded women as rather vapid. Cross examinations will also be abolished as they would be considered ‘indecorous’ by females, another suggestion of oversensitivity. If women were allowed to become Justices of the Peace, the situation would be even more dire as they would reprimand idle men and gamblers with fervour, assumedly due to the effect of male unemployment or financial imprudence on wives. The future is used to

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<sup>152</sup> Phillips, p. 4.

<sup>153</sup> *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 26 May 1893, p. 2.

<sup>154</sup> *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 26 May 1893, p. 2.

remind readers that women are emotional, fragile beings who are better suited to domestic duties rather than political or legal ones, and that granting female enfranchisement may have more impact than simply allowing women to vote in general elections.

A letter to the editor of the *Lyttelton Times* by a M. de H. Duval also considered the reality of female enfranchisement.<sup>155</sup> Duval encouraged readers to imagine what ‘our future homes and firesides’ would be like if universal suffrage was granted. He concludes that the weeks before an election would be disorderly as all family members attended political meetings and canvassed for their chosen candidate, but that nothing would be as chaotic as election day:

On that day the homes will be turned upside down... Let us again remember that the inevitable result must be – household duties neglected, children left uncared for, dinners – well, that’s out of the question...<sup>156</sup>

Inversely, a short article in the *Otago Daily Times* suggested that women would make great politicians, if they were to be allowed to stand for Parliament in the future.<sup>157</sup> Vogel shows the reader this in *Anno Domini 2000*: with women in positions of political power, the world is a pleasant place (excepting one abduction of a politician). The article suggests that a strong sense of morality distinguishes women from men, and as the ‘great questions of the future’ would be social ones, females are better equipped to answer them due to their traditional roles as nurturers and carers. This brief publication recognises that the problems of the future would be different to the ones of the present and that change in the way solutions were produced was necessary to make that future a successful or positive one.

In 1893, a series of fictional letters “written” in 1922 by members of the Jerome family were published in the *Press* under the title ‘A Few Years Hence’.<sup>158</sup> The letters looked back at

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<sup>155</sup> ‘Woman’s Franchise’, *Lyttelton Times*, 2 August 1893, p. 2.

<sup>156</sup> ‘Woman’s Franchise’, *Lyttelton Times*, 2 August 1893, p. 2.

<sup>157</sup> ‘The Political Woman in the Upper House’, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 August 1893, p. 3.

<sup>158</sup> ‘A Few Years Hence’, *Press*, 25 January 1893, p. 2.

the 1890s and provided commentary on various gender matters, such as clothing. For instance, Agatha Jerome implies that women in 1922 commonly wear trousers or skirts with splits, and her own daughters ‘can’t realise the fact that women ever wore undivided skirts.’<sup>159</sup> However, the letters are most rich in comments about women becoming politicians and the impacts on domestic and family life.

Agatha Jerome’s daughter, Nessie, wrote to her grandmother to explain that she had broken off her engagement with Donald, as he opposed her dream of becoming a politician:

Donald says it’s all very well for single women of superior ability to occupy a seat in Parliament, but he has known a lot misery in married life arising from this ‘mania of our age’, in the way of women politicians.<sup>160</sup>

Similarly to Vogel, the fictional Donald believed that a career was mutually exclusive with marriage and family and that his fiancé’s focus should be on the latter rather than the former. According to Donald, a political career demands great deals of time and energy, and the attention required to be successful meant that bearing and raising children as well would be very challenging. Nessie’s grandmother responds sagely, chiding the girl for giving up ‘certainty’ in the form of a loyal husband for the ‘shadow of a possibility’ of political success. She continues, lamenting her support for the franchise movement of the 1890s and wishing she had foresight of its impact.

In addition to the letters between the three generations of females, correspondence from the husband of a current Member of Parliament to Mr. Jerome, Nessie’s father, is also included. This letter explains that the couple’s child was sick and he telegraphed for his wife to return home. On her arrival, she reprimanded him for calling her away from important business. He

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<sup>159</sup> ‘A Few Years Hence’, *Press*, 25 January 1893, p. 2.

<sup>160</sup> ‘A Few Years Hence’, *Press*, 25 January 1893, p. 2.

shared a warning with Mr. Jerome: ‘Do not on any pretext whatever allow your girls to go in for such doubtful honours as parliamentary ones.’<sup>161</sup>

Pro-suffrage New Zealanders often framed their support for female enfranchisement in a way that sidestepped obvious rebuttal before it could even be articulated. For example, one of the allies of Vogel’s 1887 Bill for women’s suffrage pointed out that women had been voting in municipal matters in Great Britain and for education boards in New Zealand: ‘I have yet to hear that their participation in these benefits has done anything to make them more masculine than they were before.’<sup>162</sup>

Elizabeth S. Smith recognises a similar strategy employed by John Stuart Mill in his support for women’s rights. She claims he was cautious and deliberate in his public advocacy. For example, Mill wrote *The Subjection of Women* in the early 1860s but did not publish it until 1869. He also wrote in his autobiography that he intended to publish it ‘at the time when it would seem most likely to be useful’.<sup>163</sup> Smith concludes that this, and other omissions and inconsistencies in *The Subjection of Women*, were not errors but in fact pragmatic, carefully calculated choices.<sup>164</sup> Mill realized the value in and necessity of tempering his views on the subject of women’s rights.<sup>165</sup> Vogel, too, navigated the minefield of female enfranchisement carefully and delicately. Kirstine Moffat notes an undertone to *Anno Domini 2000* that attempts to mitigate fears that the improvement of women’s rights will cause disintegration of society as the novel’s readers know it.<sup>166</sup> This in turn echoes narratives from New Zealand suffragists,

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<sup>161</sup> ‘A Few Years Hence’, *Press*, 25 January 1893, p. 2.

<sup>162</sup> New Zealand Government, ‘Parliamentary Debates’, p. 237.

<sup>163</sup> John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography and Other Writings*, ed. by Jack Stillinger (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), p. 158, cited in Elizabeth S. Smith, ‘John Stuart Mill’s *The Subjection of Women*: A Re-examination’, *Polity*, 34.2 (2001), 181-203 (p. 195).

<sup>164</sup> Smith, p. 195.

<sup>165</sup> Smith, p. 196.

<sup>166</sup> Kirstine Moffat, “‘Devoted to the cause of woman’s rights’: The New Zealand New Woman novel”, *Women’s Writing*, 26.3 (2019), 304-327 (p. 311).

where the majority of those fighting for the right to vote did not seek or intend to disrupt a woman's role as a wife and mother.

Nevertheless, a frequent reaction to the suffrage movement of the late nineteenth century was the fear that, by granting women the right to vote, 'the world would be turned upside down'.<sup>167</sup> Concerns about the impact of female enfranchisement sometimes developed into a panic that 'emasculated men would be forced to mind babies while masculinised women took to politics'.<sup>168</sup> This was considered to be in opposition to established norms of gender – or, more accurately, the idealized version of gender where a strong binary distinction sought to separate their activities and characteristics.

Some individuals went to great lengths to express their discontent with the possibility of "the world turned upside down", such as novelists Bracken and Tregear, and newspaper cartoonists. A cartoon of a dishevelled, emasculated man and his trouser-wearing female counterpart appeared in the *New Zealand Times* in 1893 and serves as a visual representation of this feared gender "swap" or inversion (see Figure 4).<sup>169</sup> The woman enters the room and a caption exclaims her surprise: 'What dinner not ready, yet! [sic] What have you been doing?' There are several young children in the room – the baby is crying and the two older children appear to be fighting under the table – and the cat is drinking from the milk or water jug on the table, without reproach. The man is attempting to multi-task many household chores and demands. The image is satirical, evident from the "inspirational quotes" hung on the wall (for example, 'God Bless This Happy Home') and the absurd caricatures of male and female.

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<sup>167</sup> Brookes, Cooper and Law, p. 2.

<sup>168</sup> Brookes, Cooper and Law, p. 2.

<sup>169</sup> 'What Dinner Not Ready, Yet!', *New Zealand Times*, 30 September 1893, p. 6.

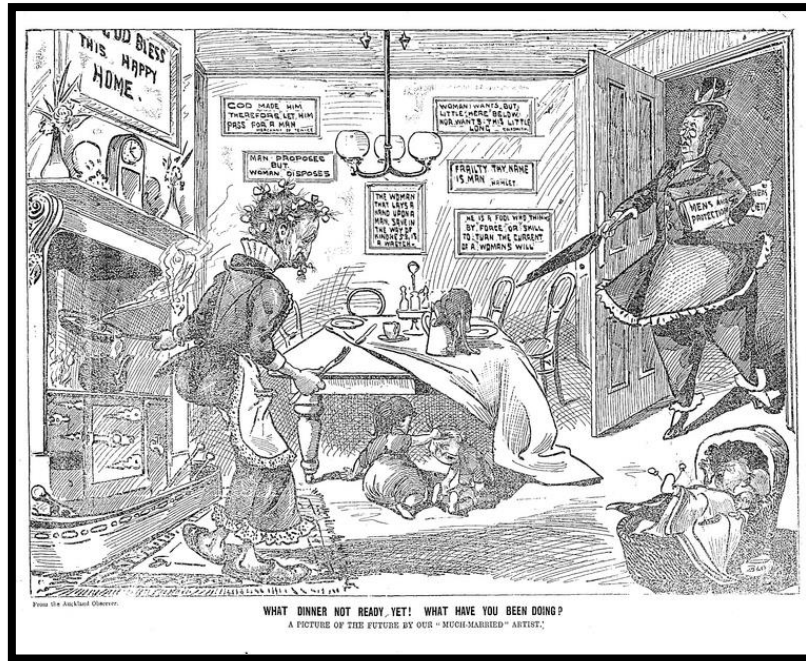


Figure 3: 'What Dinner Not Ready, Yet!'

This cartoon reflects those contemporary concerns about the roles of men and women in the future – post enfranchisement – but also satirized the fear by exaggerating the extent to which the roles would reverse. For example, the man in the image is wearing bloomers and has ribbons in his hair. Furthermore, the cartoon also suggests that men would not succeed in their “new” role as homemakers and househusbands. They would perhaps find it difficult and overwhelming, and their wives would treat them exactly as they had been treated by their husbands in years previous. While initially the satire of men acting like women and women acting like men is somewhat amusing, a secondary meaning of this cartoon’s humour is possibly one that is more serious: sympathy for and acknowledgement of the burden of domestic duties that women have carried for many years.

A cartoon similar in spirit appeared in the *Auckland Star* in 1908 (see Figure 5). Titled ‘Idylls of the Future’, it also depicted the woman of the house as the breadwinner and the man as the homemaker.<sup>170</sup> Furthermore, it is indicated that the female is a Member of Parliament on

<sup>170</sup> ‘Idylls of the Future’, *Auckland Star*, 19 December 1908, p. 11.

her way to a sitting of the House of Representatives, and she gives her husband a short list of things to do in her absence, including mending socks. In contrast to ‘What dinner not ready, yet!’, the environment seems calm and the man seems to have control of both children and chores, however he does look somewhat mournful at either his wife’s departure or her requests. While he is partaking in traditionally “feminine” household activities (looking after children and washing dishes) he is wearing clothing expected of men – trousers – while his wife is wearing a dress. The children look towards their mother with startled faces; the two older children are in fact hiding behind the door and their father’s leg, observing her departure cautiously. This might be an attempt to visually represent an emotional disconnect between mother and child.



Figure 4: *Idylls of the Future*

The caption underneath this cartoon alludes to an 1865 poem by William Ross Wallace, titled ‘The Hand that Rocks the Cradle is the Hand that Rules the World’. The poem praised motherhood and honoured women as the creators and nurturers of the next generation. The use

of the phrase ‘idylls of the future’ also underneath the cartoon implies a future utopia that cannot be sustained. Between the poem and the word choices, the cartoon appears to express a thinly veiled warning about the realities of the future. While changes in gender roles might be temporarily successful, they would have long term impacts. As women pursued employment outside the home and abandoned traditional roles as mothers and wives, family stability would be affected, and in turn, future society would be disadvantaged.

The present man was also anxious that the future male might be disenfranchised by women. *The Triumph of Women’s Rights* boasts a Parliament of females alone and men were legally obliged to stay at home to look after children; their rights and privileges had been modified by women in power. A satirical cartoon published in the *Auckland Star* in 1929 depicted a future Parliament that was entirely female (see Figure 6).<sup>171</sup> The caption indicates that the Government had introduced a Bill that would remove the vote from men over 21. Reproduced from a London-based newspaper, the cartoon was a response to the British Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act 1928, which gave universal suffrage to women and the right to stand for election to Parliament. The cartoon depicts the undesirable future that might result from this law change. By 1929, New Zealand had already passed legislation that allowed women to stand for Parliament, although it was not until 1933 that Elizabeth McCombs became New Zealand’s first female MP. The content of the cartoon was therefore still relevant to New Zealand interests as women continued to agitate for electoral victory.

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<sup>171</sup> ‘The Parliament of the Future?’, *Auckland Star*, 3 May 1929, p. 8.

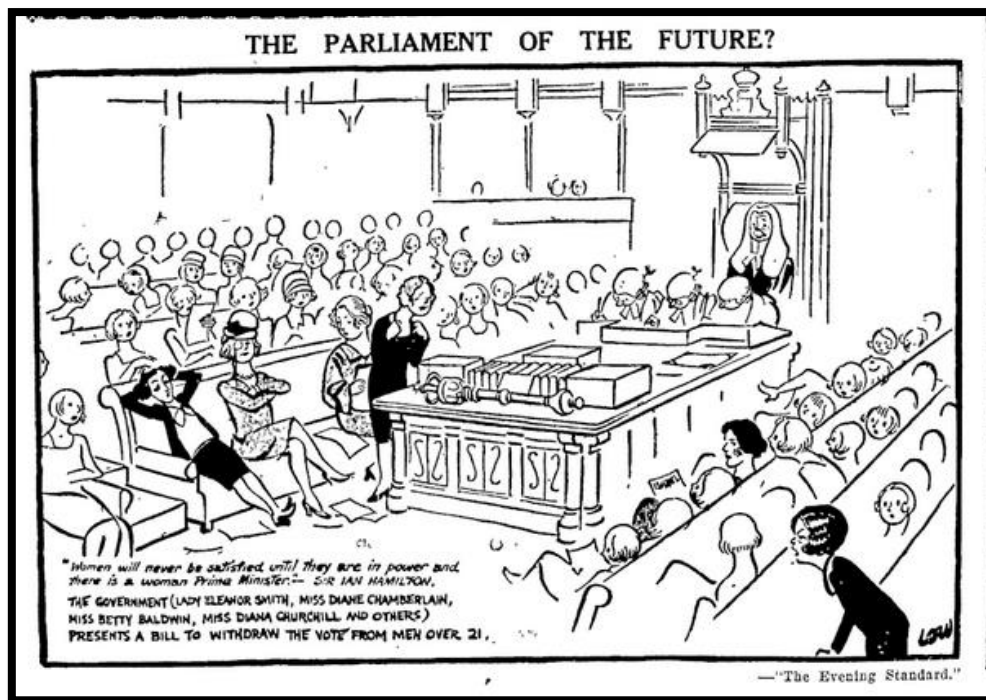


Figure 5: *The Parliament of the Future?*

A quote credited to Sir Ian Hamilton also appears under the cartoon: ‘Women will never be satisfied until they are in power and there is a woman Prime Minister’.<sup>172</sup> The quote is not only relevant for its content but also for who said it. Hamilton was a British General who served at Gallipoli during World War One. His inclusion in this cartoon of female politicians attempting to disenfranchise men is a dog-whistle of contemporary desirable masculinity. He was a soldier, the characteristics of which were highly celebrated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Furthermore, Hamilton was charismatic, multilingual and an author – a well-rounded individual just like many of Vogel’s characters. Hamilton’s connection to Gallipoli also connects this cartoon with New Zealand nationhood myths. Conceptions of Gallipoli as ‘the birth of the nation’ highlight ‘triumphant manhood’ and ‘established the soldier as the shining personification as the New Zealand male’.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>172</sup> ‘The Parliament of the Future?’, *Auckland Star*, 3 May 1929, p. 8.

<sup>173</sup> Phillips, p. 163.

Views of binary gender expectations did not disappear after 1893 when women were granted the right to vote. Gendered power and control also persisted into the twentieth century and “the future” was used to satirize the effect of gender related change to the pre-existing norm. In the *North Otago Times* in 1911, for example, a husband is described as using ‘masculine charm’ to get something from his wife.<sup>174</sup> A parody of “feminine charm”, the wife demanded to know what he wanted now – ‘a new silk hat or a pair of trousers?’.<sup>175</sup> This indicated that control in marriages and relationships favoured the partner with earning capacity, and also reinforced the idea that only one person can be the breadwinner while the other is expected to support that person in other ways, often by raising children and keeping a home.

Henry Wright’s recognizable ‘Notice to Epicene Women’ (1902) sustained the idea that politics was a man’s realm and women who were involved in electioneering were ‘masculinizing’ themselves (see Figure 7):

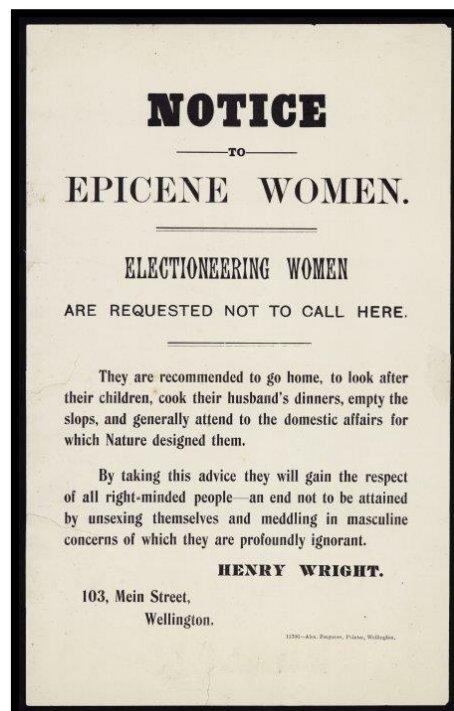


Figure 6: Notice to Epicene Women

<sup>174</sup> ‘The Woman of the Future’, *North Otago Times*, 2 December 1911, p. 3.

<sup>175</sup> ‘The Woman of the Future’, *North Otago Times*, 2 December 1911, p. 3.

The poster implores women to ‘go home’ and ‘attend to the domestic affairs for which Nature designed them’.<sup>176</sup> Wright was later labelled a ‘a woman hater’ by *Free Lance* columnist Little Miss Muffitt.<sup>177</sup> Writing almost two decades after New Zealand women were granted the right to vote, Lady Anna Stout assured the world that women were still women, and men were still men: ‘In New Zealand, after eighteen years of equal suffrage, women are still women, and very womanly and domesticated women, and men *are* men, and very manly men’ [emphasis in original].<sup>178</sup>

### The future man and the future woman

*Anno Domini 2000* is a beacon of optimism amongst the cynicism and mockery often levelled at suggestions of female enfranchisement or other forms of gendered independence in late nineteenth century New Zealand, although it also reflects gender ideals of its time of production that viewed women as inherently moral and expected their participation in domesticity, and men as physically strong and military minded. The three main themes of the novel – in Vogel’s own words, provided in an epilogue – are that ‘a recognized dominance of either sex is unnecessary’, that federation of the British Empire is possible and valuable, and that every human being is entitled to sufficient food, clothing and reasonable housing regardless of their ability or desire to work.<sup>179</sup> Across the Western world, women are able to vote, stand for election to Parliament, and as a result, many political leaders are female. Vogel’s horizon of expectation extends beyond women’s rights, with technological developments such as “air-

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<sup>176</sup> Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wright, Henry Charles Clarke, 1844-1936, Notice to epicene women. Electioneering women are requested not to call here, 1902, Eph-B-WOMEN-1902-01 [Accessed on 9 June 2020].

<sup>177</sup> ‘Afternoon Tea Gossip’, *The Free Lance*, 22 November 1902, p. 6.

<sup>178</sup> Anna Stout, *Woman Suffrage in New Zealand* <<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-StoutPers-t56.html>> [accessed 6 August 2020], p. 12.

<sup>179</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, pp. 182-184.

cruisers” used for transportation and a “noiseless telegraph” providing the main means of global communication. Poverty has also been eradicated, with the welfare state rendering assistance daily to those in need.<sup>180</sup>

The novel opens with a short prologue set in 1920, and then the reader is catapulted to the year 2000. The events mostly take place in Melbourne, although New Zealand and London also feature prominently. The protagonist is a female politician and scientist, the 23-year-old New Zealander Hilda Fitzherbert, Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs. Other women in positions of great political power include the Prime Minister of the British Empire, the President of the United States, leader of the opposition, the Attorney-General, and the Chief Justice. United Britain is a federated empire with a male Emperor at its head, and Ireland is independent.

Hilda rebuffs romantic advances from a male suitor, Reginald Paramatta. She also thwarts his treasonous plan to separate Australia from the British Empire and is briefly kidnapped by him as revenge. Despite Hilda’s protestations of being ‘married to her job’, she eventually accepts a proposal from the Emperor of the British Empire. War breaks out between America and the British Empire when the United States invades Canada. The thinly veiled reason is that of personal affront; the British Emperor refused to marry the American President’s daughter. A political debate around primogeniture forms the central part of the novel, with opposing opinions expressed for its dissolution or maintenance. Resolution is presented in the form of an epilogue, set almost two decades after the main events described, where Hilda’s son shows no interest in affairs of the state, while her daughter shows immense political aptitude. With consultation and consent from both children, the Emperor (their father) supports a change to allow female succession to the throne.

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<sup>180</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 183.

*Anno Domini 2000* exemplifies gender idealism in the suffrage era. Hilda Fitzherbert is a politician and scientist, and many other female characters are political leaders in their own right. This leadership equality is portrayed positively and is presented as a source of strength and pride for the British Empire: in fact, social and cultural advancement has ‘become greater’ due to the full participation of women in civil life.<sup>181</sup> Furthermore, it is implied that Hilda and her colleagues are not the first generation of female leaders. Hilda herself is ‘descended from families which for upwards of a century produced distinguished statesmen – a word... which includes both sexes’.<sup>182</sup> From this, we can extrapolate that some of Hilda’s female relatives have also been employed in politics.

However, Vogel’s future woman would still be a mother and wife. Many female characters in *Anno Domini 2000* pursue careers outside the home, especially in politics. In Vogel’s year 2000, women are allowed to engage in activities ‘requiring judgment and intellect.’<sup>183</sup> There does exist, however, an exclusivity which portrays a political career at odds with having a family and being married, for women only, and not applicable to men. The novel presents an early discussion of marriage and it is within this context that readers are introduced to Hilda Fitzherbert and other female characters. Hilda, the politically astute protagonist, is 23 years old. At the start of the book she is unmarried and childless; not particularly scandalous due to her young age. However, Lady Middlesex, whose husband and only child are dead, implores Hilda to marry:

the time will come to you, as it has come to other women, when success, the applause of the crowd, and a knowledge of great deeds effected will prove a poor consolation for the want of one single human being on whom to lavish a women’s love.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 29.

<sup>182</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 37.

<sup>183</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 36.

<sup>184</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 43.

No political success can take the place of domestic bliss, and all women have a right to the ‘sunshine of love’.<sup>185</sup> Hilda seems to somewhat agree with this, stating clearly ‘In lonely maidenhood I will live and die’.<sup>186</sup> Marriage is taken as a given with the empowering choice is the partner you marry, with an emphasis on love and desire rather than convenience or obligation. Hilda refuses Paramatta’s propositions based upon this: she does not love him, even though she admits he would be a good husband. Instead, Hilda eventually agrees to marry the Emperor.

The novel does not clearly state what Hilda does with her life after she marries the Emperor. She does have children but it is implied she gives up her independent political career. She perhaps supports her husband in his role instead (which he does not surrender when his children are born). This aligns with contemporary childcare expectations. In late nineteenth century New Zealand, baby-minding services outside the home or early childhood education centres were not commonplace, and it was typical for mothers to assume the role of primary caregiver. This is underpinned by an implication that all women desire to be mothers or at the very least, possess maternal characteristics, present in both *Anno Domini 2000* and contemporary society. Mrs. Hardinge, the Prime Minister of Britain, is described rather directly as ‘childless and with few relations’ but no reason is provided for her lack of offspring.<sup>187</sup> Despite her lack of biological children, she appears to view Hilda like a daughter, reinforcing ideas of a “natural” maternal instinct or desire.

The language used to describe women in *Anno Domini 2000* can also provide insight into “the future female”. Rather radically for the nineteenth century, Vogel emphasized the intellectual prowess of many of his female characters. In his imagined year 2000, it is widely

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<sup>185</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 44.

<sup>186</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 43.

<sup>187</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 46.

accepted ‘that the bodily power is greater in man, and the mental power larger in woman’.<sup>188</sup> Hilda Fitzherbert ‘had never failed in any intellectual exercise’ and ‘her intelligence was considered phenomenal’.<sup>189</sup> Not only is Hilda a competent politician but she is also a renowned scientist, having been the first to discover the principle of a particular type of ‘muscular magnetising electricity’.<sup>190</sup> Her sister, Maude, is just as intelligent as her. Both women have been educated ‘in everything’ and enjoyed ‘extraordinary mental powers’.<sup>191</sup> This echoes a strategy employed by English philosopher and supporter of women’s rights, John Stuart Mill. Mill believed one way to encouraged gendered change was to ‘stir up the zeal of women themselves... stimulate their aspirations’.<sup>192</sup> Thus, the trope of the “exceptional woman” was born. The empowered woman was not simply average; with her newly granted rights in hand, she was astounding.

But, the empowered woman was humble and modest about her impressive personal qualities. Vogel carefully presents Hilda as a woman who tended ‘to under- than over-value herself’.<sup>193</sup> In some situations, she is self-assured and assertive – such as when the Emperor requests her opinion on the succession issue – yet, in others, she is unsure and hesitant, for example during her early conversations with Lady Middlesex and Mrs. Hardinge concerning her feelings (or lack thereof) for Reginald Paramatta.<sup>194</sup> As an empowered female character, Hilda balances confidence with rationality and thoughtfulness, thus avoiding arrogance.

Vogel also emphasizes beauty, grace, and other physically “feminine” qualities, relying on gendered language typical of the nineteenth century. Hilda is ‘fair to look at both in face

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<sup>188</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 36.

<sup>189</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 40.

<sup>190</sup> Vogel, p. 95.

<sup>191</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 79.

<sup>192</sup> John Stuart Mill, *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill: The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill 1849-1873* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 1623.

<sup>193</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 45. This is Hilda’s own invention; the ‘muscular magnetising electricity’ previously mentioned.

<sup>194</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, pp. 40-49, 62-65.

and figure' and is 'well-formed'.<sup>195</sup> Lady Middlesex is of 'pleasing appearance' and Victoria, the Princess, 'grew into a beautiful woman' and is 'a fine, healthy girl with lovely complexion'.<sup>196</sup> In a particularly dramatic scene where Hilda infiltrates a treasonous meeting, she runs 'like a fawn' up a set of stairs to enable some kind of electricity to immobilize but not injure the attendees.<sup>197</sup> This comparison to a deer conjures an image of Hilda displaying graceful agility. Vogel seeks to avoid his empowered women appearing too radical in the eyes of more conservative readers. This too serves as an anticipatory counter to the common argument that the politically active woman (or feminists in general) is or would become masculine, due to demonstration of conventionally "male" traits such as physical strength and assertiveness.

An article from the *Evening Post* in July 1893 laments the loss of such traditional adjectives previously used to describe females in literature.<sup>198</sup> The article is satirical but still highlights concerns about the potential masculinisation of women and feminization of men. The author suggests that once, calling a woman "womanly" was to 'bestow on her the crown of praise', but now, 'the female woman... is fast becoming as hard to find as the dodo.'<sup>199</sup> Increasing independence of women and their entrance into formerly male-dominated spheres in the late nineteenth century had changed expectations of behaviour for both men and women. Some common terms used to describe females would 'not only cease to be appropriate, they will become affronting' in the future due to these changes in gender roles. The article listed some examples: from angel to fawn to phrases of grace, timidity, and helplessness, the woman of the future will neither 'deserve nor desire' to be referred to as such.<sup>200</sup> The former implied the choice of language made by men, while the latter inferred women themselves would dispute

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<sup>195</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, pp. 40, 41.

<sup>196</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, pp. 41, 172, 173.

<sup>197</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 99.

<sup>198</sup> 'The Woman of the Future', *Evening Post*, 1 July 1893, p.1.

<sup>199</sup> 'The Woman of the Future', *Evening Post*, 1 July 1893, p.1.

<sup>200</sup> 'The Woman of the Future', *Evening Post*, 1 July 1893, p.1.

particular phrases. The article speculates that expressions previously used to describe women, such as ‘the gentler sex’, would ‘change hands’, implying that they would instead represent men in the future.<sup>201</sup> This reflected contemporary gender binaries that saw masculinity and femininity as opposites. The future was a concept used here to illustrate the potential impact of continued gender-related change.

In *Anno Domini 2000*, Vogel consistently describes male characters in terms of their military prowess, strategic talent or soldier-like qualities. The future man is to be military minded and physically strong. The Emperor himself possesses ‘the dignity and bearing of a practised soldier’ and Lord Reginald Paramatta’s general demeanour is ‘soldier-like’.<sup>202</sup> Even the young Prince Albert, ‘thin and delicate-looking, and a constant invalid’, had completed the required military training and had displayed ‘conspicuous bravery on several occasions’ despite having no real interest in leading the Empire’s armed forces.<sup>203</sup> Albert’s ability to lead an army is not questioned as his masculinity is reinforced: instead, his aversion to the military is simply explained as disinterest and choice. He might be sick, but he is strong enough to command respect from his fellow men.

Cowardice, on the other hand, was a negative trait for a man to possess. A 1915 cartoon published in the *Observer* depicts a man who ‘shirked’ a war draft as unfit to be a ‘father of the future’ (see Figure 7).<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> ‘The Woman of the Future’, *Evening Post*, 1 July 1893, p.1.

<sup>202</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, pp. 51, 55.

<sup>203</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, pp. 173, 174.

<sup>204</sup> ‘The Shirker: Is He To Be The Father of The Future?’, *Observer*, 2 October 1915, p. 1.



Figure 7: *The Shirker*

The relationship between men, masculinity and war is weaved throughout *Anno Domini 2000*. The main argument against allowing female succession to the position of Emperor is that the ruler must be able to lead the military in battle, and women cannot do this. This is confirmed even by the female characters as not one suggests that women can lead the empire's armies. The counterargument presented by the women is that someone other than an Empress could lead the armies. However, the President of the United States – a female – does in fact lead her country's military. She is portrayed as a rather emotional leader, invading Canada after the

Emperor rejects her daughter's hand in marriage. The resulting "war" lasted only several hours, also highlighting the President's lack of strategic ability and impulse control.

Vogel's amplification of the military man perhaps reflects contemporary anxieties about the martial strength of New Zealand and the British Empire. He tends to overstate the importance of strategy and tactics, and celebrates those men with aptitude in those particular areas. I suggest that this is related to the British experience of the New Zealand Wars (approximately 1843-1872), where Māori were underestimated as a foe. While it remains difficult to decide the 'winner' and 'loser' in these conflicts, it is clear that the New Zealand Wars were embarrassing for the British, as they did not dominate Māori as easily as expected.<sup>205</sup> James Belich argues that this is visible in the British tendency to inflate numbers of Māori casualties, especially when Māori claimed victory in a specific battle.<sup>206</sup> Belich also describes the British propensity to overstate their "strategic genius" while downplaying Māori as primitive and rebellious natives with no concept of military tactics, a claim which Belich rebuts with countless examples of indigenous ingenuity.<sup>207</sup>

Furthermore, just as the future woman *would* become mothers and wives, future men had a duty to serve their country or empire through military participation. The world of *Anno Domini 2000* requires all young men to undergo compulsory military training. In early twentieth-century newspapers, boys were often promoted as future servicemen who would be responsible for the defence of empire and country. This idea was supported by a cultural emphasis on sacrifice and justice. A photograph titled 'The Future Territorials' appears in the *Otago Witness* in 1910. The photo depicted 'Boy Scouts and Junior Cadets on Parade'.<sup>208</sup> The

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<sup>205</sup> Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), p. 129: "For the Pakeha, the Maori had proved to be a much more formidable military obstacle to the acquisition of land by conquest than anticipated. ... the Maori would fight on forever and ever and ever."

<sup>206</sup> James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015), pp. 313, 314.

<sup>207</sup> See: Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*.

<sup>208</sup> 'The Future Territorials', *Otago Witness*, 25 May 1910.

children all appear to be male, however there are some female bystanders watching the group. Another photo published in the *Otago Witness*, also titled ‘The Future Territorials’, shows ‘senior cadets’ marching to Forbury Park in Dunedin in 1913.<sup>209</sup> A connection is made between the youths in these photographs, their role as scouts or cadets, and their future potential as part of the nation’s defence force. Their activities will prepare them to be competent combatants later in life, and it is implied that a boy who partakes in such activities will pursue such a path.

Vogel’s depictions of future men and women in his imagined year 2000 gain a further level of nuance when specific characters of *Anno Domini 2000* are compared and contrasted with each other. The protagonist of the story is Hilda Fitzherbert, and we are introduced quickly to the “villain”, Lord Reginald Paramatta, Hilda’s suitor. Hilda herself expresses fear of the man, and she believes he is ‘playing a part’ in his interactions with her.<sup>210</sup> In conversation with Hilda, Mrs. Hardinge claims Paramatta is ‘unstable and insincere’, foreshadowing his later kidnapping of Hilda as a result of her continued refusal to marry him.<sup>211</sup> Paramatta is also shown to be treasonous, exposed as supporting an attempt to separate Australia from the British Empire.<sup>212</sup>

These traits and behaviours can be compared to that of Hilda and of other men in the book. Hilda is calm, remaining in control of her emotions even in times of high stress (although she does experience ‘momentary helplessness’ in private at one point of the story).<sup>213</sup> She is thoughtful and introspective, tactful yet honest. These positive qualities stand in direct opposition to the Machiavellian antagonist Reginald Paramatta and allow Vogel to present a narrative that portrays women as much more than hysterical, sensitive creatures who should be confined to eternal domesticity. In turn, Vogel depicts Paramatta as a miscreant, thus unsettling

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<sup>209</sup> ‘The Future Territorials’, *Otago Witness*, 17 December 1913.

<sup>210</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, pp. 44, 45-46.

<sup>211</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 48.

<sup>212</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 158.

<sup>213</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 161.

contemporary views of men who conform to physical expectations of masculinity, such as military prowess, as being “heroes” or at very least, honourable protectors of both family and Empire. Other men, such as the Emperor and Lord Montreal, demonstrate their strong moral compass and alignment with gendered expectations of integrity. This dichotomy of ethical/unethical behaviour grants Vogel a space in which to explore radical re-imaginings of women and men, and disruption of conventionally “male” or “female” idiosyncrasies, upon which many of the arguments against female enfranchisement were based in the late nineteenth century.

Furthermore, Hilda can also be measured against Vogel’s idea of “acceptable” support of women’s rights. While Hilda herself does not comment directly on the subject, her position is implied. Part of the reason for the Emperor’s refusal to marry the daughter of the President of the United States is that the President, as ‘an intense advocate of woman's equality’, intended to make a condition of the marriage ‘that the eldest child, whether son or daughter, should succeed’ to the position of Emperor.<sup>214</sup> The Emperor makes it clear early in the novel that he does not appreciate ‘excessively firm’ opinions with regards to any perceived superiority of women over men.<sup>215</sup> This echoes Vogel’s own claim that ‘a recognized *dominance* of either sex is unnecessary’ [emphasis added] and his public disdain for ‘strong-minded females’.<sup>216</sup>

The Emperor views this condition as an attempt for the President’s daughter to claim power for herself, by proxy: she ‘would be for ever striving to rule not only the household, but the Empire’.<sup>217</sup> Hilda, however, displays acumen with regards to the succession question by considering both sides and ultimately concluding that there is merit in either option.<sup>218</sup> This is

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<sup>214</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 50.

<sup>215</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 52.

<sup>216</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, pp. 182-184; ‘The Girls’ High School’, *Otago Daily Times*, 17 December 1873, p. 3.

<sup>217</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 52.

<sup>218</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 55.

in direct contrast to the inflexible beliefs held by the President of the United States and her daughter, and accords Hilda a level of rationality that intersects with the tone of suffrage movement of late nineteenth century New Zealand. Unlike their British counterparts, who used militant methods, New Zealand suffragists campaigned by means of presenting petitions to Parliament. It is clear that the Emperor approves of Hilda's balanced personal opinion on male-preference succession to the throne and her professional acceptance of the current rules (following the defeat of her political party's proposed amendments), as he chose to marry her instead of the President's daughter. This equates to the "well-behaved woman" being rewarded while the (allegedly) aberrant is shunned.

Political debate around this primogeniture reform forms a central part of *Anno Domini 2000*. In Vogel's year 2000, women enjoyed 'perfect equality' of succession in most areas except for that of succession to the throne.<sup>219</sup> These laws of succession are debated intensely throughout the novel, with a range of opposing opinions expressed for its dissolution or maintenance, but the *status quo* remains until the Emperor encounters tangible (and personal) reasons to amend the legislation. Resolution comes in the form of an epilogue, set almost two decades after the main events described, when Hilda's daughter is 18 years old and her son one year younger.

Hilda's daughter, Victoria, is described as an 'accomplished linguist' and an avid historian who took great interest in public affairs: 'No statesman was better acquainted with the innumerable conditions which cumbered the outward seeming of affairs of state.'<sup>220</sup> Hilda's son, Albert, is a mathematician who possessed a 'love for the study of human character' but no attraction to state matters or even current events.<sup>221</sup> The educational interests of each child

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<sup>219</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 47.

<sup>220</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 173.

<sup>221</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 173.

distinguishes the kinds of success that are expected of them. Both the Emperor and Hilda avoid a discussion of changing the rules of primogeniture until Albert himself begins the conversation. With consultation and consent from both children, the Emperor supports a change to allow female succession to the throne.

However, Victoria is not necessarily selected to succeed because she is inherently more worthy of the position of Empress, nor does she ask for or demand the privilege based upon her competency. The argument presented in the epilogue focuses more on Albert's *uninterest* in ruling rather than Victoria's ability to rule. It is mere coincidence and convenience that Victoria meets the expectations that Albert chose to disregard. It is made very clear that Albert could rule and would do so if required, but he simply does not want to and would not enjoy it. The Emperor recalls his prior view that a male should lead the Empire so he could personally direct an army in battle, and muses that his son would not command any troops in war. Albert had 'no taste for military knowledge... an aversion, almost a contempt', but the Emperor vehemently states he is courageous and capable.<sup>222</sup> Presumably Albert's perpetual ill health would prevent him from being on the front line of any conflict, yet the Emperor points out that Albert has passed the requisite military training required of all male imperial subjects.<sup>223</sup>

Therefore, the message that is portrayed by this part of *Anno Domini 2000* is more one of utilitarian change rather than visionary transformation for the purpose of gender equality – an argument very similar to that of liberal feminist such as John Stuart Mill. For the good of the Empire, the Emperor spearheads a legislative amendment that will allow female succession to the throne. Victoria's value as a political leader is only fully realized following her brother's *informed* dismissal of the opportunity to rule. Change will only occur if it benefits the empire

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<sup>222</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 174.

<sup>223</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 174.

or society at large, and only with consent from benevolent males, as a result of little to no pressure from the women impacted by such changes.

### Reception and rebuttals

*Anno Domini 2000* received a mixed reception at the time of its first publication in 1889. This underscores the complex and multiple spaces of experience relating to gender in settler colonial New Zealand. Some were openly hostile to Vogel's vision of the future, and even those who enjoyed elements of the novel criticized other aspects. The *Auckland Star* rejected Vogel's imagined year 2000 as 'Conservatism triumphant'.<sup>224</sup> An earlier review in the same newspaper contained a protracted commentary on Vogel's presentation of women. While the novel claimed to support gender equality, the reviewer pointed out that the female characters were poorly developed.<sup>225</sup> Vogel's female-led Government was 'weakness and imbecility' with interactions focussed around love and loathing, rather than political or social problems that the women overcome.<sup>226</sup> As a result, the novel actually promoted the idea that 'Government by women is absolutely hopeless'.<sup>227</sup> Other reviewers claimed Vogel's future was not particularly compelling, nor was it a great improvement on the present.<sup>228</sup>

Despite much reproach for its lack of imagination, some parts of *Anno Domini 2000* were instead criticised for being improbable. The *South Canterbury Times* pointed out 'an outrageous impossibility' where a group of would-be conspirators were thwarted by an electrical impulse that immobilized but did not harm them.<sup>229</sup> The *Ashburton Guardian* labelled the text a 'romantic dream' and further explained that Britain was far too conservative to elect

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<sup>224</sup> 'Looking Backward', *Auckland Star*, 9 July 1889, p. 4.

<sup>225</sup> Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000*, p. 182.

<sup>226</sup> *Auckland Star*, 25 May 1889, p. 4. On a related note, viewing *Anno Domini 2000* through a modern lens sees the novel fail the Bechdel Test, which asks whether a work of fiction features at least two women who converse about something other than a man: see 'Bechdel Test', *Wikipedia* <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bechdel\\_test](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bechdel_test)> [accessed 25 January 2022]. This contrasts sharply with academic praise for its proto-feminist foundations.

<sup>227</sup> *Auckland Star*, 25 May 1889, p. 4.

<sup>228</sup> 'Review', *Southland Times*, 23 May 1889, p. 3; 'Review', *Bruce Herald*, 25 May 1889, p. 3.

<sup>229</sup> 'Vogel's Golden Dream', *South Canterbury Times*, 13 April 1889, p. 3.

a female Prime Minister even in the year 2000 but made no comment about New Zealand's female leadership possibilities.<sup>230</sup>

In fact, no reviewer argued directly with the general principle of gender equality present throughout the novel, but a parody titled 'Anno Domini 3000' implied discontent with the idea that 'men and women should stand on an equal footing'.<sup>231</sup> Appearing first in the *Taranaki Herald*, it was quickly reproduced by other New Zealand newspapers. The lampoon also critiques Vogel's eradication of poverty and system of universal welfare, and at the end of the article, it is revealed that the satire is Adam's bad dream after eating the apple in the Garden of Eden. A second parody, titled '2001 Anno Domini' was serialised in *The Observer and Freelance*. The author used the spoonerized name Sir Volius Juggle and presented their satire as a sequel to Vogel's novel.<sup>232</sup> This "sequel" almost entirely focused on Irish nationalism and calls for independence, which had been accomplished in *Anno Domini 2000*.

Perhaps the most colourful review of *Anno Domini 2000* called the novel a 'travesty on Jules Verne', a reference to the popular French novelist.<sup>233</sup> Initially written for the *New Zealand Mail* and reproduced in many other New Zealand newspapers, reviewer Asmodeus slammed Vogel's novel:

Anything so namby pamby, so senseless, so savoring [sic] of tuft-hunting and so very unlikely was never put into the hands of a printer. It... might have been written by an overgrown school girl, her head crammed with conservative rubbish and romance. Woman's destiny, indeed! Poor Sir Julius! He has shot his bolt and made a miserable miss.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> 'A Lady President', *Ashburton Guardian*, 5 November 1889, p. 2.

<sup>231</sup> 'Anno Domini 3000', *Taranaki Herald*, 25 May 1889, p. 3.

<sup>232</sup> '2001 Anno Domini', *Observer and Freelance*, 2 November 1889, p. 10; 'The Novelist', *Observer and Freelance*, 9 November 1889, p. 7; 'The Novelist', *Observer and Freelance*, 16 November 1889, p. 7; 'The Novelist', *Observer and Freelance*, 23 November 1889, p. 7; 'The Novelist', *Observer and Freelance*, 30 November 1889, p. 7; 'The Novelist', *Observer and Freelance*, 7 December 1889, p. 7.

<sup>233</sup> 'Round the Corners', *New Zealand Mail*, 12 April 1889, p. 19.

<sup>234</sup> 'Round the Corners', *New Zealand Mail*, 12 April 1889, p. 19.

Aside from unfavourable comparisons with other speculative texts, criticism was levelled at Vogel for two main reasons: the novel's superficial plot and characters, the creation of an unimaginative yet unlikely future. The first review of *Anno Domini 2000* published in a New Zealand newspaper appeared in the *Star* in early April 1889.<sup>235</sup> Written by an unnamed London correspondent, the review also featured replication of passages from the novel. The reviewer's excitement turned to disappointment, as the 'long-talked of novel' portrayed a future that was no better than the present.<sup>236</sup> While the text would be read by many due to Vogel's reputation, the reviewer concluded that its 'heavily-laboured pages' would not bring 'much pleasure or satisfaction'.<sup>237</sup> This review was reproduced in many other New Zealand newspapers throughout April.

Some newspaper reports pointed out that high expectations of the novel were misplaced. The *New Zealand Herald* reminded readers that Vogel 'had never shown the smallest literary taste or skill during all the years he was in New Zealand, and that his speeches were absolutely devoid of any ornament of literary expression'.<sup>238</sup> The newspaper rationalised the interest in the novel:

Naturally, when it was known that a man who had occupied so large a space in our recent history was about to become an author, every special correspondent in London connected with the New Zealand press caught at any report or rumour about it.<sup>239</sup>

The *Southland Times* pointed out that Vogel was a beginner and would not produce the quality writing typical of a practised writer.<sup>240</sup> The fact that Vogel was more comfortable writing non-fiction was painfully obvious in the finished product. The book read as 'the work of a journalist

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<sup>235</sup> 'Sir Julius Vogel's Novel', *Star*, 2 April 1889, p. 2.

<sup>236</sup> 'Sir Julius Vogel's Novel', *Star*, 2 April 1889, p. 2.

<sup>237</sup> 'Sir Julius Vogel's Novel', *Star*, 2 April 1889, p. 2.

<sup>238</sup> 'Sir Julius Vogel's Book', *New Zealand Herald*, 11 May 1889, p. 9.

<sup>239</sup> 'Sir Julius Vogel's Book', *New Zealand Herald*, 18 May 1889, p. 9.

<sup>240</sup> 'Review', *Southland Times*, 23 May 1889, p. 3.

rather than a novelist' and was 'unskillfully designed and harshly blended'.<sup>241</sup> Other reviews described the characters as 'mere lay figures' and puppets with no personality; the dialogue as 'pointless'; the plot 'sketchy' and 'half-described'; and the novel overall as 'very dreary'.<sup>242</sup>

Vogel's choice of character names received particular condemnation. Many were named after famous New Zealand and British individuals. Newspapers shamed Vogel for 'undisguised compliments to [his] friends'.<sup>243</sup> Recognisable names included Stout, Buller, and Larnach.<sup>244</sup> In addition, Hilda's children are named Albert and Victoria, an obvious nod to the British monarchy. The names Vogel gives to his characters is arguably an example of settler colonialism in practice: a form of literary adulation, perhaps.

Some of the criticism levelled at *Anno Domini 2000* indicates that readers were familiar with the genre of speculative fiction. Vogel's novel was an early contribution to the 'international vogue of futuristic stories' that emerged in the 1870s and 1880s, and reviewers judged Vogel's writing quality and the content of *Anno Domini 2000* against several of these stores.<sup>245</sup> Science fiction was a popular genre in the late nineteenth century across the Western world. The subgenre of science fiction that focuses on the future is broadly referred to as speculative fiction. By the 1890s, a New Zealand reader exclaimed the trope was 'somewhat hackneyed'.<sup>246</sup>

Due to the rising popularity of speculative fiction in the late nineteenth century, contemporary reviewers drew parallels between *Anno Domini 2000* and other works of the

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<sup>241</sup> Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*, p. 304; Burdon, p. 221.

<sup>242</sup> 'Vogel's Golden Dream', *South Canterbury Times*, 13 April 1889, p. 3; 'Sir Julius Vogel's Novel', *Cromwell Argus*, 21 May 1889, p. 3; *Auckland Star*, 25 May 1889, p. 4.

<sup>243</sup> 'Sir Julius Vogel's Novel', *Star*, 2 April 1889, p. 2; 'Sir Julius Vogel's Book', *Tuapeka Times*, 17 April 1889, p. 4.

<sup>244</sup> These names likely refer to: Robert Stout, two-time Premier of New Zealand and Vogel's colleague in Parliament; Charles Buller, director of the New Zealand Company or James Buller, missionary; William Larnach, businessman, politician, and personal friend of Vogel.

<sup>245</sup> Robinson, 'Introduction', p. 15.

<sup>246</sup> 'A New Zealander on the New Woman', *New Zealand Mail*, 16 August 1895, p. 15.

genre. Perhaps unfortunately for Vogel's dreams of literary success, American author Edward Bellamy's speculative novel *Looking Backward* was published around the same time as *Anno Domini 2000*. Modern scholars have described Bellamy's text as one of the most widely read and celebrated utopian novels.<sup>247</sup> A contemporary review of *Looking Backward* began by comparing it to Vogel's novel and implied Bellamy's was the much better work.<sup>248</sup> The *South Canterbury Times* described *Looking Backward* as 'a better dream of a golden age' than *Anno Domini 2000*.<sup>249</sup> The *Press* suggested that the similarities in theme (and nationality of authors) between Henry Crocker Marriott Watson's *Erchomenon* and *Anno Domini 2000* was 'curious'.<sup>250</sup> In recent scholarship, literary historian Phillip Steer has illuminated connections between Marriott Watson's second future-focused novel, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (1890) and Vogel's *Anno Domini 2000*, drawing conclusions on the shared context of production and purpose.<sup>251</sup>

Vogel was not the only New Zealander who authored speculative fiction in the late nineteenth century with subject matter relating to suffrage or women's political rights. While some reviews of *Anno Domini 2000* criticised Vogel's future world as conservative, the radical and visionary elements of the novel are clear when compared to two other works of speculative fiction, also authored by New Zealanders, and centred around questions of female suffrage and "women's rights". Thomas Bracken's *The Triumph of Women's Rights: A prophetic vision* (1891) and Edward Tregear's *Hedged with Divinities* (1895) engage with nineteenth-century gender expectations through the lens of the future.<sup>252</sup> Bracken and Tregear were also involved

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<sup>247</sup> Dominic Alessio, 'Document in the History of Science-Fiction: The Great Romance, by The Inhabitant', *Science-Fiction Studies*, 20.3 (1993), 305-340 (p. 305).

<sup>248</sup> 'Looking Backward', *Auckland Star*, 9 July 1889, p. 4.

<sup>249</sup> 'A Hundred Years Hence', *South Canterbury Times*, 19 July 1889, p. 3.

<sup>250</sup> 'Our London Letter', *Press*, 2 April 1889, p. 5. Marriott Watson's *Erchomenon* (1879) features in Chapter Three of this thesis.

<sup>251</sup> Steer, *Settler Colonialism in Victorian Literature*, pp. 164-208.

<sup>252</sup> Thomas Bracken, *The Triumph of Women's Rights: A Prophetic Vision* (Auckland: W. McCullough, 1892); Edward Tregear, *Hedged with Divinities* (Wellington: R. Coupland Harding, 1895).

with New Zealand politics and policy respectively. In fact, Bracken debated Vogel's Women's Suffrage Bill at its second reading, voting against it. Both novels have been rather neglected by historians, with little sustained research on their content or context of production. Most scholarship focuses on the author's biography or uses a brief description of the novels to bridge the gaps between more well-known colonial works like Samuel Butler's *Erewhon* (1872) and acclaimed twentieth century wordsmiths such as Katherine Mansfield and Janet Frame.

The tone of both novels means they sit uncomfortably with utopian literary traditions: *The Triumph of Women's Rights* has been described as an 'anti-suffrage anti-utopia' while *Hedged with Divinities* is characterized as 'a futuristic dystopia of female dominance'.<sup>253</sup> Their inclusion in this chapter seeks to afford them historical significance within a framework defined by *Anno Domini 2000*. Bracken's and Tregear's works were responses to the broader idea of gender equality contained within Vogel's novel, even if they were not necessarily responses to *Anno Domini 2000* specifically.

Thomas Bracken's female-led Parliament in *The Triumph of Women's Rights* legislates for husbands to support wives by raising children while they are pursuing careers in politics. The mockingly titled Silver Spoon Bill states that 'fathers of families are obliged to remain at home and look after the little ones, while their wives are at the Session'.<sup>254</sup> Since being a parent was expected, someone had to look after the children – and childcare was not a widespread commodity at the time these works were authored. In the nineteenth century, men were not expected to take on domestic duties even if a wife died or was otherwise unable to raise children. Husbands were encouraged to

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<sup>253</sup> Benjamin Authers, 'Resisting the Triumph of Women's Rights – Anti-Suffrage Anti-Utopias', *The Centre of Democracy* <<http://centredemocracy.sa.gov.au/2019/09/suffrage-125-resisting-the-triumph-of-womens-rights-anti-suffrage-anti-utopias/>> [accessed 11 June 2020]; Harvey McQueen and Roger Robinson, 'Tregear, Edward', *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature* <<https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/view/10.1093/acref/9780195583489.001.0001/acref-9780195583489-e-1256>> [accessed 21 April 2017].

<sup>254</sup> Bracken, p.12.

place his children with a female relative or hire a housekeeper or, failing these options, commit his children to an institution, continuing his primary responsibility towards them by contributing his earnings to their upkeep.<sup>255</sup>

Therefore, the idea that a husband would stay at home to look after children while a wife worked was viewed as absurd and fits within the satirical tone of Bracken's story. Women are also implicitly portrayed as useless politicians who create trivial laws due to their ignorance. The takeaway is that New Zealand would be disadvantaged if women were in positions of political power, as they would waste both time and resources – and apparently at some point, also disenfranchise and disempower men.

The protagonist of Edward Tregear's *Hedged with Divinities*, Jack, wakes up several years after consuming a sleeping draught to discover that he is the last man alive, although he does not know this until he travels to Auckland. On his arrival, he is greeted with an excited crowd:

Some of them threw themselves on their knees at his feet and kissed his hands, some kissed his clothes, while others (most of them) leaped into the air and screamed... he raised them from the ground. In an instant their arms were round his neck, and the kissed were on his face...<sup>256</sup>

Jack requests an audience with another man to find out the cause of such a dramatic welcome and is met with astonishment: this is when he is told he is the last man left alive. His insistence to speak to a man indicates a belief that only a male could be in charge, and perhaps discomfort with emotional crowds of women.

The women have organized their society somewhat successfully up until Jack's awakening. They are capable enough but not entirely. While they live in relative harmony,

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<sup>255</sup> Annabel Cooper, 'Poor Men in the Land of Promises', *Australian Historical Studies*, 39.2 (2008), 245-261 (p. 255).

<sup>256</sup> Tregear, p. 55.

there are many responsibilities the women have not and will not do themselves, part for lack of skill and part for “feminine sensibilities” such as hunting and butchering animals. Jack is instantly lauded as the natural leader of this new male-free society due to his sex. The women ‘instantly... recognized the voice of authority’.<sup>257</sup> He is the ideal man: a saviour, a leader, an organiser, and selfless enough to agree to take 20 wives in order to produce male children. Jack is initially hesitant to do so as he is a moral, monogamous man (a sleeping draught that transports him three years into the future apparently does not nullify an engagement to marry). His desire to ensure a future for the empire and nation initially prevails, but after spending some time polygamously fornicating, he sails away with his one true love, Nelly.

In *Hedged with Divinities* marriage and motherhood is depicted as a kind of ‘prize’. Jack, as the last living man, takes multiple wives with the intention of repopulating the world with males. A formal process for selecting these wives is produced to avoid ‘bitter jealousy’ from those excluded. A “short-list” of 100 women are paraded past Jack and he eventually chooses 20. Not only is marriage portrayed as desirable, it is also used as a form of control. Jack’s first choice is Victoria, a woman who has challenged Jack’s leadership qualities and explicitly derided the idea of becoming his wife. She is convinced to accept the proposal for “the greater good” of humanity. Tellingly, she is also the first to deliver a child, the novel replacing her independence with domesticity and motherhood.

Jack also asks Mary Lockwood why she was not married before the day all men disappeared: ‘You must have been old enough for marriage before that terrible day three years ago?’. Her response is rather caustic towards nineteenth-century feminism:

I was a fool because I was led away by the teachings of a clique of hysterical writers who deceived me as well as others; who preached that every bride would take to her bosom a debauched and worthless husband; that all men were selfish, all lustful, most

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<sup>257</sup> Tregear, p. 56.

of them brutal; that the pure ethereal wives of these men were fitted to do all things that men could do, and do them better if they had the chance. I believed these follies...<sup>258</sup>

She continues, explaining that now she realizes ‘cultured women’ had failed to be appreciative of the sacrifices that men had made for women, and that there was a tendency to argue about which sex was the most hardworking: ‘we boasted our washing of babies and dusting of bedrooms against the clearers of forests and makers of railways.’<sup>259</sup> In contrast to Bracken and Tregear’s conservative view of future women, and their maintenance of contemporary masculinity, Vogel’s horizon, where women are political leaders and prizewinning scientists, appears progressive and revolutionary. However, as I have argued, *Anno Domini 2000* is also committed to the ideal of the domesticated woman supporting the breadwinning male.

## Conclusion

The depictions of “the future man” and “the future woman” presented in *Anno Domini 2000* communicate desirable and undesirable conceptions of gender as considered by Vogel. This horizon of expectation provides a window into wider concerns and anxieties of contemporary New Zealand society, and the attempts to construct a monolithic gendered identity that conformed to middle-class Pākehā expectations. Women’s rights and female enfranchisement were particularly popular subjects for speculative fiction during the late nineteenth century, especially as the New Zealand suffrage movement gained momentum. This was, at least in part, underpinned by colonial and imperial obsessions with first, progress, and second, the family. The collision of these two settler colonial axioms resulted in a space of experience where gender could – and did – become a significant feature of imagined futures in 1880s New Zealand.

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<sup>258</sup> Tregear, pp. 94-95.

<sup>259</sup> Tregear, pp. 94-95.

New Zealand history remembers Vogel firstly as a politician and secondly as businessman and journalist, with *Anno Domini 2000* either ignored or peripherally mentioned. The value of *Anno Domini 2000* comes from its ability to humanize the nineteenth-century statesman. The novel expounds the later life of a politician, musing on his (self-defined) successes and failures and the social causes he considered most important. The layers of intention within the writing of *Anno Domini 2000* shed light on Vogel's personality and life. He chose to write something for money as he was in debt. Its content is not undermined by the likelihood Vogel wrote a novel to save himself from financial ruin, but instead enhanced by the possibility. The choice to write speculative fiction reflects the international popularity of such texts in the late nineteenth century and indicates an increasing fascination with "the future". Vogel wrote fiction because it was a platform to influence others and promote his ideas to a wide audience. As a retired politician, he perhaps craved the opportunity to publicly express himself again. And, finally, he wrote a work of science fiction for the wish-fulfillment aspect. At the time of publication, he was old and sick, and likely cognizant of his mortality and ongoing legacy.

*Anno Domini 2000* is perhaps overstated in literary studies as a utopian novel. While it contained several ideas that were rather radical for 1889 – specifically, that women enjoyed both the vote and the right to stand for election to Parliament, and the descriptions of female characters as extraordinarily intelligent – the text includes conservative aspects and is reflective of traditional nineteenth-century gender ideas. In Vogel's year 2000 women are still expected to marry and become mothers, and masculinity is measured by participation and aptitude in military matters. The novel was a financial failure in its own time and furthermore, was actually criticized for not being utopian or visionary enough. The narrow categorization of sources as "utopian" or "dystopian" removes intricacies such as the duality of radical and conservative visible in Vogel's novel. I suggest that a shift to a broader label of "speculation" that

encompasses all depictions of the future would also avoid issues of interpretation: utopianism, after all, is subjective.<sup>260</sup>

Vogel's horizon of expectation is both radical and practical; for example, the protagonist Hilda is politically capable and intellectually outstanding, but ultimately chooses a quiet life of motherhood and companionship. She is beautiful and delicate yet empowered (but not too strong-willed), and her choice of husband is a man who is physically strong, handsome, and a respected and competent leader. Most importantly, *Anno Domini 2000* perpetuates a middle-class desire that women are, ultimately, full-time wives and mothers, and that men are full-time economic contributors and supreme political leaders, even if women are allowed to work as politicians until they are married.

The novel therefore merges rational, political Vogel with romantic, personal Vogel. The duality within the novel with regards to gender reflects the duality of Vogel's own views, perhaps indicating the impact of the wider societal space of experience on his internal beliefs. He was arguably visionary to a point: even his scheme of public works in the 1870s was grandiose and based on theoretical belief that paying the debt would happen quickly because the proposed projects would be wildly successful. But, he was also pragmatic and careful. *Anno Domini 2000* displays a "natural" progression of women's rights. Their contributions to society outside the home would increase, but the biological facts were that women give birth and babies were necessary to continue humankind. It was inevitable that women would become mothers, and due to cultural norms of the nineteenth century, they would be married before falling pregnant. Economic obligations and labour limitations meant that children needed to be looked after by someone, and it often fell on the mother to do so, especially with young children who

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<sup>260</sup> Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction*, p. 8.

required breastfeeding. It was simply not practical to place children in childcare facilities even if they were available.

Interrogation of Vogel's depiction of gender illuminates a transformative period of New Zealand's history. Tension between change, and the maintenance of the *status quo*, is especially visible during the 1880s and 1890s as New Zealand women advocate for suffrage and eventually receive the right to vote, and through the myriad ways New Zealanders responded to the suffrage campaign and the perceived impacts of its success or failure. Authors, speakers, and cartoonists used the future as a way to frame and express their opinions on "women's rights" and the accepted behaviour and expected qualities of men and women. By exploring these horizons, we can understand the discourses that underpinned debates such as those surrounding suffrage and, in turn, the spaces of experience that fueled desires for change or continuance. *Anno Domini 2000* especially highlights the nuances that can exist within future-focused narratives produced during times of transformation.

## Chapter Two: 'We are stranded on a strange shore' - Āpirana Ngata's *The Past and Future of the Maori* (1893)

But now he ceases from retrospection. He has to face greater problems than have been worked out in his past. He has to consider the land question and the best means of government, he has to discuss the education of his children, but, above all, he must set about to find means for staying the alarming decrease of his race.<sup>1</sup>

- Āpirana Ngata, *The Past and Future of the Maori*.

*The Past and Future of the Maori* (1893) marks the beginning of Āpirana Ngata's lifelong campaign for positive Māori futures, particularly the protection of Māori culture and the prevention of further population loss. The essay records Ngata's thoughts about Māori life in late-nineteenth century New Zealand and his hope for a better future for Māori. Ngata's entanglement of past, present, and future is clear throughout the essay with consideration of the 'historical as well as the mythological past', present conditions and a potential future, although in the epigraph above he calls for reorientation towards the horizon, recognizing that the solution must be found in innovation rather than tradition.<sup>2</sup> Ngata's essay emerges from a space of experience where many Pākehā considered Māori to essentially have no future. Assimilationist legislation had sought to absorb Māori into Pākehā culture and society throughout the nineteenth century, and this was justified by a belief that Māori would 'die out' as a result of contact with Europeans, an inevitability apparently supported by declining Māori population numbers.<sup>3</sup> Written against this backdrop, Ngata's essay is in some ways dystopian, evident in the opening epigraph to this chapter which articulates his anxiety about the 'alarming

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<sup>1</sup> Āpirana Ngata, *The Past and Future of the Maori* (Christchurch: Christchurch Press Company, 1893), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ngata, *The Past and Future of the Maori*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See: James Belich, 'Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 31.1 (1997), 9-22 (p. 12); Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), p. 111.

decrease his race'. Yet, Ngata also expresses hope for a better future, captured by the crucial word 'staying', anticipating a horizon of more utopian possibility.

*The Past and Future of the Maori* presents a horizon of expectation concerned with notions of indigenous identity and self-determination. This chapter explores Ngata's biographical space of experience, before contextualising his life within broader spaces of settler colonial New Zealand society including Māori responses to Pākehā-imagined horizons. Analysis of his essay emphasises dualities within settler colonial futures in New Zealand, demonstrating Laura Ishiguro's assertion that settler futurity is 'a contested vision among alternative futurities'.<sup>4</sup> First, this introductory section will discuss ways in which questions of identity have been expressed through Ngata's chosen form, the essay.

Originating during the Renaissance, the essay as a written form is fluid, spanning a variety of formats, styles, and themes.<sup>5</sup> The development of the essay as a textual form is closely related to Renaissance notions of the self and new ways of conceptualising the world around us.<sup>6</sup> Elena Gualtieri argues that the essay is a form of indirect autobiography due to its nature as 'an expression of personal opinion'.<sup>7</sup> It is within this space of opinion and self-identity that the essay exists as 'a tentative, unfinished model of knowledge production – one that is a hybrid of the scientific and the subjective'.<sup>8</sup> Kara Wittman and Evan Kindley summarise the nuanced purpose of the form:

The essay invites readers down its many and winding paths but isn't so interested in providing a map; it begins a dialogue but doesn't manage the stage.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Laura Ishiguro, "'Growing up and grown up... in our future city": Discourses of Childhood and Settler Futurity in Colonial British Columbia, *BC Studies*, 190 (2016), 15-37 (p. 31).

<sup>5</sup> Elena Gualtieri, 'The essay as form: Virginia Woolf and the literary tradition', *Textual Practice*, 12.1 (1998), 49-67 (p. 49).

<sup>6</sup> Gualtieri, p. 49.

<sup>7</sup> Gualtieri, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Majumdar Saikat, 'Essay and Empire', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Essay*, ed. by Kara Wittman and Evan Kindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 167-181 (p. 169).

<sup>9</sup> Kara Wittman and Evan Kindley, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Essay*, ed. by Kara Wittman and Evan Kindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 1-14 (p. 1).

I suggest that these characteristics shape the essay as a textual form that is especially conducive to the expression of future-focused narratives: in the words of Wittman and Kindley, '[t]he essay wonders and it doubts'.<sup>10</sup> As a reflection of personal identity, the essay has been used by marginalised groups, including Indigenous people, to assert control in hegemonies where they are otherwise disenfranchised. I note that it is well established that texts were (and remain) a tool of colonization, but that the role of text as a platform for resistance *against* colonization in New Zealand is perhaps less documented.<sup>11</sup> *The Past and Future of the Maori* is a display of mana motuhake or Māori self-determination and is a direct response to settler colonialism of the late nineteenth century.

Ignacio Sánchez Prado's survey of Mexican utopian essays is helpful in forming an understanding of the essay as a form of resistance. He argues that authors in colonial Mexico subverted the Eurocentric nature of the genre to express imaginations of the future that conveyed anti-colonist and liberationist ideas.<sup>12</sup> Anahid Nersessian likewise identifies a transformation of the essay within Europe. While initially a textual form of the elites, Nersessian argues that by the end of the eighteenth century the essay had been claimed by the working class and became associated with 'unruly, adversarial postures'.<sup>13</sup> Jesse McCarthy traces these developments to slavery-era North America, where the essay emerged as 'a tradition of writing marked by a monumental sense of burden, straining against moral catastrophe, bearing witness and asserting a will to life and self-determination independent of

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<sup>10</sup> Wittman and Kindley, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> For discussion on texts as an instrument of colonization in New Zealand, see: Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonisation and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36.1 (2002), 5-17 (p. 9).

<sup>12</sup> Ignacio Sánchez Prado, 'The Utopian Essay', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Essay*, ed. by Kara Wittman and Evan Kindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 141-153 (pp. 141-142).

<sup>13</sup> Anahid Nersessian, 'Essay, Enlightenment, Revolution', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Essay*, ed. by Kara Wittman and Evan Kindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 111-125 (p. 111).

these calamities.’<sup>14</sup> Authors explored the future possibilities for the New World post-abolition, asking rhetorically:

Could relations between peoples ever be repaired in the aftermath of such wars of enslavement and extermination? How could one self-fashion and speak freely if one’s humanity was suspected of conceptual impossibility and fundamental unworthiness? Given these histories, who would possess the requisite knowledge to address such questions, and on what terms?<sup>15</sup>

These texts grappled with self-identity alongside broader questions regarding the future of the enslaved and colonised, combining ‘the facts of social domination and the truth of personal experience’.<sup>16</sup>

Ngata’s essay, *The Past and Future of the Maori*, likewise wrestles with notions of Indigenous identity and self-determination. Ngata uses the form to consider a possible future for Māori, subverting not only the genre’s European foundations, but also contemporary European views of Māori as a ‘dying race’: a people without a future. *The Past and Future of the Maori* involves Ngata’s consideration of his own identity while presenting a reshaped conception of indigeneity. Ngata imagines a future where broad questions like those posited by McCarthy are answered, and Māori hold a renewed, reinvigorated place in New Zealand society.

This chapter explores how Ngata imagined a horizon for Māori that protected their Indigenous identity within settler colonial spaces of experience and competing horizons. Ngata attempted to construct a pragmatic, pan-tribal vision that blended traditional concepts with more modern ideas introduced by European contact – the ‘best of both worlds’ approach – in order to ‘find means for staying the alarming decrease of [the Māori] race’.<sup>17</sup> Ngata highlighted

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<sup>14</sup> Jesse McCarthy, ‘The Essay, Abolition, and Racial Blackness’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Essay*, ed. by Kara Wittman and Evan Kindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 126-140 (p. 127).

<sup>15</sup> McCarthy, p. 127.

<sup>16</sup> McCarthy, p. 128.

<sup>17</sup> Ngata, p. 6.

this transformation as essential but also suggested it was possible to achieve, and in fact, highly beneficial for Māori. Furthermore, he asserted that Māori should be and would be in control of shaping their own future, selecting which parts of Pākehā culture they would utilize or absorb into Māori culture, rather radical contentions considering nineteenth-century European racial beliefs and colonial structures of power. In comparison to Julius Vogel and Truby King, who sought to express and create futures for categories of New Zealand society they did not belong to, Ngata *was* Māori, and asserted this throughout his lifetime. He would personally benefit from a transformed, positive future for Māori, and the historical record underlines his unwavering commitment to this throughout his career.

#### Tā Āpirana Ngata, 1874–1950

Ngata's essay illuminates Māori experiences in the late nineteenth century and reflects his own personal space of experience within colonial society. At the time of writing the essay, he was on the cusp of completing a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Political Science. He soon became the first Māori graduate of a New Zealand university, and in 1897, was the first New Zealander to gain two degrees when he received a Bachelor of Laws.<sup>18</sup> Elected to Parliament in 1905, he remained an MP until 1943, holding various ministerial roles and forming institutions aimed at preserving Māori culture such as the Māori Arts and Crafts Board. There was, however, an element of privilege to the future imaged by Ngata. As a young Māori man with a university education, Ngata was afforded a level of authority by both Pākehā and Māori to speak on indigenous issues. In turn, he positioned himself as an arbiter of sorts, seeking to construct a horizon of compromise that integrated parts of the Pākehā present into Māori futures.

Ngata was born at Te Araroa on New Zealand's East Coast in 1874. Through whakapapa he was connected to several Ngāti Porou hapū: his father, Paratene, belonged to Te

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<sup>18</sup> Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua: The Life and Times of Sir Āpirana Ngata* (Auckland: Viking, 2001), p. 66.

Whānau-a-te-ao, Ngāti Rangi, and Te Whānau-a-Karuai, while his mother, Katerina, belonged to Te Whānau-a-Rākairoa through her own mother's whakapapa.<sup>19</sup> Katerina's father was Pākehā, from Scotland by way of London, and possibly had Jewish ancestry.<sup>20</sup> Ngata was the eldest of two sons, his conception and birth being foretold by Hākopa, a tohunga. Ngata's formative years were strongly influenced by Ngāti Porou elders. His whāngai grandfather, Rāpata Wahawaha, had led attacks on Te Kooti during the late 1860s and early 1870s.<sup>21</sup> Ngata lived with him for a time as a young child, where he was taught te reo and te ao Māori by his grandmother, Harata, and the kuia Te Aohaere.<sup>22</sup>

At age five, Ngata began attending Waiōmatatini School. The school had been established in 1871 as a result of Rāpata Wahawaha's request under the Native Schools Act 1867. This legislation had created 'a system of village primary schools for Māori' which existed alongside public schools.<sup>23</sup> At these schools, students were educated in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and instructed in manual and domestic skills, with English language proficiency a high priority.<sup>24</sup> The core purpose of the schools was to integrate young Māori into European society: in the mid to late nineteenth century, education was considered 'the most effective means of facilitating [a] 'civilising' or 'assimilation' agenda.'<sup>25</sup> Ngata's family supported his attendance at Waiōmatatini, and he was particularly encouraged to learn English by Rāpata.

In 1883, at nine years old, Ngata was enrolled at Te Aute College, where he would complete his primary and secondary education. The school was founded by the Anglican

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<sup>19</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 36.

<sup>20</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 52.

<sup>22</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 'Introduction', in *A Civilising Mission?: Perceptions and Representations of the Native Schools System*, ed. by Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), pp. 1-11 (p. 1).

<sup>24</sup> Ranginui Walker, 'Reclaiming Māori education', in *Decolonisation in Aotearoa: Education, research and practice*, ed. by Jessica Hutchings and Jenny Lee-Morgan (Wellington: NZCER Press, 2016), pp. 19-38 (pp. 24, 25).

<sup>25</sup> Simon and Tuhiwai Smith, p. 8.

missionary Samuel Williams with capital from Governor George Grey, and by the time Ngata attended its curriculum was based on the English Grammar School system.<sup>26</sup> This was justified by the belief of the headmaster, John Thornton, that Māori students ‘should be trained to take their place in the professions of medicine, law and the clergy, along with their Pākehā peers’.<sup>27</sup> Thornton particularly supported gifted students to sit the matriculation examination required for university entrance. In 1890, Ngata passed this exam with such high marks that he received a Te Mākarāni Scholarship to assist financially with university studies.

Ngata wrote to his father to ask permission to enroll at Canterbury College. Even at this young age, he was very aware of his already privileged position among Māori and what he might achieve with further education, suggesting with extraordinary foresight and using future-focused language ‘[m]āku pea ka ora ai te iwi Māori’ (perhaps I will have a role in reviving the Māori people).<sup>28</sup> Ngāti Porou elders considered Ngata’s request, weighing the risk of cultural alienation. Ultimately, they concluded he should be allowed to go, and Ngata duly enrolled in papers for Arts and Law degrees.<sup>29</sup> In 1893, he received a Bachelor of Arts from Canterbury College, making him the first Māori to complete a degree at a New Zealand university. In 1897, he completed a Bachelor of Laws at Auckland University, making him the first New Zealander (of any ethnicity) to complete a conjoint B.A. and L.L.B. Ngata wrote the short, nine-page essay *The Past and Future of the Maori* in the early 1890s when he was an eighteen-year-old student at Canterbury College.<sup>30</sup> Originally written as an entry into an essay competition, *The*

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<sup>26</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 63.

<sup>27</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 63.

<sup>28</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 65.

<sup>29</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 65.

<sup>30</sup> Note: throughout this chapter, te reo has been reproduced as it existed in the original sources. This may result in misspellings or missing macrons in quotes and titles.

*Past and Future of the Maori* was subsequently published in three parts in the Christchurch Press, and later printed separately as a booklet.<sup>31</sup>

Ngata did not forget the promise he made to his elders and, in 1891, made the first steps towards ‘reviving the Māori’ alongside like-minded young people. He and twenty other present and former students of Te Aute College established a club they named the Association for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Māori Race. The broad aim of the Association was implied by its name, and their specific objectives ranged from the reduction of alcohol consumption by Māori, the promotion of good sanitation and hygiene practices, and ‘the general elevation of Māori social life’.<sup>32</sup> At the end of 1891, Ngata and others visited Ngāti Porou villages to spread the ideas of the Association but were met with reluctance and disinterest by iwi elders, likely due to the youth of those agitating for change.<sup>33</sup> Ngata himself was only 17 at this time.

While the Association was unsuccessful, Ngata and his peers did not abandon their cause. After several years of hiatus, they reassembled and formed another organisation: the Te Aute College Students’ Association, commonly abbreviated to TACSA.<sup>34</sup> Like the earlier Association, TACSA members were past and present students of the school and their main aim was to improve Māori quality of life. They did so with the future in mind, with founding member Māui Pōmare explaining ‘[k]ua kotia te tai-tapu ki Hawaiki’ – there is no returning to

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<sup>31</sup> ‘The Past and Future of the Maori’, *Press*, 3 December 1892, p. 4; ‘The Past and Future of the Maori’, *Press*, 12 December 1892, p. 2; ‘The Past and Future of the Maori’, *Press*, 19 December 1892, p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 70.

<sup>33</sup> Walker explains: ‘In a culture where wisdom was thought to reside with long beards and grey hair, children were characterized as ‘breakers of calabashes’; elders were taken aback by the ‘spectacle of raw youths constituting themselves as judges and dictators’.’ Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 70. In a broader context, Nēpia Mahuika points out that: ‘[b]oth gender and age in various Māori communities are critical components that enable or disable access to information and the right to speak.’ Nēpia Mahuika, ‘New Zealand History is Māori History: Tikanga as the Ethical Foundation of Historical Scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 49.1 (2015), 5-30 (p. 14).

<sup>34</sup> In the intervening years, Ngata had been betrothed to Te Rina Tāmāti, but she passed away before they were married. In accordance with custom, Ngāti Porou elders decided Te Rina’s younger sister Arihia Kane Tāmāti would take her place. Ngata and Arihia were wed around 1895. Their first child, a son, was born in 1896.

Hawaiki.<sup>35</sup> Hawaiki is the allegorical place of origin of the Māori people. TACSA members saw moving forwards as the only option for Māori and sought to shape that future in a positive way. A conference held in early 1897 to ratify the new Association's constitution set out their core purpose, almost identical to the old: '[t]o aid in the amelioration of the condition of the Māori race physically, intellectually, socially and spiritually.'<sup>36</sup> Ngata has been described as the 'driving force' and 'star performer' of TACSA and in 1899, he became the group's travelling secretary, giving up a career in law.<sup>37</sup> A successful conference held in 1897 also resulted in Ngata's reputation as a 'outstanding speaker'.<sup>38</sup>

Once again illustrative of his great prudence – or perhaps dogged determination – Ngata did indeed become a politician in the early twentieth century. He won the Eastern Māori parliamentary seat in 1905 and retained it until 1943. During his early career, Ngata served with the chief justice, Sir Robert Stout, on the 1907–8 Native Land Commission and assisted John Salmond in drafting the Native Land Act 1909. He also supported the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907. Appointed Native Minister in 1928, he held this position until 1934 when he resigned in light of accusations of favoritism towards Ngāti Porou, and particularly his own family, with regards to his schemes of agricultural development. The subsequent Commission of Enquiry also criticized his personal contempt for bureaucratic administration. Despite his relinquishment of the ministerial portfolio he remained in Parliament until 1943 when he lost the Eastern Māori seat to Tiaki Ōmana.<sup>39</sup>

As a strong supporter of Māori culture, Ngata spearheaded legislation in the 1920s that established the Board of Māori Ethnological Research and the Māori Arts and Crafts Board. In

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<sup>35</sup> Van Meijl, p. 332.

<sup>36</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 75.

<sup>37</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 74; Lachy Paterson, 'Rēwiti Kōhere's Model Village', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 41.1 (2007), 27–44 (p. 28).

<sup>38</sup> I. L. G. Sutherland, *The Maori Situation* (Wellington: Harry H. Tombs, 1935), p. 43.

<sup>39</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson. 'Ngata, Āpirana Turupa – Dictionary of New Zealand Biography', *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand* <<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3n5/ngata-Āpirana-turupa>> [accessed 12 May 2020].

*Hansard* records of the Parliamentary debate for the former, Ngata invoked the future in order to motivate support for the Board. He chastised the Government for their lack of interest in Māori and Polynesian research when they had the ability to fund the publication of languishing manuscripts:

Probably a hundred years hence we will find our descendants wondering what sort of fools we were when we had the opportunity to provide the money to enable these manuscripts to see the light of day.<sup>40</sup>

The Board of Māori Ethnological Research published the first volume of Ngata's own annotated collection of waiata, *Ngā Mōteatea*, in 1928. *Ngā Mōteatea* remains a valuable series of texts.<sup>41</sup> In 1927, the Māori Arts and Crafts Board established a carving school in Rotorua, Te Ao Marama. The school later closed but was instrumental in paving the way for the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, which opened in 1967 and continues to offer tikanga centred training in stone, wood, and bone carving, weaving, and canoe-making.

Ngata was knighted in 1927, making him the third Māori to receive such an honour.<sup>42</sup> His characteristic combination of humility and charm was visible during his speech to Ngāti Porou gathered at a local marae to celebrate this achievement. Ngata explained that he did not want nor seek recognition for his work but that, 'only this year' he might accept it on behalf of all Māori.<sup>43</sup> This sentiment was echoed in 1948 when he interpreted the bestowal of an honorary Doctor of Literature as nascent recognition of the academic importance of Māori language and

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<sup>40</sup> New Zealand Government, 'Parliamentary Debates', v. 200 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1923), pp. 1078-1079.

<sup>41</sup> '[It] is of immeasurable value to Māori as part of their cultural life and heritage; it is unique in the corpus of New Zealand literature, and, as a classical work in translation, it merits international readers': Jane McRae and Heni Jacob, 'The Making of *Ngā Mōteatea*', in *Ngā Mōteatea: An Introduction / He Kupu Arataki* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2011), pp. 10-47 (p. 41).

<sup>42</sup> The first was former Minister of Native Affairs and Young Māori Party mentor James Carroll in 1911, and the second was Ngata's contemporary and friend Māui Pōmare, a prominent doctor and Māori health leader knighted in 1922.

<sup>43</sup> 'Sir A. T. Ngata', *Poverty Bay Herald*, 16 June 1927, p. 10.

culture rather than acknowledgement of his personal contributions with *Ngā Mōteatea* and other work.<sup>44</sup> Remaining modest throughout his life, Ngata rebuffed several requests by authors to provide material or collaboration for a biography. He is reported to have often provided the response ‘it is only the kawau [shag] who shouts his own name!’<sup>45</sup>

On his death in 1950 he was fondly remembered by Parliamentary colleagues in particular. Their eulogies often reflected and celebrated Ngata’s lifelong commitment to the future of Māori. A posthumous tribute in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* also commended this:

All his political life he conducted an almost one-man fight for one goal: the uplift of the Maori race morally, spiritually, culturally, and economically.<sup>46</sup>

His investment in Māori futures endured throughout his long career, and encompassed a broad range of subjects such as economic schemes, encouragement of education, and cultural preservation. Prime Minister Sidney Holland praised Ngata’s ‘complete integrity and utter fearlessness’.<sup>47</sup> Holland also described Ngata’s positive impact on Māori:

His drive and enthusiasm, his unwavering purpose, his skill and deep understanding of his people helped in the transformation of a spirit of hopelessness into one of vigorous optimism.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ramsden, pp. 12, 26.

<sup>45</sup> Ramsden, p. 10.

<sup>46</sup> ‘Crusade through Parliament’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 59.4 (1950), 295-318 (p. 295).

<sup>47</sup> ‘Tributes to Sir A. Ngata from Present and Former Prime Ministers of N.Z.’, *Gisborne Herald*, 15 July 1950, p. 4.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Tributes to Sir A. Ngata from Present and Former Prime Ministers of N.Z.’, *Gisborne Herald*, 15 July 1950, p. 4.

Others commended Ngata's energy, progressive politics, and deep knowledge of both Māori and European culture.<sup>49</sup>

Ngata is remembered by historians and New Zealanders as an astute politician and champion of both Māori rights and Māori futures. Depictions of him have been and remain generally complimentary, although a more nuanced analysis has been introduced over time. Mainstream celebration of Ngata culminated in his appearance on one of New Zealand's Series Five banknotes, released in 1993. The NZ\$50 displays a portrait of Ngata taken during his Parliamentary years, as well as an image of the Porourangi Meeting House built in 1888 by Ngata's whāngai grandfather Rōpata Wahawaha, and the tukutuku panel 'Poutama' which features inside the meeting house.<sup>50</sup> Ngata (and others) were selected for the banknotes by a committee that evaluated nominated individuals against strict criteria such as their 'reinforcement of positive aspects of New Zealand identity' and political neutrality.<sup>51</sup>

The first full biography of Ngata was not published until 2001, almost fifty years after his death. Author Ranginui Walker reveals that he expected someone else would have written 'the definitive biography' but in 1990 he realized he would have to do it himself.<sup>52</sup> He approached Ngata's son, Hēnare, also known as Henry, and who was knighted himself in 1982 for services to Māori. Hēnare graciously provided access to the family archive.<sup>53</sup> He also contributed the foreword to the biography, where he commends Walker's book, titled *He*

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<sup>49</sup> 'Immortal Place in Posterity, Says Mr. Corbett', *Gisborne Herald*, 15 July 1950, p. 4; 'Great Totara has Fallen in Forest of Tane', *Gisborne Herald*, 15 July 1950, p. 4.

<sup>50</sup> '\$50 banknote', *Reserve Bank of New Zealand Te Pūtea Matua* <<https://www.rbnz.govt.nz/notes-and-coins/notes/banknotes-in-circulation/banknote-features-for-each-denomination/50-dollars>> [accessed 14 May 2020].

<sup>51</sup> Michael Wright, 'A litmus test for society: Reserve Bank decimal note designs 1967-2017', *Bulletin*, 80.5 (2017), 3-18 (p. 13).

<sup>52</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 9; Margie Thomson, 'Recording the life of a leader – a heroic task', *New Zealand Herald* <[https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=6&objectid=220814](https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=220814)> [accessed 13 May 2020].

<sup>53</sup> Walker, p. 9. Walker clarifies further: 'My own iwi, Whakatōhea, is a kindred tribe to Ngāti Porou, close enough for me to undertake the task but distant enough to be objective and avoid the pitfall of producing hagiography.' Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 9.

*Tipua*, as ‘a fine tribute’ to his father.<sup>54</sup> Prior to this biography, journalist Eric Ramsden published *Sir Āpirana Ngata and Maori culture* in 1948 to celebrate Ngata’s achievement of an honorary Doctor of Literature from Victoria University. A short book, it reads like an extended newspaper article, and indeed Ramsden himself admits it is ‘a necessarily brief and inadequate review of [Ngata’s] life work’ and hopes it will motivate the ‘authoritative biography’ of Ngata to be written.<sup>55</sup> Walker and historian Michael King anticipated that Graham Butterworth would produce the full biography of Ngata after Butterworth’s successful master’s thesis in 1969.<sup>56</sup> Butterworth did not take on this project, and any other ambitions to immortalize Ngata’s life in print were further complicated by Māori activism in the 1970s and 1980s, which in part involved questioning the authority of Pākehā historians to write about Māori subjects.<sup>57</sup>

Ngata’s intention to create a positive but realistic future for Māori was recognized by his contemporaries and is still emphasized by recent scholarship. Examinations of Ngata often use his ideas about the future as the motivating force for his entire career. Often, Ngata’s depictions of the future are placed within the broader context of the groups of young Māori “modernisers” who made their voices heard at the end of the nineteenth century and into the beginning of the twentieth. Much research has highlighted the Te Aute Students’ Association and the closely related Young Māori Party as a future-focused organization of Māori self-determination and autonomy. The Young Māori Party was not a political party as its members aligned with or joined existing parties (or stood as independent candidates) but was instead a consolidation of young Māori with political aspirations. This reflected Ngata’s desire for the

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<sup>54</sup> Hēnare K. Ngata, ‘Foreword’, in Walker, *He Tipua*, no page.

<sup>55</sup> Ramsden, p. 9.

<sup>56</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 9; Michael King, ‘Ranginui Walker: He Tipua, The Life and Times of Sir Āpirana Ngata’, *New Zealand Herald*, 5 October 2001  
<[https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=6&objectid=220812](https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=220812)> [accessed 14 May 2020].

<sup>57</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 9. Historian Michael King particularly faced backlash of this nature for his 1983 biography of Dame Whina Cooper: see Martin Tolich, ‘“Pākehā Paralysis”: Cultural Safety for Those Researching the General Population of Aotearoa’, *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 19, (2002), 164–78 (p. 169).

student association and its members to involve themselves in politics in order to effect real change for Māori. Ranginui Walker suggests that

Āpirana knew that the real answer lay in politics... [he] wanted the old boys of the Association to engage in Māori politics and to enter Parliament as Māori representatives, so Māori questions would be raised in the House.<sup>58</sup>

The two names for the group of men became synonymous after the end of 1897. In 1909, TACSA officially adopted the title of the Young Māori Party.<sup>59</sup> Note that scholarship often uses both titles interchangeably.<sup>60</sup>

Ngata's involvement with the Te Aute College Students' Association and his later political career have been well-covered by historians.<sup>61</sup> Ngata's achievements are often presented in a linear manner – each 'step' is framed as more consequential than the last – and conclusions about his life and political success are often drawn from observations of his career as a whole. Historical examinations of Ngata commonly frame the Association as the first public domain for his expression of potential futures, and the 1920s and 1930s are presented as the most significant periods of Ngata's influence on New Zealand society. These decades were arguably the peak of 'official' support for his future-focused policies, such as those for promotion of Māori arts and crafts and his schemes of agricultural development. Ngata's 1893

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<sup>58</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 77.

<sup>59</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 147.

<sup>60</sup> For clarity and consistency, this chapter will use the name Te Aute Students' Association or the acronym TACSA, even where secondary sources refer to the Young Māori Party. This avoids confusion with regards to the nature of the organization. As mentioned, the Young Māori Party was not in fact a conventional political party as its members did not seek election to Parliament but was rather an affiliation of like-minded, politically motivated Māori.

<sup>61</sup> For example, see: Lachy Paterson, 'Rēwiti Kōhere's Model Village', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 41.1 (2007), 27-44; Jeffrey Sissons, 'The Post-assimilationist Thought of Sir Āpirana Ngata: Towards a Genealogy of New Zealand Biculturalism', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34.1 (2000), 47-59.; Richard S. Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004), pp. 146-150; Jane Carey, "'A walk for our race": colonial modernity, Indigenous mobility and the origins of the Young Māori Party' *History Australia*, 15 (2018), 430-457.

pamphlet *The Past and Future of the Maori* confirms his interest in Māori futures prior to the establishment of TACSA and I contend that the essay has been overlooked by historians seeking to understand Ngata's prominence. Instead, this chapter elevates the horizon contained within *The Past and Future of the Maori*.

The consistent promotion of the 1920s and 1930s as most significant to Ngata's story can be injurious as it implies that indigenous voices are only valid when they are connected to or supported by European institutions of 'authority'. *The Past and Future of the Maori* is seldom a main subject of scholarship. Often the pamphlet is mentioned only in passing: its existence is acknowledged but its contents are not considered in-depth. By illustrating the value of *The Past and Future of the Maori* as a historical source, this chapter seeks to disrupt that presumption; however, I also recognize the inherent Eurocentricism present by the mere fact of it being an English language essay that won a prize at a European educational institution. It is important to also recognise that Ngata utilized Western rhetorical frames and literary tropes in *The Past and Future of the Maori* and in other writings throughout his career.<sup>62</sup> The pamphlet is as much about a young, university-educated indigenous man's personal desire to understand his place in a British colony as it was reflective of the need to redefine a new 'mainstream' Māori identity in the late nineteenth century. Ngata chose to explore these subjects within accepted Pākehā structures, somewhat mirroring yet subverting settler colonialist tropes.

The horizon Ngata encouraged Māori to embrace has been described by historians as adaptive, reconciliatory, and subversive. James Belich praised 'Ngata's brilliantly subversive co-operation' with specific reference to the schemes of agricultural development he devised

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<sup>62</sup> Jane Stafford, *Colonial Literature and the Native Author: Indigeneity and Empire* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 185-215; Stafford and Williams, 'Victorian Poetry and the Indigenous Poet', pp. 29, 31.

and promoted in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>63</sup> Butterworth's master's thesis is titled 'The Politics of Adaption' and spans Ngata's career to 1928.<sup>64</sup> Walker adroitly summarizes Ngata's legacy:

His place in history is that of a mediator for a *modus vivendi* [way of living] between two cultures of disparate traditions... His is a narrative of reconciliation.<sup>65</sup>

The compliments continue as Walker praises Ngata's 'extraordinary gifts of intelligence, energy and foresight'.<sup>66</sup> Like Truby King, who exploited his medical training and community standing as a doctor in order to create a transformed future on the back of New Zealand's babies (as explored in Chapter Three), Ngata did not simply express the future he wished Māori to enjoy but as his successful career proves, he also utilized his skills and knowledge, and the privilege they afforded him, to make it happen.

#### Māori and Pākehā responses to Māori population decline

Ngata's vision of New Zealand's future in *The Past and Future of the Maori* was 'an idealistic portrayal of the blending of Māori and Pākehā with each society retaining its own culture'.<sup>67</sup> But, despite being idealistic in practise, this horizon was pragmatic in intention. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Māori population had declined to its lowest point – around 42,000 in 1896 – as a result of infectious diseases introduced by European contact as well as deaths from the Musket Wars and later New Zealand Wars.<sup>68</sup> Māori were also displaced from their tribal lands as numbers of European settlers increased from 1840 and pressure to sell

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<sup>63</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001), p. 206.

<sup>64</sup> Graham Butterworth, 'The Politics of Adaption: the career of Sir Āpirana Ngata, 1874-1928' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1969).

<sup>65</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>66</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup> Toon Van Meijl, 'Historicising Maoritanga Colonial Ethnography and the Reification of Maori Traditions', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 105.3 (1996), 311-346 (p. 334).

<sup>68</sup> Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: Population Past, Present and Projected* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013), pp. 71, 72.

intensified.<sup>69</sup> To Ngata, writing in the early 1890s, it seemed reasonable that the way forward was one of compromise. It was necessary to form a ‘new’ Māori identity – one that was more appropriate for colonial realities, and one that would ensure Māori survival. Jane Stafford and Mark Williams recognise

the situation of Maori in late-colonial New Zealand when Maori were situated uneasily between a traditional past, to which no ready means of return was possible, and a modernity in which they were excluded from full participation.<sup>70</sup>

Ngata’s essay is an important contribution to a wider space of experience punctuated by debates and discourses about Māori population decline. The formation of TACSA in the late 1890s was intended to ameliorate living conditions for Māori, thus halting or at least reducing further population loss. In their twentieth-century careers, TACSA members such as Ngata and Māui Pōmare continued work aimed at mitigating Māori population loss and its impacts. As a trained doctor and later the Minister of Health, Pōmare was concerned with practical steps that were directly relevant to improving Māori life expectancy and their overall health and wellbeing, including the welfare of babies and children. In comparison, Ngata’s political career provided him the platform to preserve Māori culture, the loss of which is an indirect consequence of rapid depopulation.

By the 1890s, the Māori population of New Zealand was recorded at around 40,000. Estimates suggest numbers were close to 100,000 in 1769 when Captain James Cook first visited the country, and this had fallen to somewhere between 70,000 and 90,000 by 1840, when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed.<sup>71</sup> Demographer Ian Pool characterizes the period 1840 to 1901 as the ‘decades of despair’ for Māori, in terms of population numbers. He

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<sup>69</sup> Pool, p. 59.

<sup>70</sup> Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, ‘Victorian Poetry and the Indigenous Poet: Āpirana Ngata’s ‘A Scene from the Past’, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 39.1 (2004), 29-42 (p. 30).

<sup>71</sup> Pool, pp. 57, 58.

identifies three further periods within this span: 1840 to 1878 being that of rapid decline, 1878 to 1891 being that of slower decline, and 1891 to 1901 being that of slow increase.<sup>72</sup>

Throughout the mid to late nineteenth century, Pākehā and Māori alike were deeply aware of the dire statistics, but responded in different ways. In 1884, Walter Buller, a prominent ornithologist who would later be knighted for his work, addressed the Wellington Philosophical Society. Buller invoked the future with regards to the records published in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, such as those from meetings of the Philosophical Society:

He referred to the extreme paucity of articles relating to the Maori inhabitants of the country, their mythology, their manners and customs, their traditions, their habits of life, their treatment of the sick, burial of the dead, and so forth. The ethnologist of the future will naturally look to the 'Transactions' for reliable information on all these points.<sup>73</sup>

For Buller, posterity was necessary as Māori were a 'dying race'. He claimed that 'in all probability' within 25 years there would only be 'a remnant' remaining.<sup>74</sup> Buller reiterated comments made many years earlier by (he claimed) Dr. Isaac Featherston: the now infamous refrain that the only thing 'compassionate' Pākehā could do was to 'smooth down their dying pillow'.<sup>75</sup> Buller continued, explaining that the doom of Māori was inevitable; he regarded the absorption of indigenous peoples into colonial society an unexplainable law of nature.<sup>76</sup> This is known as the fatal impact theory, and historian James Belich asserts that the idea of the

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<sup>72</sup> Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present and Projected*.

<sup>73</sup> Wellington Philosophical Society, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 13 February 1884 <<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/transactions-and-proceedings-of-the-royal-society-of-new-zealand/1884/00/00/-17/525>>, p. 443 [accessed 14 May 2020].

<sup>74</sup> Wellington Philosophical Society, p. 443.

<sup>75</sup> Wellington Philosophical Society, p. 444. The true provenance of the phrase is unclear; Featherston did express opinions similar to this but may not have used these exact words: Ross Galbreath, 'Images of Colonisation: Native Rats and Dying Pillows', *Turnbull Library Record*, 26.1 (1993), 33-42 (p. 33).

<sup>76</sup> Wellington Philosophical Society, p. 444.

‘dying Māori’ dominated 1880s race relations.<sup>77</sup> Many Pākehā assumed that Māori would ‘fade as a living race’ and instead be replaced by nostalgic memories, a sentimental myth, which could be exploited for ‘romantic art and tourist postcards’.<sup>78</sup>

Buller was therefore not the only person to believe that Māori population decline would result in the ‘extinction’ of the race before the turn of the century, although some other members of the Philosophical Society disagreed with his conclusions. The Hon. Mr Waterhouse and Hon. Mr Hart in fact considered Māori population numbers to be increasing, and the Hon. Captain Fraser objected to the pace of depopulation suggested by Buller.<sup>79</sup> In wider nineteenth-century New Zealand society, others, like Dr. Alfred Kingcome Newman, disagreed with the assumption that decreasing Māori population numbers were a result of colonization and instead claimed it was a consequence of pre-contact Māori society. Kingcome Newman contended that Māori practiced cannibalism, euthanasia, and revenge murders.<sup>80</sup> He also attributed population decline to a lack of medical knowledge and inbreeding that caused sterility.<sup>81</sup>

Regardless of reason, the conclusion was the same: Pākehā could (and should) help Māori as they hurtled towards elimination, by aiding the speed of that elimination, not preventing or mitigating it. Low Māori population numbers served as a justification for many colonial policies of assimilation, and, as John Stenhouse describes it, Victorian scientific racism based on Social Darwinism.<sup>82</sup> Belich argues that the dying race mythology allowed for

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<sup>77</sup> Belich, ‘Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand’, p. 12.

<sup>78</sup> Stafford and Williams, *Maoriland*, p. 111.

<sup>79</sup> Wellington Philosophical Society, p. 443, 446.

<sup>80</sup> John Stenhouse, ‘A disappearing race before we came here’: Doctor Alfred Kingcome Newman, the dying Maori, and Victorian scientific racism’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30.2 (1996), 124-140 (p. 125).

<sup>81</sup> Stenhouse, p. 125.

<sup>82</sup> Stenhouse, p. 126.

colonialism to become the practical solution *for* Māori – but not a solution that was offered *to* Māori.<sup>83</sup>

*‘Land Ho!’: A conversation of 1933* (1881) reflects the typical avoidance by nineteenth-century Pākehā to engage meaningfully with Māori futures, especially the idea of a future *with* Māori.<sup>84</sup> The text is a short, dialogue-based pamphlet with a strong political message which utilizes the future as a narrative device, like Ngata’s *The Past and Future of the Maori*. *Land Ho!* is presented in the form of a conversation between grandfather and grandson, occurring in 1933. The beginning of the work subtly highlights trans-Tasman links with the grandson promising to tell his grandfather about his recent trip to Melbourne. The main body of the text describes the economic and political implications of a response to the ‘land question’, that is, the tension between Māori and European settlers over the purchase of land in the colony. Author Alexander Joyce uses the pamphlet’s content as a means of expressing his own solution to this problem, and he seeks to justify his opinion by following the potential results of particular policies into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>85</sup> For an issue that concerned New Zealand land, little reference is actually made to Māori. As part of the scheme, tribes were isolated on specifically formed reserves, and governmental assistance motivated their acceptance of European land development.

Māori were expected to conform to Pākehā expectations in the nineteenth century. Pākehā individuals and organizations, and European structures of power dominated from 1840. Māori were not given agency over their own future, although some, like Ngata, seized it.

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<sup>83</sup> Belich, ‘Myth, Race, and Identity’, p. 12.

<sup>84</sup> Alexander Joyce, *‘Land Ho!’ A conversation of 1933* (Lyttelton: F.L. Davis, 1881).

<sup>85</sup> It is difficult to accurately identify Alexander Joyce. At this stage, investigation into his life has been without success. In the ‘Addenda’ of this pamphlet, he requested that interested parties contact him to discuss the ideas enclosed in his writings, but no address is provided beyond ‘Lyttelton’. Joyce was also the author of an 1889 pamphlet on a similar topic with a similar name, but not framed within a fictional narrative like *A conversation of 1933*. Ironically, in the 1889 text he described himself as an ‘obscure individual’: Alexander Joyce, *Land Ho! A Pamphlet Advocating the Re-Purchase and Settlement of the Large Freehold Blocks* (Christchurch: Simpson and Williams, 1889), p. 14.

Others, like the Pai Mārire religious movement, tried to turn the tide but were ultimately unsuccessful. Ranginui Walker argues that the ongoing colonization of New Zealand throughout the nineteenth century aimed to reduce Māori to a ‘powerless minority’ through legislation and land alienation, as well as physical force.<sup>86</sup> But this, like total extinction of the race, did not happen. Pākehā did not see ‘the resilience and adaptability’ of Māori.<sup>87</sup>

Raewyn Dalziel details a social and cultural shift for Māori that occurred in the 1890s which aligns with the demographic changes identified by Ian Pool. As Māori population numbers began to slowly increase, indigenous leaders began to revive te ao Māori, despite continued land alienation and the consequent diaspora.<sup>88</sup> On reflection, Dalziel concludes that New Zealand historians have often portrayed the 1890s as central to construction of ideas about ‘the nation’. The decade has been

propounded as years of unity, of healing, of creating a balance after the trauma of the North Island wars of the 1860s, the economic recession and growing class and gender divisions of the 1880s.<sup>89</sup>

The “trauma” she refers to here is the New Zealand Wars, which resulted in thousands of deaths (mostly Māori and including women and children), large scale land confiscations as punishment for ‘rebellion’, and long-term ill feeling between Pākehā and Māori, ‘rebels’ and kūpapa (Crown-aligned Māori), New Zealand and Britain. Ongoing cultural colonization in scholarship allows Pākehā historians to dismiss these significant impacts as mere ‘trauma’ in favour of representing the final decade of the nineteenth century as one of restoration and harmony. These kinds of historiographical mythologies have, in turn, helped to sustain the

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<sup>86</sup> Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), p. 172.

<sup>87</sup> Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, p. 172.

<sup>88</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, ‘An experiment in the social laboratory? Suffrage, national identity, and mythologies of race in New Zealand in the 1890s’, in *Women’s Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, ed. by Ian Christopher Fletcher, Philippa Levine, Laura E. Nym Mayhall (London: Taylor & Francis, 2000), pp. 87-102 (p. 90).

<sup>89</sup> Dalziel, ‘An experiment in the social laboratory?’, p. 90.

long-held belief that New Zealand did have and does have the ‘best’ race relations not just within the British Empire but across the entire world.

The idea of New Zealand as a reinvigorated Britain and superior to other British colonies permeated nineteenth-century politics and Pākehā culture. Better Britain, Brighter Britain, and the Britain of the South were all popular appellations for the colony as the settler society strove to simultaneously replicate and improve on the British example.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, Māori were considered to be the ‘best’ kind of indigenous people within the Empire; they were the ‘most convertible of savages’ and while considered inevitable, the extinction of the race was often presented as unfortunate as Māori were ‘better blacks’.<sup>91</sup> In his 1898 history of New Zealand titled *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa*, William Pember Reeves, a former politician, described Māori as ‘the finest race of savages the world has seen.’<sup>92</sup> He also compared Māori with other indigenous peoples, explaining that

[t]he average colonist regards a Mongolian with repulsion, a Negro with contempt; and looks on an Australian black as very near to a wild beast; but he likes the Maoris; and is sorry that they are dying out.<sup>93</sup>

Despite this rather condescending appreciation of Māori, British colonization was motivated by ideas of progress and civilization, and one of the fundamental assumptions of settler nationhood was that indigenous societies and cultures were primitive and unrefined.<sup>94</sup> To civilize Māori became the ultimate goal; motivated by a contorted humanitarian belief that this was for their benefit, the New Zealand Government actively sought to assimilate and absorb Māori into settler society – *civilized* society. The concept of fatal impact provided Pākehā with

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<sup>90</sup> Belich, ‘Myth, Race, and Identity’, p. 13.

<sup>91</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 207.

<sup>92</sup> William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa* (London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1898), p. 57.

<sup>93</sup> Pember Reeves, p. 57.

<sup>94</sup> Jeffrey Sissons, *First Peoples: Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures* (London: Reaktion, 2005), p. 28.

a passive solution for Māori who did not successfully integrate. They would die out as a result of contact with Europeans, as per natural law (apparently).

Assimilation was attempted through official means such as legislation, and application of these laws was regulated by ideas of blood quantum. Blood quantum was a way for colonial authorities to quantify indigeneity and to measure the success of policies of integration. It allowed the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups of people as was not unique to New Zealand. Settler societies across the world, such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, used blood quantum to define ‘stages or degrees of... impurity in order to rationalize a host of oppressive measure’.<sup>95</sup> The word ‘impurity’ here refers to indigenous lineage. The ultimate goal in New Zealand was to reduce Māori to a ‘golden tinge’ on the face of civilized citizens.

While the concept of blood quantum was most visible in state documentation, the sentiment circulated along social and cultural lines too. James Belich describes the main archetypes of Māori, as viewed by Pākehā in the mid to late nineteenth century:

Between the benign yet distortive Noble Savage at one extreme, and folk ethnocentrism at the other, were three knots of race-related thought, centred on stereotypes of ‘Black’ (permanently inferior), ‘White’ (convertible), and ‘Grey’ (dying) Savages.<sup>96</sup>

These stereotypes contributed to a narrative obsessed with defining authentic and inauthentic indigenous people. Oppressive authenticity was used by authorities to coerce assimilation; rights were granted to Māori who complied with expectations and were denied to those who did not, regardless of whether the nonconformity was real or perceived.<sup>97</sup>

The ideal British future for Māori was that of assimilation. Like other indigenous people across the Empire, Māori would become ‘civilized, Christian, and citizens’ as per British

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<sup>95</sup> Sissons, *First Peoples*, p. 43.

<sup>96</sup> Belich, ‘Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand’, p. 10.

<sup>97</sup> Sissons, *First Peoples*, p. 28.

definitions of those categories.<sup>98</sup> Andrew Armitage categorizes the years 1847 to 1960 as “the assimilation period” in New Zealand. He recognizes four ‘enduring features of the New Zealand policy of assimilation’ which are almost all legislative: the establishment of the Native Department in 1861, the Māori Land Act 1862, the Native School Act 1867, and the Māori Representation Act 1867.<sup>99</sup> The latter two had direct impacts on the life of Āpirana Ngata. He began his education at a school established under the Native School Act, and was able to stand for Parliament in 1905 as a result of the Māori Representation Act. By the 1890s, Māori were reliant on a state that was ‘essentially committed to policies and programmes that would assimilate Māori into the prevailing systems of colonial New Zealand’.<sup>100</sup>

However, Māori did not passively accept the Pākehā expectation of their extinction or assimilation. Ngata was not the first Māori leader to imagine a future for Māori. Māori leaders like Te Ua Haumēne and Potatau Te Wherowhereo, the first Māori King, spearheaded the search for ‘new patterns of social solidarity’ and political authority in the mid to late nineteenth century.<sup>101</sup> Several prophets and Christian-based groups also emerged throughout the nineteenth century. These organizations and movements were oriented towards Māori futures, with their fundamental desire to achieve a horizon based upon the experiences of Māori in settler colonial New Zealand society.

Pai Māriri was one of the religious groups focused on a changed future for Māori. Established by Te Ua Haumēne in around 1863 as a response to ongoing conflict about land in

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<sup>98</sup> Andrew Armitage, *Comparing the Policy of Assimilation: Australia, Canada and New Zealand* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995), p. 3.

<sup>99</sup> Armitage, p. 143.

<sup>100</sup> Mason Durie, *Ngā Kāhui Pou: Launching Māori Futures* (Wellington: Huia, 2003), p. 14.

<sup>101</sup> Paul Clark, *Hauhau: The Pai Mariri Search for Maori Identity* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013), p. 2. Individuals also sought to use “the future” as a way to make sense of their changing space of experience, and shared this knowledge within smaller social groups such as whanau. For example, Sam Iti Prendergast explores an oriori by Rihi Puhiwahine, in which she ‘welcomed her descendants into a world re-shaped by colonial settlement and led them on a return to their ancestral territories’: Sam Iti Prendergast, ‘Political Critique and Genealogical Vision in Te Oriori a Rihi Puhiwahine, 1870s’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 58.1 (2024), 27-48 (p. 27).

Taranaki, its founding principles were that of goodness and peace, although due to the wider context of the New Zealand Wars, the group became known to Europeans to be particularly violent.<sup>102</sup> Pai Mārire has been described as ‘one of the most prevalent Māori religious movements of the nineteenth century’.<sup>103</sup> Māori prophets and religious leaders like Haumēne vocalized problems as well as solutions, while creating hope for the future and a sense of identity for Māori.<sup>104</sup>

There were also attempts at Māori political control in the late nineteenth century. In trying to make sense of their new colonial space of experience, Māori appropriated Pākehā systems of power, such as ideas of monarchy and government.<sup>105</sup> The Kīngitanga or Māori King movement was formed in 1858. This pan-tribal collective sought to elect a Māori sovereign who would rule alongside the British monarch.<sup>106</sup> The Kīngitanga often employed European procedures such as legislation and import duties, however, scholars have emphasized the movement’s key motivation as resistance, particularly against land sales, and assert that their organizational hierarchy was based upon traditional Māori socio-political structures.<sup>107</sup> Māori Parliaments based at Waitangi and Kohimarama were set up in the 1870s and 1880s, and the Kotahitanga Parliament met between 1892 and 1902 with its main focus firmly on receiving legal recognition from the New Zealand Parliament and preventing further alienation

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<sup>102</sup> See: Jean E. Rosenfeld, ‘Pai Marire: Peace and violence in a New Zealand millenarian tradition’, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 7.3 (1995), 83-108.

<sup>103</sup> Byron Rangiwai, ‘Māori Prophetic Movements as Sites of Political Resistance: A Critical Analysis’, *Te Kaharoa*, 10 (2017), 130-192, (p. 145)

<sup>104</sup> Karen Sinclair, *Prophetic Histories: the people of the Māramatanga* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2002), p. 21, quoted in Rangiwai, p. 133; Rangiwai, p. 134.

<sup>105</sup> Richard S. Hill, ‘Settler colonialism in New Zealand, 1840-1907’ in the *Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, p. 396.

<sup>106</sup> Claudia Orange, ‘The Covenant of Kohimarama: A Ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 14.1 (1980), 61-82 (p. 64). The Kīngitanga still exists in 2024 under the reign of King Tūheitia, although the organization and its leaders largely undertake ceremonial functions. The position of Māori King is highly respected among Kīngitanga supportive iwi but the New Zealand Government does not officially recognize the monarch.

<sup>107</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Ko te Whenua Utu / Land Is the Price: Essays on Maori History, Land and Politics* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014), pp. 115, 116; Clark, pp. 2-3.

of Māori land.<sup>108</sup> The Kīngitanga also established an elected governing body known as Kauhanganui.

Like Ngata, many of these movements sought to “blend” European and Māori culture and ideas, rather than broadly reject all elements of colonization. The key focus was to achieve unity within Māori society, which was considered by many Māori leaders to be an essential requirement to effectively respond to ‘the encroaching European economic and cultural frontier.’<sup>109</sup> Religious groups, by combining traditional and introduced knowledge, sought ‘to promote Māori cultural validity at a time when the colonisers sought to erase everything’.<sup>110</sup> Lachy Paterson reminds us that despite Māori co-option or even embracement of European knowledge, Indigenous engagement with colonization has put their language, authority and belief systems at risk.<sup>111</sup> Achieving unity therefore demanded compromise within Māori society, as Māori spaces of experience transformed as a result of ongoing contact with Pākehā and their imported institutions. To shape the future, ‘traditional chiefly leaders of an older generation’ formed alliances with ‘younger, mission-educated’ Māori.<sup>112</sup> The resulting horizons of expectation were, therefore, ‘uniquely Māori’.<sup>113</sup> Ngata’s essay, *The Past and Future of the Maori*, echoes many of these same sentiments, utilizing common Pākehā discourses to articulate a horizon that was not only a fusion of European and Indigenous elements but also a synthesis of old and new Māori ways of being.

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<sup>108</sup> See: Miranda Johnson, ‘Chiefly women: Queen Victoria, Meri Mangakahia, and the Māori Parliament’, in *Mistress of Everything: Queen Victoria in Indigenous Worlds*, ed. by Sarah Carter and Maria Nugent (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 228-245.

<sup>109</sup> Clark, p. 2.

<sup>110</sup> Rangiwai, p. 139).

<sup>111</sup> Lachy Paterson, ‘Ngā ritenga pai: Māori and Modernity in the 1850s’, *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 35 (2023), 22-35 (p.22).

<sup>112</sup> Clark, p. 2.

<sup>113</sup> Clark, p. 102.

## Pākehā tropes

Historians have referred to Ngata as a ‘post-assimilationist’ as he saw a future for Māori after integration, while Pākehā commonly depicted integration as the end goal.<sup>114</sup> In fact, for Ngata, assimilation was an opportunity, and throughout his career he skillfully revised the ‘dying race’ narrative as something positive: it could be a rebirth for Māori. Ngata did not support full and total integration of Māori into European society. Instead, he advocated careful selection of the ‘best’ parts of Pākehā society in order to absorb them into Māori ways of living. This would allow for the chosen characteristics to gain primacy and the less desirable ones to essentially be forgotten. The most transformative aspect of Ngata’s horizon for Māori was that he believed Māori could choose which aspects of Pākehā culture to incorporate into their indigenous worldview, rather than being forced to assimilate entirely into Pākehā society as per imperial expectations.

Ngata’s idea of compromise as the solution was perhaps the result of his own blended identity and the privilege that provided him. His father and mother were Ngāti Porou, while his maternal grandfather was Pākehā, but he considered himself tangata whenua and did not appear to have much personal connection with his mother’s Scottish heritage. He began his education at one of the colony’s Native Schools, and then attended the Anglican Te Aute College, which styled its curriculum similarly to English grammar schools. Ngata excelled intellectually, as evidenced by the prize-winning *The Past and Future of the Maori* and his pioneering degree confirmations. He was raised speaking te reo Māori and passionately participated in and promoted Māori performing and decorative arts. As a result, he was able to ‘inhabit simultaneously the worlds of the archaic and the modern’.<sup>115</sup> This refers to traditional (pre-

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<sup>114</sup> Jeffrey Sissons, ‘The Post-assimilationist Thought of Sir Āpirana Ngata: Towards a Genealogy of New Zealand Biculturalism’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34.1 (2000), 47-59.

<sup>115</sup> Stafford and Williams, ‘Victorian Poetry and the Indigenous Poet’, p. 30.

contact) and post-contact Māori ‘worlds’, but it also echoes nineteenth-century symbolism of Māori and Pākehā ways of life that presented them as binary opposites: one unwanted, one desired. This binary theme of identity - of archaic versus modern, traditional versus contemporary, old versus new – is visible throughout Ngata’s 1893 essay.

In *The Past and Future of the Maori*, Ngata used “the future” to craft an identity for himself as an individual as well as for his wider collective, a layered reference to both educated Māori and the general population of tangata whenua. He created a future that was ‘blended’ in terms of Māori and Pākehā characteristics, and he expressed this within traditional Māori concepts of an interlinked past, present, and future that was blended with Western literary styles and tropes. Unlike Julius Vogel’s *Anno Domini 2000*, Ngata expressly evokes the past, present, and future, and even titled his essay as such. This reflects the whakataukī or proverb ‘kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua’ (I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past).<sup>116</sup> He does, however, write that the time for retrospection has passed.<sup>117</sup> This indicates Ngata’s commitment to the future of Māori and reminds the reader that there is no return to the idyllic, nostalgic past. The result is a future-oriented text that feels somewhat like a short pause for reflection partway through a long journey.

Ngata alludes to many Pākehā perspectives on Māori throughout his essay, from the intention of Europeans to civilize indigenous people to the supposed ‘savagery’ of pre-contact Māori. Despite his use of these tropes to frame much of the discussion, it is clear Ngata temporally distinguishes them as being part of the past and present, rather than the future. His statement mentioned above and in the epigraph leading this chapter – ‘now he ceases from retrospection’ – implies a sense of reconciliation, or at least clemency, towards Māori and

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<sup>116</sup> See: Lesley Rameka, ‘Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua: ‘I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past’’, *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 17.4 (2016), 387-388.

<sup>117</sup> Ngata, p. 6.

Pākehā from the past and in the present.<sup>118</sup> Ngata hopes Māori will be empowered now to shape their own future, and while this future will be (and should be) influenced by the past, it will not be shackled by it.

For example, Ngata refers to some Māori legends as ‘crude and almost childish’, and the ‘savage hue and immoral colouring’ of Māori ‘as he was’ before European contact.<sup>119</sup> This latter phrasing is very similar to concepts of blood quantum that sought to define and characterize indigenous people based on their ancestry. In New Zealand, terms such as ‘half-caste’ were used by the colonial government and in legislation to indicate someone had mixed Māori and Pākehā lineage. Ngata’s wording refers to a more physical marker of blood quantum: that of skin colour. He associates the darker skin colour of pre-European contact Māori with primitivity and savagery. These remarks also produce a dichotomy between past and present Māori: ‘bad, old ways’ versus ‘better, new ways’. This is the subtle introduction of a ‘civilized native’ narrative which Ngata carefully employs to establish the value of progression and improvement for Māori. He returns to this later.

Ngata does not go so far to claim European contact was entirely positive for Māori, however. He describes the Māori who met Cook and Tasman as ‘curious’ and ‘friendly’.<sup>120</sup> He explains away the massacre at ‘Murderer’s Bay (later Golden Bay) as ‘disaster befell some of Tasman’s men’ and rationalizes their actions as being ‘better than the early pahekas [sic]’.<sup>121</sup> Ngata speaks highly of Cook; he claims that if Cook or someone with his ‘knack’ of interacting with the ‘natives’ had been in charge of the settlement of New Zealand, the ‘troubles and conflicts’ of early contact might have been avoided.<sup>122</sup> Ngata carefully constructs a narrative

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<sup>118</sup> Ngata, p. 6.

<sup>119</sup> Ngata, p. 2.

<sup>120</sup> Ngata, p. 3.

<sup>121</sup> Ngata, p. 3.

<sup>122</sup> Ngata, p. 3.

which blames only *some* of the Europeans for Māori reactions and does not attribute fault to *all* Pākehā, and especially avoids blaming a widely celebrated historical figure.<sup>123</sup>

The ‘immorality’ of early settlers, their ‘misleading notions’, and their economy of alcohol and tobacco meant they ‘divert[ed] the current of civilization into evil, corrupt and immoral channels’.<sup>124</sup> Ngata argues that, despite the efforts of ‘good’ men such as the early missionary Samuel Marsden, this influence was difficult to counter – likely due to the ‘innocent’ nature of the Māori at this time – and the result was anger, distrust, confusion, and frustration that has persisted for many years and throughout several generations of Māori. This compels sympathy for present day Māori and empathy for their past actions toward European settlers. Furthermore, Ngata points out that Māori hurt themselves, too, by giving in to the vices provided by malevolent Pākehā. This is a very delicate but well-crafted balance of accountability, which minimizes the potential for further conflict between Māori and Pākehā and also establishes Ngata as an understanding yet realistic commentator, avoiding his alienation from either ‘side’.

Ngata suggests that educating young Māori is vital to the survival and future prosperity of the race. He chides politicians for not taking the quality of education for Māori seriously, particularly with regards to the qualifications of teachers in native schools.<sup>125</sup> For Ngata, ‘the future of the Māori depends almost entirely on his education’.<sup>126</sup> To this end, he suggests that improvements must be made to the current system of Native Schools. Education with the goal of “saving” the Māori race ‘should seek to implant in the minds of the children the most

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<sup>123</sup> Negative attitudes towards Cook remain controversial in New Zealand. For example, Tuia 250, held in 2019, marked 250 years since Cook’s first arrival in New Zealand. Much public debate developed as a result of the planned commemorations. A news article summarized the sensitivity to negative perspectives of Cook: ‘Few would dare put it quite this boldly, but Cook has become politically incorrect.’ See: Philip Matthews, ‘Tuia 250: Captain Cook, hero or villain?’, *Stuff*, 7 October 2019 <<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/116154477/tuia-250-captain-cook-hero-or-villain>> [accessed 20 January 2023].

<sup>124</sup> Ngata, p. 3.

<sup>125</sup> Ngata, p. 6.

<sup>126</sup> Ngata, p. 6.

elementary truths of sanitary science, and the simpler principles of morality'.<sup>127</sup> The theme of the “civilized savage” returns here. To be successful in the future, or more correctly, to *not be unsuccessful* (defined here as “dying out”) Māori need to learn European ideas of sanitation, hygiene, and morality. Ngata also alludes to other Pākehā customs that Māori may adopt for their own benefit, in the present and the future.

Against the backdrop of indigenous uncertainty in a hostile colonial society, Ngata poetically summarizes the plight of Māori in the early 1890s:

We are stranded on a strange shore with the waves of civilization rolling in dull monotony behind us, and the towering unscalable precipice of the Maori past locking us in before and on either side. A dark cloud rests on the edge of the precipice above, and we long for some breath of wind to waft it away that we might catch a glimpse of the confines of that strange land.<sup>128</sup>

The ‘unscalable precipice of the Maori past’ refers to the uncertainty of Māori origins. Pākehā scholars of the nineteenth century were obsessed with stories of Māori arrival in New Zealand. One of the dominant narratives taught to New Zealand schoolchildren until the 1960s was that of Kupe and the Great Fleet.<sup>129</sup> This story was constructed by Stephenson Percy Smith, an English ethnologist, and Māori scholar Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury. Smith combined his knowledge of places in Tahiti and Rarotonga with Jury’s interpretation of Māori oral histories.<sup>130</sup> Former surveyor and politician Edward Tregear published *The Aryan Maori* in 1885, arguing that Māori were descendants of Aryan people who had migrated to New Zealand

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<sup>127</sup> Ngata, p. 7.

<sup>128</sup> Ngata, p. 1.

<sup>129</sup> K. R. Howe, ‘Rethinking New Zealand’s Prehistory’, *History Now: Te Pae Tawhito o te Wā*, 9.1 (2003), 7-11 (p. 7).

<sup>130</sup> See: D. R. Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Maori* (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1976).

from India.<sup>131</sup> Although Tregear was not the first to posit such a theory, his claims were controversial even in their own time.

Ngata suggests that the uncertainty of Māori origins creates ‘a large area for speculation and fruitful pastures for imagination’.<sup>132</sup> He describes many of the contemporary theories in turn, such as their possible migration from South East Asia or India, but does not offer his direct opinion on them. He concludes by imploring scholars to investigate further ‘the languages the customs and habits’ [sic] of the various Pacific peoples, which perhaps implies where he believes the truth lies.

Ngata’s ‘strange land’ mentioned above appears to be the future. In this metaphor, Māori are stuck between their unknown past and an unknown future alongside Pākehā, and they (as a race) feel disorientated and unsure of their decisions. The ‘breath of wind’ they long for will remove the ‘dark cloud’ and illuminate a way forward, or at least indicate what may come to pass so that they can be better equipped to react to it. Ngata clearly describes the future as something that can be shaped and molded, and not a series of inevitable events that Māori would passively experience. However, in the late nineteenth-century Māori were, indeed, uncomfortably placed between a past they could not return to, and a future in which imperial interests sought to limit their active participation.<sup>133</sup>

### The old versus the new

Another key theme of *The Past and Future of the Maori* is that of old versus new or of archaic versus modern. Ngata sometimes invokes this motif alongside the use of European notions of Indigeneity as explored above and sometimes explores it separately. I contend that this theme forms the very foundation of this essay’s production: Ngata himself is representative of a ‘new’

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<sup>131</sup> Edward Tregear, *The Aryan Maori* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1885).

<sup>132</sup> Ngata, p. 1.

<sup>133</sup> Stafford and Williams, ‘Victorian Poetry and the Indigenous Poet’, p. 30.

Māori identity, or at the very least a fluidity between established ways and introduced ones. He stands as one example of the many spaces of experience possible for Māori in settler colonial New Zealand. It is important to note however that Ngata does not articulate his own position or location in this transformed Māori future explicitly.

The pamphlet continues to pepper references to the past of the Māori, a focus that is missing from other future-focused narratives. This is again reflective of the Māori proverb ‘I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past’ and highlights the value of understanding where one has been before forging a path ahead. This framing also allows for a clear linear narrative of temporality, which echoes European obsessions with progress in the nineteenth century. Ngata comments on Māori history between their migration to New Zealand and European contact, although the reader is plainly told that not much is known.

The consistent references to an unknown past may also be a hint at a future to be avoided. In the 1920s, Ngata was instrumental in preserving and encouraging Māori arts and crafts and ethnographic research. In a speech in 1948, he lamented the possibility that Māori culture may be lost.<sup>134</sup> While not directly stated in *The Past and Future of the Maori*, perhaps this possibility weighed on the young Ngata’s mind. He clearly made attempts as a politician later in life to prevent further loss of knowledge.

The pamphlet eventually moves on to direct consideration of the future including specific issues and questions plaguing the present. Ngata expresses that the problems to come for Māori are ‘greater’ than those ‘worked out in [the] past’.<sup>135</sup> The main problems identified are the land question, the best means of government (assumedly a choice between a separate Māori parliament or continued participation in European political institutions), the education of children, but the most significant concern for the future is ‘find[ing] means for staying the

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<sup>134</sup> Ngata, quoted in Ramsden, p. 89.

<sup>135</sup> Ngata, p. 6.

alarming decrease of his race'.<sup>136</sup> Ngata explores each of these issues in turn. For example, he is critical of the current Māori Parliament, condemning their resolutions for the land question as 'crude and almost ridiculous' and as indicative of a 'lack of wisdom, discernment, and foresight'.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, Ngata expresses concerns with the idea that a Māori Parliament, separate from the General Assembly but with the same powers and authority, may exist in the future: 'They do not foresee that chaos and political confusion must arise as soon as the machinery of legislation is disjointed'.<sup>138</sup>

Ngata comments briefly that the current system of Native Schools may have produced 'men and women who are in every way qualified to fulfill the duties of English subjects' but that the end result of this are educated Māori who are 'versatile, pliant and yielding under the influence an English mind, conceited and over-bearing towards his own people'.<sup>139</sup> These Māori were placed 'in a position between the pakeha and their own race', something that perhaps the young Ngata himself quite keenly felt, being a young Māori educated in a Western university system.<sup>140</sup> Historians have made much of Ngata's ability to exist simultaneously in 'Māori' worlds and 'Pākehā' ones; he appears to have felt comfortable in both environments.

The pamphlet concludes with pragmatism:

Will education, civilization and Christianity tend to the good of the race and ultimately to its rescue? They will tend to its good, but not to its rescue. Education and civilization will raise it intellectually and even morally...<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Ngata, p. 6.

<sup>137</sup> Ngata, p. 6.

<sup>138</sup> Ngata, p. 6.

<sup>139</sup> Ngata, p. 8.

<sup>140</sup> Ngata, p. 9.

<sup>141</sup> Ngata, p. 8.

Ngata places the final responsibility for the future of Māori with ‘philanthropic Europeans and educated Māori’.<sup>142</sup> He believes that change must come from within – from ‘young Maoris’, perhaps youths like himself – but that Pākehā also have a benevolent role to play.<sup>143</sup> While *The Past and Future of the Maori* fits the parameters of change from within, Ngata had also already worked with TACSA to educate wider iwi members and improve their living conditions. Ranginui Walker recognizes links to an aphorism among Māori that indicated a ‘would-be reformer’ would start with his own people but would eventually reach beyond those boundaries.<sup>144</sup> *The Past and Future of the Maori* was perhaps indicative of Ngata’s shift from inward-focused, iwi-based futures to outward-looking, pan-tribal futures.

Significantly, Ngata also argues that ‘[t]he Maori as a race must lose his purity and ultimately be extinguished’.<sup>145</sup> This reflects the key theme of the old versus new. For a successful future, Māori must metaphorically ‘die out’ in order to be ‘reborn’, and it is through this process that the undesirable elements of Māori culture or life can be eradicated, the desirable ones held on to, and advantageous European ones adapted to fit Māori needs. This reinvigoration would take generations and the move towards a successful future would be gradual. Ngata, however, still recognizes that this moment could be a turning point for Māori:

Your Maori of to-day is but the savage of yesterday, polished and draped in English finery. Within him there are raging the fierce passions that but a while ago made him revel in slaughter and cannibalism. His hands are bound with the manacles of civilisation and humanity, but they are restless to grasp once more the spear, the taiaha, and mere.<sup>146</sup>

Here, Ngata is again contrasting the old and the new. The ‘new’ Māori is ‘draped in English finery’ but previously was aflame with ‘fierce passions’ that motivated activities like warfare

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<sup>142</sup> Ngata, p. 9.

<sup>143</sup> Ngata, p. 9.

<sup>144</sup> Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 81.

<sup>145</sup> Ngata, p. 9.

<sup>146</sup> Ngata, p. 1.

and cannibalism. This invokes early photographs of Māori; portraits that visually juxtapose the wearing of European clothing with the proud display of tā moko. Ngata also likens civilization to slavery, claiming that Māori are constrained by it. It is unclear if Ngata means Māori are angry – that the English finery is a façade hiding indignancy – and that aggression could soon erupt. Is it a statement intended to implicitly compliment Māori on their restraint, and suggesting to Pākehā another possible future, if not for Māori benevolence? This reflects the complexity of Ngata’s vision throughout the essay, with his emphasis on the journey of Māori towards a better future that draws on aspects of European culture, while remaining distinctly indigenous.

## Conclusion

The horizon Ngata imagined for Māori was one of regeneration and endurance. Despite colonial hostilities, whether subtle or direct, Ngata believed Māori could and should flourish, yet he was pragmatic enough to realize compromise was necessary. His idealistic blending of parts of Māori and Pākehā culture and society would not only ensure the long-term future of Māori but would also – in Ngata’s view – improve Māori quality of life. This would ultimately result in mitigation of any further population loss, a key concern for Māori at this time.

Exploring the place of *The Past and Future of the Maori* within wider spaces of experience concerned with Māori population decline highlights shifting attitudes towards Māori in late nineteenth-century New Zealand and illuminates attempts by Māori to claim back their present and determine their own future. Ngata expressed a desire for a renewed Māori future in an era when many Pākehā either did not believe Māori had a future (due to a misplaced belief in a natural order that resulted in the extinction of indigenous people) or did not *want* Māori to have a future. Crucially, Ngata supported Māori shaping of Māori futures. He responded to settler colonialism with mana motuhake.

Ngata was visionary in the sense that he rebutted mainstream Pākehā thought regarding Māori assimilation. However, it is important to note the implications of the more practical elements of his essay: it was written in English and entered into a competition hosted by a European educational institute. While this does not dilute the radical aspects of the content, it reflects Ngata's personal readiness to seek compromise – and perhaps his skillful ability to subvert expectations without malicious intent. His willingness to cooperate with Pākehā individuals and institutions continued throughout his later political career. Ngata also knew the limits of what he could suggest in his essay and carefully constructed his narrative with this in mind. He used Eurocentric literary tropes and traditions deliberately to temper his views to (what was likely) a mainstream Pākehā audience. *The Past and Future of the Maori* has been neglected by historians. Many have chosen instead to focus on Ngata's political career, centering the 1920s and 1930s as significant decades where his mana within New Zealand's government was at its peak. I reiterate the inherent Eurocentrism of this assertion, and by drawing attention to the content and context of Ngata's essay, this chapter has highlighted the multiple spaces of experience possible for Māori in settler colonial New Zealand.

Ngata was undoubtedly privileged for a young man in the 1890s: he was able to gain mana in both Māori and Pākehā worlds and was highly educated. This provided him with a unique perspective on Māori futures and a unique opportunity to craft and shape these futures. Ngata was concerned with identity, likely motivated by his own upbringing and his connections with both Māori and Pākehā societies, and he sought to absorb parts of European culture into a Māori worldview. Ngata's essay expresses possibilities for the future of Māori without reducing their indigeneity to a glass case in a museum and a 'golden tinge on the faces of New Zealanders'.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 190.

## Chapter Three: 'What is sown in infancy may be reaped in middle life' - Truby King's Plunket manuals (1913, 1913 and 1917)

The Parents and the Nurse are almost entirely responsible. The baby's fate is in their hands. They can make the child either a success or a failure. What must they do, and what must they not do?<sup>1</sup>

- Truby King, *Baby's First Month*.

This chapter explores the horizons of expectation presented in three guidebooks authored by Plunket founder Truby King: *Baby's First Month* (1913), *Feeding and Care of Baby* (1913), and *Save the Babies* (1917). Motivated by a space of experience punctuated by World War One, King utilized the future as a rhetorical device to draw attention to the problem of infant mortality. He framed this narrative in two ways: by presenting the positive impacts of improved infant health and well-being, and by presenting the negative effects of doing nothing. In the epigraph above he refers to 'the baby's fate', yet King depicted a future throughout the pamphlet that is not truly fatalistic or predetermined. Instead, he positions parents as being responsible for the wellbeing of their children and insists that his own practical instructions – if followed – will transform the health and welfare of babies and guarantee their positive future. King's booklets reflect the ethos of the wider work undertaken by Plunket: to educate parents and the wider community, and to persuade them of the need to adopt new childrearing practices. Harnessing new ideas about medicine and science developing at the turn of the twentieth century, King amplifies the symbolic relationship between babies and the future that already existed in the Western world. This chapter first positions King within the wider infant welfare movement that extended beyond the borders of New Zealand, before turning to a detailed analysis of his dual approach of medical advice combined with emotive language. This

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<sup>1</sup> Truby King, *Baby's First Month* (Wellington: John Mackay Government Printer, 1913), p. 3.

introductory section will begin by situating King's guidebooks within the context of medical advice literature.

General medical advice literature began to emerge in the early nineteenth century as the field of medicine became increasingly professionalised.<sup>2</sup> While advice manuals do not always contain direct engagement with the future or creation of a future, they are necessarily future-oriented as their content is framed by change achieved through education and knowledge. Their inherent prescriptive and didactic nature provides a space in which the future can be, at the very least, implicitly expressed. The childrearing manual is one category of guidebook, which promoted 'scientific motherhood' by presenting mothers with rules on feeding times and sleep patterns, charts and tables of information on when baby should reach particular heights and weights, and expectations of developmental milestones such as baby's first words – all apparently supported by "modern" scientific evidence.<sup>3</sup> Rima D. Apple has published extensively on the subject of scientific motherhood, focusing especially on changes in infant feeding advice influenced by shifting intersections of science, medicine, and economics, and the space of negotiation between the lived experience of mothers and the expert opinions provided by medical professionals.<sup>4</sup> Apple asserts that scientific motherhood has a complex history, with the women targeted by this ideology both accepting and resisting the expert advice provided.<sup>5</sup>

Historians have utilized advice manuals in a range of research contexts, but caution against relying upon their content as proof of past behaviour. Instead, scholars like Jay

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<sup>2</sup> Dara Rossman Regaignon, 'Anxious Uptakes: Nineteenth-Century Advice Literature as a Rhetorical Genre', *College English*, 78.2 (2015), 139-161 (p. 141).

<sup>3</sup> Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018), pp. 96, 97.

<sup>4</sup> Rima D. Apple, *Mothers and Medicine: A Social History of Infant Feeding, 1890-1950* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Rima D. Apple, *Perfect Motherhood: Science and Childrearing in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Rima D. Apple, 'Constructing Mothers: Scientific Motherhood in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Social History of Medicine*, 8.2 (1995), 161-78.

Mechling and Lisa Featherstone underscore the value of advice manuals as being representations of the issue at hand, indicating attitudes and understandings.<sup>6</sup> King's pamphlets communicate his view of babies and children as crucial contributors to a horizon of expectation, and reflect wider societal and cultural categorisations of children as physical manifestations of the future. In alignment with Mechling and Featherstone, this chapter does not investigate if New Zealand mothers actually followed King's advice, nor does it explore their individual responses to the booklets. Instead, I seek to connect the production of King's narratives to

how the society viewed children – their virtues and vices; their needs and proper goals; their capacities and their weaknesses; their place in the overall scheme of human life, society, and often 'the life to come'. In other words, the manuals provide an accurate measure of the important *issues* relating to children and their development, as viewed by elite groups within the society as a whole.<sup>7</sup>

Colin Heywood notes that social historians largely accept that 'there were various approaches to child-rearing, among individual families but also between (and within) socio-occupational, religious and ethnic groupings.'<sup>8</sup> It is evident, however, that King's advice and the Plunket guidebooks were widely circulated in New Zealand and themselves shaped the space of experience of infant welfare in New Zealand. The regular 'Our Babies' newspaper column, co-authored by King and his wife and originally published in the *Otago Witness*, was reproduced in 21 New Zealand newspapers by 1910.<sup>9</sup> 30 000 copies of *Babies First Month* were printed for its first issue, and it was available for free from birth registrars and Plunket nurses

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<sup>6</sup> See: Jay Mechling, 'Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers', *Journal of Social History*, 9.1 (1975), 44-63, (pp. 51, 56); Abigail J. Stewart, David G. Winter, and A. David Jones, 'Coding Categories for the Study of Child-Rearing from Historical Sources', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 5.4 (1975), 687-701, (p. 689); Lisa Featherstone, 'Sex educating the modern girl: the formation of new knowledge in interwar Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 34.4 (2010), 459-469 (p. 460).

<sup>7</sup> Abigail J. Stewart, David G. Winter, and A. David Jones, 'Coding Categories for the Study of Child-Rearing from Historical Sources', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 5.4 (1975), 687-701 (p. 689).

<sup>8</sup> Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018), p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> Jim Sullivan, *I Was A Plunket Baby: 100 Years of The Royal New Zealand Plunket Society (Inc)* (Auckland: Random House, 2007), p. 23.

throughout the country.<sup>10</sup> King took 500 copies to London in 1913, when he represented New Zealand at an international child welfare conference.<sup>11</sup> *Feeding and Care of Baby* was just as well-circulated. By 1910, 12 000 copies had been issued to New Zealand mothers.<sup>12</sup> In 1913, a reprint was issued, containing new and expanded information. The pamphlet was reprinted twenty times between 1913 and 1932, when it was extensively revised, and there were another four editions by 1942.<sup>13</sup> This speaks to the visibility of King's ideas, and their reach in the wider community with Plunket subsequently receiving official government endorsement in the form of funding and subsidies.

King's three guidebooks present a continuum of horizons concerned with babies and children. While the foundational message does not change, the impact of World War One is evident in the ways King's message is expressed. *Baby's First Month* and *Feeding and Care of Baby* together provide a comprehensive manual for expectant and new mothers. The booklets provide graphs, diagrams, photographs, and textual information on a range of topics relevant to mother and baby, often supported by scientific evidence, and consistently underpinned by King's future-focused rhetoric. Their pages often reiterate advice from King's popular public speeches and the newspaper column 'Our Babies'. Overall, the tone of both pamphlets is positive. King argues that improvements are achievable and he outlines the benefits of change. To motivate compliance with the guidebooks, King embeds his suggestions to improve infant welfare within layers of emotive language. He "offers" his advice to parents as optional – for example, the title page of *Baby's First Month* advertised the book as 'hints to fathers and mothers' – but King skilfully frames these instructions within certain coercive parameters that, in reality, made it almost impossible for a parent to disagree with or reject his ideas. *Save the*

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<sup>10</sup> 'Our Babies', *Otago Witness*, 16 July 1913, p. 59; 'Our Babies', *Otago Witness*, 7 January 1914, p. 72.

<sup>11</sup> 'In The Homeland: New Zealanders on Tour', *New Zealand Times*, 24 September 1913, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Sullivan, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Linda Bryder, 'Challenging New Zealand's Icon, Sir Frederic Truby King', *Social History of Medicine*, 33.1 (2020), 201-223 (p. 203).

*Babies* posits that the care of infants was directly related to the future success or potential failure of New Zealand and the British Empire, and continued to place that responsibility firmly with parents, specifically mothers. Unlike the two earlier pamphlets, *Save the Babies* did not dispense medical advice, but instead provides an in-depth analysis of infant mortality rates across the Western world framed within a discussion of the human cost of war, demonstrating the direct connections between spaces of experience and horizons of expectation. The tone is also more negative than the guidebooks, with the spotlight thrown on what is likely to happen to babies, families, New Zealand society, and the British Empire if King's plea to 'save the babies' was *not* heeded. The title itself is imperative and commanding – it implores the reader to *do something* – a strong contrast with the informative and didactic sounding 1913 titles *Baby's First Month* and *Feeding and Care of Baby*.

#### Sir Frederic Truby King, 1858-1938

This chapter's distinct contribution to the multitude of historical scholarship regarding King is to reconsider him as an author through exploration of his textual depictions of the future. To this end, I highlight King's targeted and sustained use of "the future" in Plunket publications, extending existing discussions of King's ideology and its impact. Just as Erik Olssen suggests, I affirm that King had a 'larger vision' than simply caring for babies.<sup>14</sup> King, through his publications and the work of Plunket, wished to attain a "better" horizon of expectation for New Zealand, and in turn, the British Empire. I argue that the future was vital rhetoric for the construction and transmission of King's narratives of infant welfare, thus demonstrating clear links between spaces of experience and horizons of expectation particularly at times of crisis.

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<sup>14</sup> Erik Olssen, 'Truby King and the Plunket Society: An Analysis of a Prescriptive Ideology', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 15.1 (1981), 3-23, (p. 3).

Analysis of King's guidebooks also illuminates the extent to which settler colonial visions of the future permeate New Zealand's twentieth century spaces of experience.

King was the leading voice of New Zealand's infant welfare movement in the early twentieth century, combining personal interest with his professional background and enhanced by a space of experience highly concerned with the health and wellbeing of babies and children. Born in New Plymouth in 1858, King was a sickly child educated at home by a private tutor. At 15, he took work as a banker, first in Taranaki and later in Auckland. In 1880, aged 22, King decided to pursue a career in medicine, originally intending to become a surgeon. He studied in Edinburgh, Scotland, taking courses about the treatment of mental illness – at the time known as lunacy, a topic that particularly captivated King – and completed a new type of degree in public health in 1888. He then returned to New Zealand with his Scottish wife, Isabella (known as Bella), where he was soon appointed the medical superintendent of Seacliff Asylum, Dunedin. He remained in this role until 1921. Despite this background in mental and public health, King founded Plunket in 1907 and authored various publications on the topic of infant welfare, including the three pamphlets identified previously in this chapter, thus embedding himself within discourse on infant welfare in New Zealand.

King's authority was consolidated by the continued support of the wider community and the New Zealand government. By the 1910s, he was recognised as an infant welfare expert in both New Zealand and overseas.<sup>15</sup> He was seconded to the Department of Public Health in 1912 to travel the country 'promoting infant welfare' and in 1913 he presented at an international infant welfare conference in London at the request of the New Zealand government.<sup>16</sup> Plunket had also benefitted from state subsidies since its inception. Financial

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<sup>15</sup> Bryder, 'Challenging New Zealand's Icon, Sir Frederic Truby King', p. 201.

<sup>16</sup> Barbara Brookes, 'King, Frederic Truby - Dictionary of New Zealand Biography', *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 2011 <<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2k8/king-frederic-truby>> [accessed 24 March 2020].

assistance was initially provided for the running costs of Plunket rooms and the Karitane Hospital in Dunedin, and later helped to pay the salaries of Plunket nurses.<sup>17</sup> By 1914, one-third of Plunket's running costs were covered by the government.<sup>18</sup> Support of King's organisation can be interpreted as indirect support for King and his ideas, as he was the public mouthpiece of Plunket in these early years. Official endorsement of King culminated in his appointment as Director of Child Welfare from 1921 to 1925.

King was not a trained paediatrician, but it is important to note that paediatrics was an inchoate discipline in the late nineteenth century and was not offered as a specialisation when he studied medicine at Edinburgh. King was, however, enthusiastically recognised by nascent paediatric organisations such as the American Pediatric Society, who invited him to become an honorary member in 1919.<sup>19</sup> New Zealand did not establish its own Paediatric Society until 1947 which illustrates just how 'new' a medical understanding unique to babies and children was in New Zealand during King's time. A shift towards paediatrics had begun in the nineteenth century, as medicine as a discipline 'underwent fundamental instructional changes'.<sup>20</sup> Medical professionals became increasingly specialised from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, and this dovetailed with changing cultural conceptions of childhood and 'the child' that had been developing since the Enlightenment. Lisa Featherstone acknowledges the difficulty in providing a specific date for the emergence of paediatrics as a separate medical discipline and suggests much rests on the definition of paediatrics used by historians.<sup>21</sup> Extrapolating from an Australian context, she ultimately argues that paediatrics emerged

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<sup>17</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, pp. 31-32. In 1907, Truby King established the Karitane Hospital in Anderson's Bay, Dunedin, to care for sick and malnourished babies when their parents were unable to do so.

<sup>18</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. ix.

<sup>19</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Lisa Featherstone, 'The Value of an Infant: The Rise of Paediatrics in Australia, 1880-1910', *Health and History*, 10, 1 (2008): 110-133 (p. 111).

<sup>21</sup> Featherstone, p. 114.

globally in the early-twentieth century although many nineteenth-century developments contributed significantly.<sup>22</sup>

King did not have biological children. The reason for this childlessness is unclear but is perhaps due to the effects of childhood illnesses both King and his wife, Bella, suffered. In 1905, they adopted a baby girl who they named Mary, who equipped King with a more practical insight into parenthood. Mary was the biological child of a couple known to the Kings, but the exact circumstances of her birth and family life are lost to the historical record.<sup>23</sup> She was an underweight baby and failed to thrive on a mixture of cow's milk and sugar. Apparently, a frustrated Bella scolded her husband, saying 'Fred, you're more interested in your animals than your own child', referring to his projects with the Seacliff Asylum farm.<sup>24</sup> Bella then suggested King should investigate a more suitable food for infants in the absence of breastmilk, similar to what he had done for calves on the farm.<sup>25</sup> This sparked King's personal interest in infant development and the ways he could contribute to the emerging health and welfare movement.

King's (biological) childlessness and his lack of training in paediatrics led historian Philippa Mein Smith to observe that King 'in reality... knew little about babies'.<sup>26</sup> She suggests that King's fame and popularity rode on the coattails of the women of Plunket, who were the true heart of the organisation, and that King was little more than a medical evangelist.<sup>27</sup> This opinion disregards King's experience as an adoptive parent after 1905, dismisses his medical training, and fails to recognise the incipency of a professional paediatric specialisation in the early twentieth century. However, King's adoptive daughter Mary does provide some

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<sup>22</sup> Featherstone, p. 114.

<sup>23</sup> See: 'Chapter 9: The Adoption of Mary' in Lloyd Chapman, *In A Strange Garden: The Life and Times of Truby King* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 113-119.

<sup>24</sup> Chapman, *In A Strange Garden*, p. 121.

<sup>25</sup> Chapman, *In A Strange Garden*, p. 121.

<sup>26</sup> Philippa Mein Smith, *Mothers and King Baby: Infant Survival and Welfare in an Imperial World, Australia 1880-1950* (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 87.

<sup>27</sup> Mein Smith, *Mothers and King Baby*, p. 87.

reinforcement of Mein Smith's view in an edition of the *Plunket News* published for the fifty-year anniversary of the Society in 1957. Mary agrees that King's 'appreciation of babies was largely academic' and that he was perhaps not naturally paternal.<sup>28</sup> She described his reaction when confronted with appreciative mothers in public: 'when any proud mother placed an infant in his arms, he would look embarrassed, chuck it under the chin, and hand it back just as soon as it was politely possible'.<sup>29</sup>

As a trained doctor, regardless of specialisation, King did have a background in science and medicine. As superintendent of Seacliff, King had transformed a run-down farm asylum into 'a workable institution with a productive farm and beautifully planted grounds'.<sup>30</sup> In doing so, he honed interests and skills that were transferrable later to issues of infant health. Linda Bryder recognises King's combination of intelligence and a personality trait she labels 'fanatical enthusiast' – once King had become interested in infant health he prioritised learning as much about it as he could.<sup>31</sup> In this way, his foray into animal nutrition resulted in the creation of a breastmilk replacement for human infants. King also oversaw the treatment of asylum patients with a regimen of 'fresh air, exercise, good diet, work and recreation', and emphasized the importance of ongoing training and education for his staff.<sup>32</sup> These two characteristics would be later reflected in the two Plunket guidebooks, *Baby's First Month* and *Feeding and Care of Baby* which provided common-sense health advice and advocated the continuing education of parents on matters concerning infant well-being.

King, therefore, possessed the skills and ability to champion issues of infant welfare. Most importantly, he harnessed these at a time when New Zealanders were receptive. The establishment of Plunket in 1907 was a result of collaboration, when a group of middle-class

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<sup>28</sup> *Plunket News Golden Jubilee* (Dunedin, Dominion Office of the Plunket Society, 1957), p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> *Plunket News*, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Brookes, 'King, Frederic Truby - Dictionary of New Zealand Biography'.

<sup>31</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> Brookes, 'King, Frederic Truby - Dictionary of New Zealand Biography'.

women met with King in Dunedin.<sup>33</sup> They were concerned with infant welfare and care: declining birth rates, high infant mortality rates, and the implications this had for New Zealand and the British Empire, reflecting similar anxieties present across the wider Western world at the turn of the twentieth century, particularly within British colonies.<sup>34</sup> Plunket was an informal appellation for the Society for the Health of Women and Children, named after Victoria Plunket, wife of New Zealand's Governor General, who was an early patron of the organisation. The organisation adopted the motto "save the babies" to reflect the intention of their work. Linda Bryder has published extensively on Plunket, sometimes placing King at the forefront of the organisation, and sometimes minimizing his role in order to emphasize the female-dominated and voluntary elements of the organisation.<sup>35</sup> Bryder's work has also situated King and Plunket within the wider context of local and international welfare histories, sometimes applying comparative methodologies.<sup>36</sup>

Plunket quickly embedded itself in the lives of many New Zealanders after its foundation in 1907. Mothers and their babies could visit Plunket rooms or clinics in main urban centres, and specially-trained Plunket nurses would visit parents at home. The organisation was also an appealing outlet for middle-class women who were not able to enter the workforce in the early twentieth century due to persisting social and gender norms. Plunket was supported largely by female volunteers, a phenomenon now known by historians as "maternalist welfare". Linda Bryder highlights that maternalist welfare emerged in the Western world, including New Zealand, during the early twentieth century. These voluntary networks of women managed and

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<sup>33</sup> Note: mention of 'Plunket' in this chapter refers to the Society from its inception in 1907 until Truby King's death in the late 1930s, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>34</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. ix.

<sup>35</sup> For example: Linda Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers: The Plunket Society and Infant Welfare, 1907-2000* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003); Linda Bryder, 'Plunket's Secret Army: The Royal New Zealand Plunket Society and the State', in *Past Judgment: Social Policy in New Zealand History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Margaret Tennant (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2004), pp. 109-124; Linda Bryder, 'More than educators: New Zealand's Plunket nurses, 1907-1950', *Nursing History Review*, 26, 1 (2018), 83-96.

<sup>36</sup> Linda Bryder, 'Two Models of Infant Welfare in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: New Zealand and the USA', *Women's History Review*, 12, 4 (2003), 547-558.

oversaw welfare services concerned with women and children. They were typically educated women who were mothers themselves, and considered their work to be ‘an act of citizenship’ and believed ‘such control was their right’.<sup>37</sup> Plunket’s female volunteers were involved in fundraising activities and the wives of prominent businessmen sometimes exploited their husband’s wealth and community contacts for Plunket’s benefit.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout the 1910s, Plunket promoted that a “Plunket baby” raised by King’s methods ‘would become an adult of sound character and pure thought’, an attractive horizon particularly in a decade underlined by the threat of war and the consummation of that threat.<sup>39</sup> King exploited this vulnerability in his publications, utilizing depictions of both utopia and dystopia at different times to communicate potential results of following or not following his advice. Furthermore, his ‘dramatic form of delivery’ made his speeches and public appearances intensely captivating and this perhaps drew more attention to his written works.<sup>40</sup> King also benefited significantly from ‘a new-found national pride and identity’ present in New Zealand at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>41</sup> As a result, King was held in high esteem by many New Zealanders and New Zealand authorities and enjoyed a positive reputation. For his work with Plunket, he was knighted in 1925. When he died in 1938, he received a state funeral, making him the first private citizen in New Zealand to be bestowed such an honour. In 1957, King became the first New Zealander to be featured on a postage stamp. The first biography of King was published ten years after his death and was authored by his daughter, Mary.<sup>42</sup> Containing letters, photographs, and commentary, it too invokes the future, with the final line asking: ‘Fifty

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<sup>37</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. xiii.

<sup>38</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>39</sup> Mary Trewby, *The Best Years of Your Life: A History of New Zealand Childhood* (Auckland: Viking, 1995), p. 24.

<sup>40</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p. 277.

<sup>41</sup> Peter Davis, ‘Jurisdictional Disputes in New Zealand Dentistry’, in *A Healthy Country: Essays on the Social History of Medicine in New Zealand*, ed. by Linda Bryder (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), pp. 25-43 (p. 36).

<sup>42</sup> Mary King, *Truby King: The Man* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1948). Mary refers to herself in the third person throughout the text.

years hence, what will the rising generation of New Zealanders know of Truby King, one of the greatest humanitarians of all time?’<sup>43</sup>

Despite the general popularity of King’s narratives and Plunket’s mostly positive reception, he was not without opponents. Both King and Plunket enjoyed formal and informal government support, but official healthcare providers viewed the organisation’s volunteer-based model with some suspicion. The Health Department was apparently ‘resentful’ that part of their budget was funding a nursing service they had no control over.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, some doctors were insulted that parents were choosing to consult Plunket nurses – who were not always professional, registered nurses – rather than utilizing their knowledge and expertise.<sup>45</sup> Dr. Geoffrey Bruton Sweet, considered ‘New Zealand’s first specialist paediatrician’, was one of King’s most vocal opponents throughout the 1920s.<sup>46</sup> Bruton Sweet disagreed with King’s infant formula recipe, claiming it to be deficient in protein, and further believed that artificial feeding required strict medical supervision – the implication being that Plunket nurses were not adequately qualified and mothers should not be left to their own devices with only King’s guidebooks in hand.<sup>47</sup> Disputes between King and medical professionals reached their peak in the 1930s. Bruton Sweet established a private clinic in competition to Plunket in Auckland, which cost mothers two guineas a year to visit.<sup>48</sup> Linda Bryder suggests that while Plunket’s feeding practises were often challenged, criticisms often concealed deeper ‘issues of power and

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<sup>43</sup> King, *Truby King*, p. 349.

<sup>44</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>45</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>46</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. 84; S. L. Ludbrook, ‘Pediatrics in New Zealand’, *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 75, (1972), 259-262 (p. 259).

<sup>47</sup> Linda Bryder, ‘Two Models of Infant Welfare in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: New Zealand and the USA’, *Women’s History Review*, 12, 4 (2003), 547-558 (p. 553). Sweet’s belief that artificial feeding should be managed by doctors reflected the stance of the American *Children’s Bureau*, who wrote ‘[i]t is impossible to prescribe formulas for individual babies without examining the baby.’ Janet Golden, *Babies Made Us Modern: How Infants Brought America into the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 107. Since King’s guidebooks provided recipes for breastmilk substitutes, New Zealand mothers could provide sustenance for their children without any contact with medical professionals on this matter.

<sup>48</sup> Bryder, ‘Two Models of Infant Welfare in the First Half of the Twentieth Century’, p. 553.

control' between the medical fraternity and King with his organisation of (mostly female) volunteers.<sup>49</sup>

In an article published in the *New Zealand Journal of Health and Hospitals* in 1921, Michael Watt, the country's first Director of the Division of Public Health, expressed disappointment that King and Plunket had been depicted as single-handedly responsible for reducing the infant mortality rate in New Zealand. He claimed that the Health Department was equally involved in infant welfare work but their efforts had been ignored in favour of 'the admittedly meritorious work' of Plunket.<sup>50</sup> Such government-backed initiatives included the Midwives Act 1904, which established public maternity hospitals, known as St Helens Hospitals. The first opened in Wellington in 1905 and by 1921 there were seven across New Zealand's main urban centres. The hospitals were state-run and partially funded by government, providing maternity care for low-income and working-class women and training midwifery students.<sup>51</sup> Despite St Helens' alignment with King's goals of reducing infant mortality rates, the hospitals have not endured like Plunket. They began to close or have their services merged with other hospitals from the 1960s.

Scholars have also investigated the reasons for an improvement in infant health and reduction of mortality rates across the Western world in the early twentieth century and have concluded that organisations like Plunket and publications by child welfare "experts" are only partly responsible for the positive changes. In an American context, Richard A. Meckel suggests that tighter regulation of breast-milk substitutes and urban sanitation reform combined

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<sup>49</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. xiv.

<sup>50</sup> M. H. Watt, 'Infant Mortality in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of Health and Hospitals*, 4.4 (1921), 88-94, cited in Linda Bryder, 'Plunket's Secret Army: The Royal New Zealand Plunket Society and the State', in *Past Judgment: Social Policy in New Zealand History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Margaret Tennant (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2004), pp. 109-124 (p. 113).

<sup>51</sup> *Maternity Services in New Zealand: A Report by the Maternity Service Committee* (Wellington: New Zealand Department of Health, 1976), p. 17.

with educative instruction (such as child-raising manuals) to ameliorate conditions for both mother and child.<sup>52</sup> Philippa Mein Smith uses quantitative analysis and demographic data which ultimately affirms earlier work by Thomas McKeown that posits broader economic and social change as the primary cause of a reduction in infant mortality.<sup>53</sup>

In the time since the publication of Mary's biography of her father, King has maintained ongoing prominence in New Zealand history, although current interpretations are not necessarily as unabashedly celebratory as her assessment of him as 'one of the greatest humanitarians of all time'.<sup>54</sup> Michael King is almost as enthusiastic, praising (Truby) King's 'considerable intelligence' and positioning him alongside his scientific contemporary Ernest Rutherford.<sup>55</sup> Keith Sinclair claims that King was 'arguably the most influential man in Pakeha society'.<sup>56</sup> But some historians, like Philippa Mein Smith, recognise King's infant welfare legacy in a less hagiographic manner. Mein Smith refers to King as a 'national icon' but points out his deification has been at the cost of the historical memory of women who 'made Truby King famous', such as his wife.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, a rebrand of Plunket in February 2020 sought to decentre King as the heart of the organisation.<sup>58</sup> The organisation's story of its beginnings now acknowledges the roles of three women: Lady Plunket, the society's first patron, and two Māori midwives, Mere Harper and Ria Tikini. Harper and Tikini are credited with delivering the first 'Plunket baby' in 1906.<sup>59</sup> The website declares that Truby King is 'only half the story'

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<sup>52</sup> Richard A. Meckel, *Save the Babies: American Public Health Reform and the Prevention of Infant Mortality, 1850-1929* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

<sup>53</sup> Philippa Mein Smith, 'Infant Welfare Services and Infant Mortality: A Historian's View,' *Australian Economic Review*, 24.1 (1991), 22-34.

<sup>54</sup> King, *Truby King*, p. 349.

<sup>55</sup> King, *Truby King*, p. 276.

<sup>56</sup> Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p. 223.

<sup>57</sup> Mein Smith, *Mothers and King Baby*, p. 87.

<sup>58</sup> See: Cate Broughton, 'Plunket takes on its history, and future, to be "a better Treaty partner"', *Stuff* <<https://www.stuff.co.nz/pou-tiaki/126108581/plunket-takes-on-its-history-and-future-to-be-a-better-treaty-partner>> [accessed 10 March 2023].

<sup>59</sup> 'Our History', *Whānau Āwhina Plunket* <<https://www.plunket.org.nz/what-we-do/who-we-are/our-story/>> [accessed 24 March 2020].

and that Plunket would not have existed without these three women.<sup>60</sup> Biographies of all three are provided. A new logo was also unveiled, which included a tohu which represents these ‘women of strength’.<sup>61</sup> Other popular media has recently emphasized King’s apparent belief in eugenics, labelling him ‘an awful person’ and a ‘black sheep’ of New Zealand’s past.<sup>62</sup>

Erik Olssen’s landmark 1981 article in the *New Zealand Journal of History* provides a revisionist account of King, the first of an academic nature, focussing on King’s creation of a prescriptive philosophy for Plunket that combined medicine and morality.<sup>63</sup> Olssen’s analysis has been described as ‘extremely innovative and formative’ as connects King’s ideas to their ‘wider social and ideological’ contexts.<sup>64</sup> Building on this scholarship, historians have recognized the link between King’s narratives, the work of Plunket, and ideas of nation and empire. According to Katie Pickles, King and Plunket ‘made the most prominent connection... between childbirth, nation and empire’ in New Zealand.<sup>65</sup> For James Belich, King was ‘an arch-prophet of moral evangelism’ and Plunket was a ‘cult of domesticity reinforced by race motherhood’.<sup>66</sup>

*Save the Babies* is highly indicative of King’s imperial sympathies, reflecting the narrative of Plunket’s ‘Save the Babies Week’ held from 28<sup>th</sup> October to 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1917.

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<sup>60</sup> ‘Our History’, *Whānau Āwhina Plunket*.

<sup>61</sup> ‘Our History’, *Whānau Āwhina Plunket*.

<sup>62</sup> Emily Writes, ‘Plunket’s founder was an awful person obsessed with eugenics’, *The Spinoff* <<https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/07-05-2019/plunkets-founder-was-an-awful-person-obsessed-with-eugenics/>> [accessed 30 January 2020]; Black Sheep podcast, ‘Eugenics: the story of a really bad idea’, *RNZ* <<https://www.rnz.co.nz/programmes/black-sheep/story/201823436/eugenics-the-story-of-a-really-bad-idea>> [accessed 30 January 2020]. Diane B. Paul, however, provides a nuanced investigation into the memory of King as a eugenicist. See: Diane B. Paul, ‘Truby King, Infant Welfare and the Boundaries of Eugenics’, in *Eugenics at the Edges of Empire: New Zealand, Australia, Canada and South Africa* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 243-266. Furthermore, in early 2020, Linda Bryder claimed that deficient analysis or simple disregard of King’s Plunket guidebooks *Baby’s First Month* and *Feeding and Care Of Baby* has ‘made him the target of sustained attacks’ by historians: Bryder, ‘Challenging New Zealand’s Icon, Sir Frederic Truby King’, p. 201.

<sup>63</sup> Olssen, ‘Truby King and the Plunket Society’; Bryder, ‘Challenging New Zealand’s Icon, Sir Frederic Truby King’, p. 212.

<sup>64</sup> Bryder, ‘Challenging New Zealand’s Icon, Sir Frederic Truby King’, p. 212.

<sup>65</sup> Katie Pickles, ‘Colonisation, Empire and Gender’, in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 219-241 (p. 230).

<sup>66</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 163.

As highlighted by the following advertisement, King's ideas about babies continued to be strongly future-focused as the decade drew to a close. The week was publicized with newspaper headlines and posters inquiring 'Are you a patriot? Do you want your nation to survive?' – the same kind of emotive language published within the pages of the *Save the Babies* booklet.<sup>67</sup> 'Save the Babies Week' was, at its core, an awareness campaign, with activities such as public lectures on offer around the country.

**NATION'S HOPE FOR FUTURE  
OPENING OF THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN**

*This is "Save the Babies" Week.*

*"Save the Babies" Week is a campaign organised by the Plunket Society with a twofold purpose:—*

*(1) To give the mothers and fathers of the community an opportunity of learning the most important facts with regard to the care of the baby.*

*(2) To bring home to the community a knowledge of the facts regarding the needless deaths of its babies and a realisation of the ways in which it must protect them.*

*A Baby Week should be a community campaign; each person in the community should feel that he or she has a part in it.*

*A Baby Week should not be a temporary flurry and excitement, but should lead to permanent work for the babies.*

*You can help by attending one or more of the Lectures or Demonstrations which will be organised in the district; by listening to a Baby Sunday Sermon; by visiting a Mothercraft Exhibition if available, and generally by taking part in the local arrangements for Baby Week.*

Figure 8: Nation's Hope for Future

<sup>67</sup> 'Public Notices', *Press*, 2 July 1917, p. 1; 'Save the Babies Week poster', Dunedin, University of Otago, Hocken Library, AG7/119.

King's public statements during 'Save the Babies Week' include his view of babies as social capital for both the British Empire and the nation:

There is no one who will want to dispute the statement that a nation's wealth is its people. The babies that are born every year are our most valuable national asset, and to save those babies, and speed them on the way to manhood or womanhood with sound constitutions and good physique is the most patriotic work anyone can undertake. This is the work done by the Plunket Society...<sup>68</sup>

King believed it was the duty of European women to '[bear] babies for the white British Empire', which would ensure the demographic and racial strength of the Empire.<sup>69</sup> King envisioned New Zealand and British Empire as biologically efficient and in turn, prosperous. He firmly believed that a woman's duty was to bear children, particularly 'strong boys' who would pursue 'martial and intellectual' success, and 'fertile girls' who would, in turn, produce more 'Plunket babies'.<sup>70</sup> Consequently, race was a central tenet of King's Plunket narrative, too. He linked 'the health of babies to the destinies of nation and Empire' and accordingly, he viewed Pākehā children as worthy of special care.<sup>71</sup>

While Māori women were entitled to use Plunket clinics, very few did.<sup>72</sup> Plunket was largely an urban organization. Its reach did not extend to rural areas, where most Māori lived in the early twentieth century.<sup>73</sup> Medical initiatives around birth were also unlikely to reach Māori women who were reticent to examinations before childbirth, particularly by male

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<sup>68</sup> 'Save the Babies! Our Best National Asset', *Sun*, 30 May 1917, p. 4.

<sup>69</sup> Philippa Mein Smith, *Maternity in Dispute: New Zealand 1920-1939* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1986), p. 2.

<sup>70</sup> Trewby, p 24.

<sup>71</sup> Trewby, p. 24. For a detailed analysis of the relationship between Māori and Plunket see: Linda Bryder, 'New Zealand's Infant Welfare Services and Maori, 1907-60', *Health and History*, 3.1 (2001), 65-86.

<sup>72</sup> Linda Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers: The Plunket Society and Infant Welfare, 1907-2000* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), p. xv.

<sup>73</sup> 'Twenty-six percent of Māori lived in towns and cities at the end of the Second World War': Dan Morrow, 'Tradition and Modernity in Discourses of Māori Urbanisation', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 18 (2014), 85-105 (p. 85).

doctors. Most Māori women gave birth at home.<sup>74</sup> The Plunket Society and the New Zealand Health Department came to an unofficial agreement that departmental, as opposed to Plunket, nurses would engage with Māori infant health.

In 1923, Māui Pōmare, the then Minister for Health, lauded Plunket's work in reducing infant mortality.<sup>75</sup> Pōmare, one of the first Māori to receive a medical degree and a close friend and political colleague of Āpirana Ngata, produced his own baby-raising manuals for Māori mothers from 1909. The first booklet *Nga kohungahunga me nga kai ma ratou* was published in te reo and actually predates King's first edition of *Feeding and Care of Baby* by a year.<sup>76</sup> *Nga kohungahunga me nga kai ma ratou* was updated in 1916, including the concurrent publication of an English language version *Infants and Their Foods*, and further extended and republished as *Maori Maternal and Infant Welfare* (1934) and *The Maori Mother and Her Child* (1939).<sup>77</sup> Pōmare's guidebooks presented arguments similar to that of King and Plunket, especially concerning the responsibilities of mothers to raise babies "properly" to ensure a positive future. In fact, some of the wording in the preface of the 1916 edition of *Infants and Their Foods* is identical to King's *Baby's First Month* (1913).<sup>78</sup> Pōmare, however, appeals specifically to Māori mothers, referring to their role in the 'preservation and betterment of the Maori race', intersecting with late nineteenth and early twentieth century discourse about Māori population decline and echoing narratives of amelioration presented by leaders like Āpirana Ngata, as explored in Chapter Two.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), p. 192.

<sup>75</sup> Bryder, 'New Zealand's Infant Welfare Services and Maori', p. 67.

<sup>76</sup> Bryder, 'New Zealand's Infant Welfare Services and Maori', p. 76; Māui Pōmare, *Nga kohungahunga me nga kai ma ratou* (Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta, ki te Perehi ki Te Rau, 1909).

<sup>77</sup> Bryder, 'New Zealand's Infant Welfare Services and Maori', p. 76.

<sup>78</sup> Compare: Māui Pōmare, *Nga kohungahunga me nga kai ma ratou / Infants and Their Foods* (Wellington: Department of Health, 1916), p. 3; and Truby King, *Baby's First Month* (Wellington: John Mackay Government Printer, 1913), p. 3. Identical phrasing between these two booklets includes 'the child is practically made or marred in the first twelve months of life, and steady uninterrupted progress in the first month largely determines what follows' and 'Babies don't make themselves delicate and sickly – they become so through faulty treatment'.

<sup>79</sup> Pōmare, *Infants and Their Foods*, p. 3.

## Changing conceptions of childhood and the infant welfare movement

Truby King's ideas developed from a wider tradition of theorizing about children. There were "waves" of concern and fear about infant welfare across the Western world through the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Responses to these concerns were varied. Interest in improving the care of infants was first expressed and later "solved" at local, national, and international (or imperial) levels, in a variety of ways such as through the establishment of grassroots organisations, and the enactment of legislation. Anxieties regarding babies, children, and their health were further galvanised around World War One. Philippa Mein Smith has demonstrated the transnational element of the infant welfare movement, focusing on King's 'Plunket baby' ideas as they circulated across webs of empire to Australia and were adapted to different colonial realities.<sup>80</sup>

Welfare historians agree that the South African War of 1899-1902, also known as the Second Boer War, was the "turning point" for infant welfare concerns, at least within the British Empire. British authorities observed that 'up to a third of recruits were unfit for military training owing to physical defects'.<sup>81</sup> Anna Davin provides statistics that show, in 1899, out of every 1000 eager recruits, an average of 330 were rejected on health grounds: 'too small... too slight, or with heart troubles, weak lungs, rheumatic tendencies, flat feet, or bad teeth.'<sup>82</sup> Further investigations by authorities indicated that the health of the Empire's people had been deteriorating for up to 50 years.<sup>83</sup> It was concluded by prominent British leaders, such as Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, who argued that

the young man of 16 to 18 years of age is what he is because of the training through which he has passed during his infancy and childhood... therefore it is to the condition,

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<sup>80</sup> For example: Philippa Mein Smith, 'Truby King in Australia: A Revisionist View of Reduced Infant Mortality', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 22.1 (1988), 23-43; Philippa Mein Smith, 'Truby King's Women: Four Australian Case Studies', *Social History of Medicine*, 32.2 (2017), 357-376.

<sup>81</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. 1; W. H. Oliver, 'Social Welfare: Social Justice or Social Efficiency? Social Policy in the Liberal Period', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 13.1 (1979), 25-33 (p. 26).

<sup>82</sup> Davin, p. 93.

<sup>83</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. 1.

mental, moral, and physical, of the women and children that we must look if we have regard to the future of our land...<sup>84</sup>

The outcome of the Second Boer War was profoundly embarrassing for the British. While ultimate victory was declared in their favour, it was humiliating that a previously capable imperial force could barely overcome an enemy that was considered to be little more than ‘a rag-tag bunch of farmers’.<sup>85</sup> The health and fitness – or lack thereof – of the recruits was partially blamed for the narrow defeat and high casualties on the British side. Accordingly, improving the well-being of the Empire became the new battleground: ‘[o]ne obvious way to turn the tide was to look to the health, education and moral welfare of the rising generation’.<sup>86</sup>

The resulting campaigns by various authorities to ameliorate the well-being of infants (and mothers) has become known broadly as the “infant welfare movement”. It was clearly founded on imperialism and ideas about European racial superiority. Social Darwinism and eugenics also underpinned attempts by authorities to restore birth rates to previous higher levels. The rhetoric of infant welfare that emerged was one focused on ‘creating a race of healthy, young, virile – and most importantly, white – settlers’.<sup>87</sup> In the British Empire and the colonies, promoting births by white women was of the utmost importance.<sup>88</sup> This sentiment was further fuelled by the First World War and the enormous numbers of casualties suffered by the Allied forces.<sup>89</sup> However, repopulation was not to be approached haphazardly. To ensure the best possible future for the Empire, mothers should be educated in proper child-rearing practises in order to birth and raise the healthiest babies possible. This had far-reaching

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<sup>84</sup> Frederick Maurice, ‘National Health: A Soldier’s Study’, *Contemporary Review*, January 1903, quoted in Davin, p. 94.

<sup>85</sup> Heywood, p. 43.

<sup>86</sup> Heywood, p. 43.

<sup>87</sup> Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson, ‘Introduction: The World in Miniature’, in *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World*, ed. by Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 1-23 (p. 8).

<sup>88</sup> Mein Smith, *Mother and King Baby*, p. 1.

<sup>89</sup> Sleight and Robinson, p. 8.

implications for children across the Empire.<sup>90</sup> Children and babies were ‘central to the imperial project’ and became surrogates for its present anxieties and future hopes.<sup>91</sup> The imagined connection between children and the future was a fundamental theme of the infant welfare movement.<sup>92</sup>

However, interest in infant health and welfare had existed throughout the nineteenth century, before the Boer War. These nascent concerns were grounded in conceptions of “the child” and childhood that developed during the European Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. The central refrain of the Enlightenment was that of progress and advancement, including the potential reform of “Old World” establishments.<sup>93</sup> This lent itself to a view of European children as the embodiment of that progress.<sup>94</sup> The education of children became particularly meaningful. Enlightenment thinkers declared that children were important in their own right, and were not solely imperfect adults.<sup>95</sup> However, childhood was viewed as ‘fundamental to the creation of the adult self’ and therefore an appropriate education (especially education for boys) would ensure intellectual progress for the individual and in turn, wider society would profit as the child became an adult citizen.<sup>96</sup> Embedded within this was the desire for childhood to be protected as a time and space for learning and growing, physically and symbolically.

Viviana Zelizer’s landmark book *Pricing the Priceless Child* explores the shift from children being considered economically valuable to emotionally “priceless” in late nineteenth

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<sup>90</sup> Sleight and Robinson, p. 8.

<sup>91</sup> Sleight and Robinson, p. 2.

<sup>92</sup> Karen Vallgård, Kristine Alexander and Stephanie Olsen, ‘Emotions and the Global Politics of Childhood’, in *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives*, ed. by Stephanie Olsen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 12-34 (p. 17).

<sup>93</sup> May, ‘Nineteenth Century Early Childhood Institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand’, p. 22.

<sup>94</sup> May, ‘Nineteenth Century Early Childhood Institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand’, p. 22.

<sup>95</sup> Heywood, p. 37.

<sup>96</sup> Heywood, p. 38.

and early twentieth century America.<sup>97</sup> Despite its American case study, Zelizer's work is often applied to a European context.<sup>98</sup> Zelizer argues that the 'sentimentalization of childhood' was also linked to the increased importance placed on motherhood in the late nineteenth century: if children were to be specially protected, someone would need to protect them.<sup>99</sup> Social conceptions of motherhood became crucial rhetoric for authorities, and many countries in the Western world undertook maternal health campaigns. Maternity became almost commercialised, with 'experts' jostling to inspire, inform, and educate mothers through a variety of means. Much of the emerging 'public relations' of motherhood was motivated by declining birth-rates across the Western world in the late nineteenth century. Over time, smaller families would result in less population overall, and imperial powers especially, such as Britain, relied on having large populations in order to seize and maintain control of colonies.

Anna Davin argues that, while authorities recognised that motherhood needed to 'seem desirable', the ideology of motherhood that was constructed was based on 'nineteenth-century assumptions about women, domesticity, and individualism'.<sup>100</sup> Ubiquitous refrains proclaiming that motherhood was a woman's duty and destiny also suggested parenthood was the ultimate reward – *if* the child was raised correctly.<sup>101</sup> This is where expectations of motherhood collide with infant and child welfare concerns:

Middle-class convention of the time took for granted that the proper context of childhood was the family, and the person most responsible the mother. So if the survival of infants and the health of children was in question, it must be the fault of the mothers;

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<sup>97</sup> Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

<sup>98</sup> Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson, 'Introduction: The World in Miniature', in *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World*, ed. by Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 1-23 (p. 11); Colin Heywood, *Childhood in Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 95.

<sup>99</sup> Zelizer, p. 9.

<sup>100</sup> Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 87-151 (p. 91).

<sup>101</sup> Davin, p. 91.

and if the nation needed healthy future citizens (and soldiers and workers), then mothers must improve.<sup>102</sup>

Davin expands on the significance of individualism in this context. Although women were eulogized as ‘mothers of the race’, collective success relied upon their individual accomplishments. Consequently, it was ‘her individual ignorance and neglect which must account for infant deaths or sick children’.<sup>103</sup>

The solution was to educate and inform women on how to be good mothers. Their ‘new lofty status’ as mothers of the race and empire came with responsibilities – child-rearing became a national duty as well as a moral one.<sup>104</sup> The state and other authorities saw it necessary to influence the way its next generation of citizens were being raised in order to guarantee a successful outcome (healthy adults):

... if [raising children] was done badly, the state could intervene; if parental intentions were good but there were difficulties, the state should give help; and if it was done well, parents should be rewarded at least by approval for their patriotic contribution.<sup>105</sup>

Mothers were increasingly targeted by doctors and other health professionals ‘eager to pontificate on child-rearing’.<sup>106</sup> Child rearing manuals reinforced the idea of medical professional as the expert and project anxiety about infant welfare on to their readers.<sup>107</sup> Adjacent to this was the dismissal of the hive mind of female knowledge by educated ‘experts’.<sup>108</sup> Pregnancy and childbirth had previously been dominantly female spaces, with family members supporting each other and providing advice and care based upon their own

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<sup>102</sup> Davin, p. 90.

<sup>103</sup> Davin, p. 91.

<sup>104</sup> Davin, p. 91.

<sup>105</sup> Davin, p. 91.

<sup>106</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, p. 96.

<sup>107</sup> Rossman Regaignon, p. 141.

<sup>108</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, p. 96.

experiences. Doctors – who at this time, were mostly, if not all, male – offered prescriptive guidance which ‘left little to maternal intuition’.<sup>109</sup> Colin Heywood points out that this barrage against existing systems of child-rearing knowledge undermined the confidence of mothers. It was ‘too easy’ to feel incompetent.<sup>110</sup> Davin recognises that ‘moral blackmail’ was crucial to the reach of authorities and experts proselytizing on motherhood.<sup>111</sup> The exploitation of difficulties and insecurities felt by mothers, compounded with the vast responsibility for not only their child’s future but the future of the race, resulted in generations of women who were urged to accept expert advice and to reject that from their own mothers and sisters.<sup>112</sup>

The increased desire to provide all children with a protected, prolonged period of childhood during the nineteenth century was in part propelled by growing anxieties about the future.<sup>113</sup> With the Western world firmly focused on progress, some – like the child rescuers – were troubled by ‘the forces unleashed by the new industrial civilisation’.<sup>114</sup> Accelerated change was creating a fatigued society, not a revitalised one.<sup>115</sup> Advancement also meant more competition between individuals and collectives, as each attempted to secure their share of the world’s finite resources. For the British, this manifested in insecurities about their industrial and military prowess compared to their own colonies as well as other imperial powers.<sup>116</sup> Colin Heywood argues that the ‘critical period’ for these concerns was the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when politicians, civil servants, philanthropists, social reformers, and others scrambled to respond to social and economic issues such as reduced birth rates, international economic competition, and the emergence of trade unionism.<sup>117</sup> The British fear of racial

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<sup>109</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, pp. 96, 97.

<sup>110</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, p. 97.

<sup>111</sup> Davin, p. 91.

<sup>112</sup> Davin, p. 91.

<sup>113</sup> Heywood, p. 43.

<sup>114</sup> Heywood, p. 43.

<sup>115</sup> Heywood, p. 43.

<sup>116</sup> Heywood, p. 43.

<sup>117</sup> Heywood, p. 199.

inferiority was also heightened as the century turned. With the Empire almost at its peak, a strong population was required to maintain control over the colonies.

New Zealand's interest in infant welfare and care was initially influenced by British anxieties, but a complex network of institutions and key figures quickly emerged between New Zealand, Australia, Canada, America, and Britain. King was at the forefront of this network, exporting Plunket's philosophy across the empire and personally responsible for popularizing the genre of baby-raising manuals.<sup>118</sup> Roy Porter identifies Truby King as a juggernaut of parenthood guides, partly responsible for the genre's popularization in the early twentieth century.<sup>119</sup> For example, in 1916, King's pamphlet *Baby's First Month* was extended for a British context and published in London as *The Expectant Mother and Baby's First Months*.<sup>120</sup> *Feeding and Care of Baby* directly inspired two other manuals of infant welfare overseas: Mabel Liddiard published *The Mothercraft Manual* for a London audience in 1923, and Mary King (King's adopted daughter) wrote *Mothercraft* for Australian mothers in the 1930s.<sup>121</sup>

The New Zealand Government was concerned with the care and welfare of babies and children, as evidenced by the policies and publications of the Department of Health, as well as their support of Plunket in the early twentieth century. Legislation had been used previously, in the late nineteenth century, as a tool to improve child welfare. Since connections had been made across the Western world between mistreated children and their "lost potential" as adults, much of this legislation sought to protect them in their vulnerable years in order to facilitate a journey to happy, healthy citizenship.<sup>122</sup> The state began to intervene more readily in cases of

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<sup>118</sup> Roy Porter, 'Introduction', in *The Popularization of Medicine 1650-1850*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 1-16 (p. 2).

<sup>119</sup> Porter, p. 2.

<sup>120</sup> King, *Truby King: The Man*, p. 210.

<sup>121</sup> King, *Truby King: The Man*, p. 151.

<sup>122</sup> May, 'Nineteenth Century Early Childhood Institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand', p. 34.

abuse or neglect, provide regulated assistance for poor or otherwise disadvantaged children and families, and impose a universal standard of childhood that included compulsory schooling.

The government enacted legislation relating to the education of (European) children from 1877 when the Education Act made primary education compulsory. While this Act was necessary to centralise education following the dissolution of the provinces in 1876, increased interest from authorities also indicated awareness of children's potential, particularly Pākehā children. A standardized curriculum was contained in the legislation, with educational reformists hoped would reduce educational inequalities and facilitate social mobility later in life.<sup>123</sup> Māori children could attend these free public schools if their parents wished to send them, but primary education for Māori did not become mandatory until 1894.

Due to the social upheaval of the Otago goldrushes in the 1860s, New Zealand authorities had recognised the issue of single or deserted mothers, and neglected children living in destitute conditions.<sup>124</sup> By the 1880s, a network of public charitable institutions and privately run homes took in unwanted or abandoned children, or those unable to be cared for adequately by the parental figure or figures available.<sup>125</sup> However, the fear of “baby farming” gripped Victorian Britain in the late nineteenth century: baby farming was a system of commercialised childcare that became synonymous with neglect and infanticide.<sup>126</sup> Women took in these vulnerable babies and children with the express intent of exploiting their lives for money. This anxiety was galvanized in New Zealand by the trial and subsequent execution of accused baby-farmer Minnie Dean, and the subsequent moral panic resulted in further regulation of homes

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<sup>123</sup> Erik Olssen, ‘Towards a New Society’ in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. Geoffrey Rice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 254-284 (p. 276).

<sup>124</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, ‘Criminal Conversations: Infanticide, Gender and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand’, in *The Gendered Kiwi*, ed. by Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), pp. 63-85 (pp. 75-76).

<sup>125</sup> Dalley, pp. 75-76.

<sup>126</sup> See: Joshua G. Stuart-Bennet, *Motherhood, Respectability and Baby-Farming in Victorian and Edwardian London* (London: Routledge, 2023).

for in-need children. For example, the Infant Life Protection Act 1893 required all homes receiving payment to care for children under two years old to be licensed and subject to regular police inspection.<sup>127</sup>

The Children's Protection Act 1890 was 'an act for the prevention of cruelty to and better protection of children'. It gave police the ability to intervene in cases of ill-treatment, neglect, or abandonment. Punishments ranged from fines to imprisonment to hard labour.<sup>128</sup> This was 'the first time the primacy of parents over children was questioned' in New Zealand.<sup>129</sup> Between 1893 and 1907, three Infant Life Protection Acts attempted to establish legal procedures for adoption and fostering, but the reality was that 'few suitable welfare facilities were available for children at risk'.<sup>130</sup>

The New Zealand government had established the Department of Public Health in 1900, as a direct response to an emerging concern with "national efficiency" and the relationship between health and prosperity.<sup>131</sup> Public health became a 'critical issue' following the influenza epidemic of the late 1910s.<sup>132</sup> Issues with the well-being of the nation became even more apparent during the First World War when six out of every ten men conscripted for service were declined, most of them because of dental problems, and the outbreak of influenza made it clear that a solution was desperately required.<sup>133</sup>

Children were major benefactors of the renewed interest in good health at the end of the 1910s. They became 'the key to preventative medicine', changing the prior trend of treating illnesses in adulthood, and 'a point of access' to family life that allowed for some regulation

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<sup>127</sup> Infant Life Protection Act 1893, s. 5, 8.

<sup>128</sup> Children's Protection Act 1890, s. 3.

<sup>129</sup> Trewby, p. 12.

<sup>130</sup> Trewby, p. 12.

<sup>131</sup> Bryder, 'Plunket's Secret Army', p. 109.

<sup>132</sup> Trewby, p. 15.

<sup>133</sup> Trewby, p. 36.

and legislation of parental rights and responsibilities.<sup>134</sup> As babies and children were the future of New Zealand society, it became increasingly important that they were cared for. In order to grow into physically capable adults, they needed adequate healthcare:

The ever declining birth rate, the massive manpower demands of World War I and fears of racial degeneration and Asian expansion all contributed to policies designed to improve the health and well-being of New Zealanders, especially children.<sup>135</sup>

The Department of Health was quickly restructured into seven divisions with three concerned with children's health.<sup>136</sup> The state-funded School Medical Service had been established in 1912, and this was followed in 1921 by a School Dental Service.<sup>137</sup> Health camps were also launched in 1919. A school medical officer in Wanganui, Dr. Elizabeth Gunn, organised the camps for children who were likely to contract poverty-related diseases. The camps provided 'fresh air, plenty of exercise and wholesome food' and soon, they became a nationwide scheme.<sup>138</sup> The association between schools and these programmes allowed most New Zealand children to benefit from them, and provided centralised control over their administration and finances.

Regular New Zealanders, too, identified infant health as a concern during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Unlike King, author Henry Crocker Marriott Watson did not seek to solve infant welfare concerns in his 1879 speculative novel *Erchomenon, or The Republic of Materialism*, but his novel does provide evidence of early

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<sup>134</sup> Margaret Tennant, 'Missionaries of Health: The School Medical Service During the Inter-war Period', in *A Healthy Country: Essays on the Social History of Medicine in New Zealand*, ed. by Linda Bryder (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), pp. 128-148 (p. 129).

<sup>135</sup> Michael Belgrave, 'Needs and the State: Evolving Social Policy in New Zealand History', in *Past Judgment: Social Policy in New Zealand History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Margaret Tennant (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2004), pp. 23-38 (p. 28).

<sup>136</sup> Trewby, p. 36.

<sup>137</sup> Trewby, p. 36.

<sup>138</sup> Trewby, p. 40.

antipodean concerns about the vulnerability of children.<sup>139</sup> *Erchomenon* is based on the experiences of a man who is transported 600 years in the future. He investigates his new surroundings, providing social and political commentary on both his past and his new present. The main body of *Erchomenon* is set in futuristic London and is brimming with social and political commentary, including the means of raising children utilized by Marriott Watson's future society. Marriage is considered to be a form of slavery and has been abolished.<sup>140</sup> Children are raised by means of a communal process and do not know their parents (nor do parents know their children): 'all are brought up in common'.<sup>141</sup> Eugenics is evident in the killing of disabled, sick, or injured infants and children at any time during this communal childhood.<sup>142</sup> It is explained 'that [a society's] children were its life, its reserved capital' and so the system of state intervention seeks to give every (able-bodied, healthy) child the same chance to realize and achieve their full potential.<sup>143</sup>

*Erchomenon* provides a textual vision of the future that recognised and reflected some of the social and political problems of the nineteenth century as perceived by middle- and upper-class Pākehā. In terms of infant health and welfare, Marriot Watson focused on the lost potential of babies and children born into poor families or raised by parents of objectionable morals. While the book does explain how future society resolved these issues through institutionalisation and makes it clear that those living in the future believe they have created a utopia, the novel's protagonist expressed concerns that the solutions this society has developed are flawed and in fact, have created a dystopia. In particular, he raised questions about the lack of 'mothering' the children received during their collective childhood. They were 'generally speaking, well cared for: they were well-clothed and fed' but perhaps did not receive adequate

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<sup>139</sup> Henry Crocker Marriott Watson, *Erchomenon, or The Republic of Materialism* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1879).

<sup>140</sup> Marriott Watson, p. 82.

<sup>141</sup> Marriott Watson, pp. 83-84.

<sup>142</sup> Marriott Watson, p. 85.

<sup>143</sup> Marriott Watson, p. 91.

individualised affection.<sup>144</sup> The protagonist also noted the absence of emotion when authority figures euthanised weak or sick children: no emotional comfort was provided to the fatality.<sup>145</sup>

A group of middle-class women concerned with infant welfare and motherhood met in Christchurch in 1893, intending to form a branch of the New Zealand Mothers' Union.<sup>146</sup> These women called for 'a greater care in training the young. The future of the colony depended not upon its material wealth but upon the character which they gave their children'.<sup>147</sup> Mothers' Union was a religious based organisation founded in England in 1876. It was supported by mostly middle-class women who believed in 'women's vocation for motherhood, whether biological or social' and emphasised ways in which mothers could strengthen 'home and nation'.<sup>148</sup> The Union believed that a mother's influence was the most important factor in the raising of children, and that her ignorance of correct techniques was extremely harmful.<sup>149</sup> Many New Zealand women involved with the Union recognised their own faults and flaws as mothers and utilized the organisation as a means of requesting help and guidance from authority figures.

In 1901, Wilhelmina Sherriff Bain presented a speech titled 'Human Betterment' at Invercargill Middle School. Publicity for the public event promoted the topic as one that 'must be of interest to all who have at heart the well-being and progress of the race'.<sup>150</sup> A prominent peace activist and anti-war campaigner, Bain also worked closely with the National Council of Women from the 1890s. The *Southland Times* reported that her 'Human Betterment' lecture was well attended, particularly by women.<sup>151</sup> The core of her speech was that '[b]y training

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<sup>144</sup> Marriott Watson, pp. 87-88.

<sup>145</sup> Marriott Watson, p. 90.

<sup>146</sup> 'Mothers' Union: Meeting in the Oddfellows' Hall', *Press*, 20 January 1893, p. 5.

<sup>147</sup> 'Mothers' Union: Meeting in the Oddfellows' Hall', *Press*, 20 January 1893, p. 5.

<sup>148</sup> Cordelia Moyse, *A History of the Mothers' Union: Women, Anglicanism and Globalisation, 1876-2008* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009), p. 18.

<sup>149</sup> 'Mothers' Union: Meeting in the Oddfellows' Hall', *Press*, 20 January 1893, p. 5.

<sup>150</sup> *Southland Times*, 14 February 1901, p. 2.

<sup>151</sup> *Southland Times*, 16 February 1901, p. 2.

women to be mothers, with a full understanding of the responsibilities of that word... the nature of men could be changed in one generation, and the whole world transformed in a century'.<sup>152</sup> Similarly to Mothers' Union members, Bain recognised the influence parents – especially mothers – had on their children. She envisioned a society where women would take their role as mothers seriously, and would pass desired virtues to their children by providing a positive role model.<sup>153</sup>

Mothers' Union constituents and Wilhelmina Sherriff Bain identified a link between children and the future success of the colony and implied concern with the potential consequences of continuing the *status quo*, like Truby King. They also recognised deficiencies in childrearing that reflected King's later assertion that mothers needed to be taught how to be an effective parent. These women admitted that 'their faults were reproduced in their own children' but seemed to be looking for direction from an authority figure, rather than seeking to solve the problem on their own.<sup>154</sup> This might explain why King and Plunket were so popular: not only were babies and children increasingly viewed by authorities as vulnerable, but some mothers *wanted* help and eagerly looked to leaders to provide direction and instruction. This may also explain why historians have placed such a strong emphasis on official responses to infant health and welfare concerns: governments and other authorities could enact meaningful change in a way everyday people and grassroots groups could not.

#### Advice, information, and evidence

Despite its combination of textual information, illustrations and photographs, *Baby's First Month* was not considered to be exhaustive, and in its opening pages parents were strongly

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<sup>152</sup> *Southland Times*, 16 February 1901, p. 2.

<sup>153</sup> *Southland Times*, 16 February 1901, p. 2.

<sup>154</sup> 'Mothers' Union: Meeting in the Oddfellows' Hall', *Press*, 20 January 1893, p. 5.

advised to additionally obtain *Feeding and Care of Baby*, also authored by King.<sup>155</sup> *Feeding and Care of Baby* had been originally published in 1910. A new, extended edition of the booklet, intended to complement *Baby's First Month*, was produced in 1913 and this edition is analysed within this chapter.<sup>156</sup> Like its sister booklet, *Feeding and Care of Baby* exists as a guidebook for parents, but expands beyond the first month following childbirth.<sup>157</sup> It contains instructive content relating to the necessities required by mother and child, before and after childbirth, as well as during the first few years of baby's life.<sup>158</sup> The 160-page booklet provides graphs, diagrams, photographs, and textual information on a range of topics relevant to mother and baby, often supported by scientific evidence, and consistently underpinned by King's future-focused rhetoric.

King sought to construct practical processes that would achieve real results and used the future to express urgency for change. To this end, King engaged with layers of utopia and dystopia. *Baby's First Month* and *Feeding and Care of Baby* existed as realistic frameworks to achieve utopia, while *Save the Babies* was more aggressive, perhaps even propagandist, and suggested the dystopia that would eventuate if Plunket's advice was not heeded. King attempts to achieve this by providing educative and instructional manuals for potential or new parents, which contained a bevy of scientific and medical advice appropriate for their publication time, packaged within layers of emotive language and symbolism. Later, King's pamphlet *Save the Babies* reiterates these emotional motivations for complying with his recommendations, alongside forceful messages about the future of the British Empire and the collective obligations of New Zealand (and individual obligations of New Zealanders) to make that future a reality – or face catastrophic consequences.

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<sup>155</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 2; Truby King, *Feeding and Care of Baby* (London: Macmillan, 1913).

<sup>156</sup> Sullivan, p. 23.

<sup>157</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 2.

<sup>158</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 2.

*Baby's First Month* and *Feeding and Care of Baby* seek to educate parents on 'various simple, practical matters that make for health in the home', particularly related to the well-being of mother and baby.<sup>159</sup> They contain a wealth of information about sanitation, diet, exercise, routine, and provide advice for managing medical issues commonly experienced by mother or baby in the vital first few weeks, months, and years of a child's life. Parents were expected to 'make themselves quite conversant' with the content of these two pamphlets.<sup>160</sup> Engagement with knowledge was the first step towards King's transformed future.

The information within the booklets is presented in a range of ways. Statistics and other quantitative data are displayed in tables and graphs, such as a weight chart that shows the expected weight gain over time for a baby boy.<sup>161</sup> Diagrams and illustrations are employed alongside written instructions to provide clarity, such as the effects of corset wearing and how to make baby's bed correctly.<sup>162</sup> Step-by-step directions (without accompanying images) detail techniques like manual breast pumping, normally undertaken by a Plunket nurse.<sup>163</sup> The inclusion of such detail is perhaps to put a new mother's mind at ease, or to empower her to correctly and safely manually pump on her own or with a friend if no nurse is available.

Some photographs are included, also. Photographs of useful items such as breast pumps and methods of weighing visually introduce new parents to objects or processes they may be unfamiliar with.<sup>164</sup> While most of the pictured babies beam cheerfully from the pages, some images of emaciated infants are featured, usually in the context of 'before' King's advice regarding feeding was heeded.<sup>165</sup> These babies are examples of what should *not* happen and

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<sup>159</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 2.

<sup>160</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 2.

<sup>161</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 29.

<sup>162</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 4; King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 12.

<sup>163</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 10.

<sup>164</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 13; King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 56.

<sup>165</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, pp. 12, 41.

reinforce the point King makes consistently throughout the booklets: that parents are responsible for the present and future well-being of their child.

Anecdotal evidence, collated from international medical authorities, is reproduced throughout all three booklets and is used to support King's advice. The experts (and their qualifications) sometimes remain anonymous such as the 'leading authority' in *Baby's First Month* who claims that '[n]ursing women eat too much'.<sup>166</sup> A suite of named medical professionals disparage corset-wearing in *Feeding and Care of Baby*, including Sir Frederick Treves, a British surgeon well-known for performing appendicectomies, and Professor Howard Kelly, an American obstetrician and gynaecologist, who is credited with establishing gynaecology as a speciality and was one of the founders of the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Maryland.<sup>167</sup> The reader's gaze is oriented towards the future in *Save the Babies* by way of quotes from Sir Edward Bagnall Poulton. Poulton was a British evolutionary biologist who firmly believed in natural selection. The excerpt from his lecture given to the Eugenics Education Society in 1916 argues that 'racial damage' would be at its worst following a war, and suggests 'we ought to feel that the vigilant guardianship of future generations is amongst the heaviest of our responsibilities'.<sup>168</sup>

King interprets this as a desperate call to reduce infant mortality rates across the Western world, particularly the British Empire. He employs further comments by medical professionals to support the assertion that decreasing infant mortality is not only possible but also relatively simple.<sup>169</sup> The core of King's argument is that babies 'are born healthy for the most part' and that infant deaths are largely caused by improper feeding, ignorance of the

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<sup>166</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 6.

<sup>167</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 3.

<sup>168</sup> King, *Save the Babies*, p. 4.

<sup>169</sup> King, *Save the Babies*, p. 5.

parents, and substandard hygiene – all which can be corrected with widespread education.<sup>170</sup> The future is hopeful; the wrongs of the present can be rectified or at least mitigated.

An intention to educate parents, especially mothers, underpins King's booklets and the very establishment of Plunket. Central to the infant welfare movement was the claim that mothers were 'ignorant of the correct methods of child-rearing and needed to be educated' in order to prevent unnecessary infant deaths.<sup>171</sup> In the opening pages of *Feeding and Care of Baby*, King points out that no woman is a 'perfect' mother – that mothering is not a natural, instinctual skill vested on any human with a womb – but in fact that a women 'has to learn how' to be a good mother.<sup>172</sup> He also reminds readers that infants 'don't make themselves delicate and sickly' but that they become so 'through faulty treatment'.<sup>173</sup> When King refers to motherhood in the three booklets, he means 'catering to the physical needs of baby' rather than the more modern interpretation that invokes concepts of play, learning, and the formation of emotional bonds. King's desire to educate women and the way he does so is a form of 'scientific motherhood', a phenomenon that emerged in the late nineteenth century where increasing numbers of experts – often doctors – presented mothers with tables, statistics, graphs and other quantitative information that 'proved' the benefit of specific child-rearing practices.

Some of the guidance contained within the Plunket pamphlets is very specific, almost to the point of condescension. King's expectations of babies and mothers were certainly not always realistic. For example, in *Baby's First Month*, the after-bath requirements of an infant are explained: 'When a young baby is taken out of the bath, he should not remain exposed, but should be placed at once between two warmed towels and dried rapidly by gentle dabbing movements'.<sup>174</sup> King also insists that baby's bowel movements must be regular: 'Don't let 10

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<sup>170</sup> King, *Save the Babies*, p. 5.

<sup>171</sup> Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers*, p. ix.

<sup>172</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 2.

<sup>173</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 3.

<sup>174</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 19.

o'clock in the morning pass without making baby's bowels move.'<sup>175</sup> In *Feeding and Care of Baby*, he firmly restates this, demanding the mother to 'MAKE [baby's bowels] move' [emphasis in original].<sup>176</sup> Plunket's famous "clock face" diagram displaying times for food, bathing, and sleep for babies of various ages indicates a one-month old and a five-month old should both sleep through the night – allowing mother and child to enjoy eight hours uninterrupted slumber from 10pm until 6am (figure 9).<sup>177</sup>

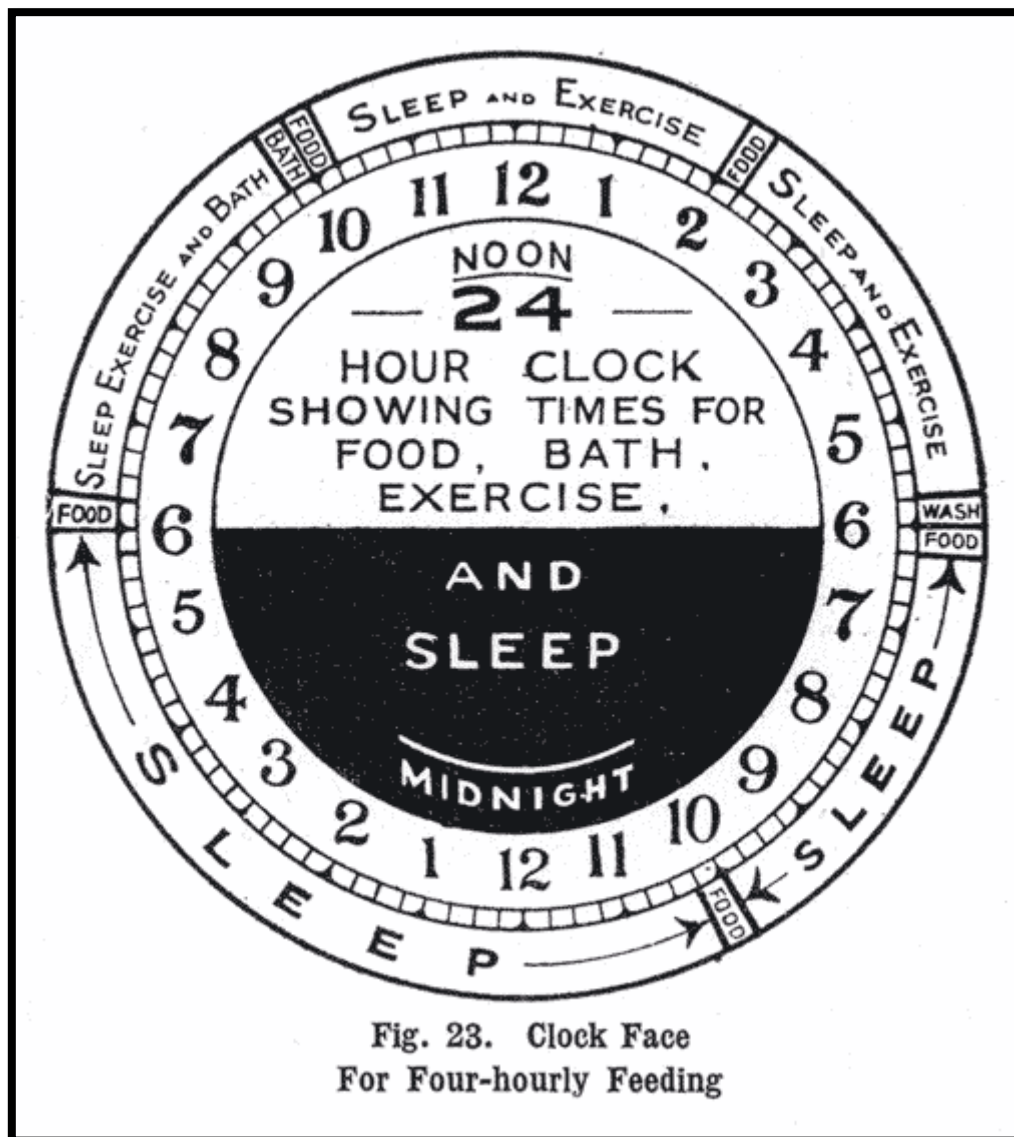


Figure 9: Clock Face for Four-hourly Feeding

<sup>175</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 19.

<sup>176</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 110.

<sup>177</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 35.

King's ideal baby was, in some ways, a sophisticated machine that could be programmed by its mother to eat, sleep, and defecate by the clock, defying natural bodily processes. He also viewed babies as a collective, ignoring any differences in their physiology or personality which may impact their needs or behaviour.

While King's booklets provide basic medical advice for common ailments such as constipation (baby) and breast issues (mother), he also recommends consulting a doctor in extreme circumstances. King did not portray Plunket nurses as an exclusive source of medical advice. This contrasts with criticisms levelled at King and Plunket in the 1920s by Dr. Geoffrey Bruton Sweet, who has been described posthumously as a pioneer of paediatrics in New Zealand.<sup>178</sup> Bruton Sweet disapproved of Plunket's organisational hierarchy which saw Plunket nurses on the "frontlines" providing advice, information, and instruction directly to mothers: he believed infant feeding, especially artificial feeding, required supervision by a trained doctor. While King did not intend for Plunket nurses to replace medical professionals, in reality, they may have viewed their first-hand experience of infants as more trustworthy than the scholarly learnings of doctors. Dr. Vera Scantlebury Brown (who would later become Director of Infant Welfare in Victoria, Australia) visited New Zealand in 1922 and indeed noted that 'there was a tendency for [Plunket nurses] to overestimate their responsibilities, and to underrate the knowledge of the medical profession'.<sup>179</sup> The amount of discretion on infant medical matters permitted to both mothers and nurses by Plunket perhaps revitalised the agency

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<sup>178</sup> William J. Sugrue and Patricia M. Clarkson, 'A pioneer pediatrician in New Zealand Geoffrey Bruton SWEET (1.9.1870-17.5.1939) MB ChM (Sydney 1893)', *The New Zealand Medical Journal (Online)*, 129.1445 (2016), 110-114.

<sup>179</sup> Henrietta Main and Vera Scantlebury, *Report to the Minister of Public Health on the Welfare of Women and Children* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1926), p. 30, quoted in Bryder, 'Two Models of Infant Welfare in the First Half of the Twentieth Century', p. 553.

that had been stripped from women following the medicalisation of pregnancy and childbirth throughout the nineteenth century.

### Emotive language and symbolism

Information and evidence only comprise part of King's narratives from the three Plunket publications. While the intention was that *Baby's First Month* and *Feeding and Care of Baby* would serve as guidebooks or instruction manuals providing practical instruction for parents, and thus educating them on the folly of their prior child-raising techniques, King needed parents to access the pamphlets and then act in accordance with the offered advice. Plunket initially managed circulation and distribution of the booklets on the basis of requests from the general public, at a small cost. Later, they became free due to support from the New Zealand government and also available from the Public Health Department. As noted previously in this chapter, the publications were in high demand and reached a wide audience.

Babies were the focus of King's future, but they were without agency and undoubtedly did not possess the intellectual capacity to absorb his evangelisation of their importance as future citizens. Consequently, King influenced mothers instead, using emotions and symbolism as the vehicles to transmit his medical and scientific advice. Some authorities engaged with children directly, such as the literature outlined in *Child, Nation, Race and Empire* that sought to convey child rescue discourse to children themselves. Historian Stephanie Olsen explores the way children, particularly boys, were 'informally educated for their future role as parents and citizens in Britain and in colonial India'.<sup>180</sup> Her abridged conclusion is that '[t]his was especially accomplished through various appeals to the emotions'.<sup>181</sup> While King could not directly influence babies in this way, he applied emotional pressure to mothers instead,

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<sup>180</sup> Stephanie Olsen, 'Introduction', in *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives*, ed. by Stephanie Olsen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 1-11 (p. 4).

<sup>181</sup> Olsen, 'Introduction', p. 4.

highlighting that this method has been applied in varying contexts and time periods in order to prepare children for their inevitable future.

Janet Golden describes the ‘vividness effect’, where ‘compelling personal encounters or stories’ are remembered and recalled more easily than statistics, and how ‘[i]nformation that resonates on an emotional level... can shape beliefs about social or political issues in ways that numeric data cannot’.<sup>182</sup> While this is a concept of modern psychology, Golden retrospectively applies it to the example of ‘incubator babies’ in America around 1900 and their impact on early ideas of infant welfare. In some locations, visitors could pay to view these babies in person, and photos of the ‘struggle for life presented in small glass boxes’ were published in American newspapers.<sup>183</sup> King too utilizes this ‘vividness effect’ in his infant welfare pamphlets by shaping his future-focused narrative with symbolism and emotive language. While he did not include photos of premature babies in incubators, he did display photographs of (apparently) happy, healthy babies raised in accordance with his advice and recounted success stories of babies and mothers who had benefited from the Plunket way.

The idea of scientific motherhood is not at odds with the vividness effect. In King’s pamphlets, the two tropes support and depend on each other to adequately communicate his hope for a transformed future. Graphs, charts, and scientific evidence on their own may be readily forgotten but resonant images of utopia or dystopia will hopefully remain in mother’s minds for longer. King’s use of scientific evidence and emotional analogies also seeks to create doubt in the minds of mothers about their ability to adequately look after their children. The intended result is that women would then surrender to King’s authority due to diffidence and fear. Colin Heywood suggests that scientific motherhood could leave mothers feeling

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<sup>182</sup> Golden, p. 13.

<sup>183</sup> Golden, p. 13.

incompetent and inadequate, and Anna Davin recognises that the exploitation of women's insecurities was crucial to the spread of motherhood advice provided by these new experts.<sup>184</sup>

In this same vein, King specifically places the largest amount of responsibility for raising “good” children on mothers. This echoed contemporary gender roles which demanded mothers shoulder the burden of childrearing and other household duties while their husbands were the main or sole income earner for the family. The word “parent” is peppered throughout which does indicate King believed fathers had a duty to fulfil also, but it is clear that much of the day-to-day efforts were expected of mothers. The future of New Zealand's babies was – ‘for good or evil’ – in the mother's hands.<sup>185</sup> The father's role was more passive than active and he was expected to support his wife's compliance with King's ‘best practice’ guides. King appeals to the common sense of New Zealand men by claiming that only ‘a few husbands in the Dominion’ would not appropriately support their wives post-childbirth after learning the importance of ‘a month of proper attention and consideration’.<sup>186</sup> The implication is that those ‘few husbands’ are deficient and their lack of care would negatively affect ‘the future of both mother and child’.<sup>187</sup>

Throughout the pamphlets, King references the impact of a mother's actions on the future of her baby, from their health as an infant to well-being as an adult. He even supposes a future where children will hold their parents accountable for ‘faulty rearing’:

With growth of knowledge the truth will dawn on our children quite soon enough, and the time is not far distant when many of them will be calling their parents to account, and saying: Why did you cause or allow us to become so cruelly disfigured and handicapped for life?<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Heywood, p. 97; Anna Davin, ‘Imperialism and Motherhood’, in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 87-151 (p. 91).

<sup>185</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 37.

<sup>186</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>187</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 4.

<sup>188</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 141.

King consistently places the individual and the individual's actions within the context of the collective. This increases the weight placed upon the parents' shoulders; they are no longer raising only their own children but directly contributing to the present physical health and future well-being of nations and the world. King proclaims 'The Destiny Of The Race In The Hands Of Its Mothers.'<sup>189</sup> Improvement of infant health and well-being was therefore considered profoundly urgent. Particularly in *Save the Babies*, King illustrates how individuals affect the success or failure of society and empire, and he partakes in 'scare-mongering' by exploring dystopian futures, such as the assertion that if present trends in infant mortality and birth rates continue in the USA 'there will be no children there at all in a century and a half'.<sup>190</sup>

King also emphasizes the special significance of the first months and years of a baby's life, with the former being even more critical than the latter. This is clear not only from content within the pamphlets but the fact one entire booklet was titled and dedicated to *Baby's First Month*. King asserts that the child is 'practically made or marred' in their first twelve months, and that 'steady uninterrupted progress' in the first month establishes a solid foundation for the other eleven months.<sup>191</sup>

Throughout the booklets, it is clear King believes the future for babies was deterministic; that is, based on contemporary events or actions, a certain future would eventuate, and once those events or actions had taken place it was difficult or even impossible to change the outcome. Determinism differs from fatalism, which removes the role of free will in shaping or choosing actions. A fatalistic future is one that is predetermined by "destiny" and is inevitable. Curiously, King did promote a fatalistic future for women. They were *destined* to become mothers; this was their natural and expected role. On the other hand, in terms of

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<sup>189</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 153.

<sup>190</sup> King, *Save the Babies*, p. 8.

<sup>191</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 3.

determinism, King advocates the benefits of firm routines and good habits in infancy, from birth. He maintains the significance of causality to the future by proclaiming ‘[w]hat is sown in infancy may be reaped in middle life.’<sup>192</sup> He continues, naming specific afflictions which are ‘thoughtlessly sown in infancy’, such as insomnia and constipation.<sup>193</sup>

King often writes of “mental” and physical health concurrently; he either views them as linked or of equal importance. He connects ‘ill-regulated’ babyhood with its ‘restless irritability and lack of control’ to ‘grave nervous disorders of the adult’ such as hysteria and epilepsy.<sup>194</sup> He also refers to disobedience as a negative trait that infants will carry into adulthood if not raised correctly.<sup>195</sup> Again, placing responsibility on mothers, King claims that the first year of baby’s life is vital for good bodily *and* good mental health.<sup>196</sup>

Specifically, King states that ‘Imbecility is often not Inborn, but Acquired During Infancy’.<sup>197</sup> Imbecility in the early twentieth referred to disability – most commonly intellectual impairment – and would often result in committal to an asylum, partly for ease of care but also so the individual was removed or distanced from mainstream society. King’s statement rejects commonly held medical beliefs of the time period that emphasized the role of heredity in passing mental illnesses from parent to child, and instead indicates that he supported “environmentalism” which viewed nurture rather than nature as the most important factor affecting health.<sup>198</sup> In his role as superintendent of Seacliff Asylum, Dunedin, King would have had ample contact with people considered “imbeciles” by medical professionals and wider society. It should be noted that he was known for his “humane treatment” of the insane.<sup>199</sup> King

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<sup>192</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 17.

<sup>193</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 37.

<sup>194</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 37.

<sup>195</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 37.

<sup>196</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 148.

<sup>197</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 37.

<sup>198</sup> Paul, p. 252.

<sup>199</sup> Paul, p. 247.

took every opportunity at his various public speaking engagements to reiterate his view that ill-health in adulthood is ‘inevitable’ and that all babies could become ‘excellent specimens of humanity’ – if they are properly raised.<sup>200</sup> In *Save The Babies*, he clarifies:

These children are born healthy for the most part. The bulk of the deaths are due to bad feeding, ignorance, insufficient attention and unhygienic environment.<sup>201</sup>

Encouraging breastfeeding was therefore one of King’s key recommendations to combat infant mortality rates. He does this by providing scientific evidence alongside photographs and uplifting analogies. King advocates breastfeeding as the best way for baby to receive nourishment, and suggested that baby should be exclusively breastfed until nine months old, with weaning occurring between nine and twelve months of age.<sup>202</sup> Before Plunket, artificial formula for abandoned infants or supplied by mothers who could not breastfeed was cow’s milk, and this was increasingly viewed by medical professionals – both within and beyond Plunket – as nutritionally unsuitable and potentially harmful. King emphasizes the importance of breastfeeding by invoking emotions, such as by explaining ‘[t]here is a special and intimate relationship between the milk of the mother and the digestive and nutritive needs of her offspring.’<sup>203</sup>

King, like his contemporaries, recognises that improper feeding contributed to many infant deaths. Often, this was a result of digestive issues, diarrhoea caused by unsuitable breastmilk substitutes, or improper storage of prepared artificial formula. The latter was particularly prevalent in summer, when a large number of infants died from gastroenteric disease.<sup>204</sup> King notes that ‘[d]iarrhoea is very fatal to babies. It is specially a disease of bottle-

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<sup>200</sup> Paul, p. 253.

<sup>201</sup> King, *Save the Babies*, p. 5.

<sup>202</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 1.

<sup>203</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 3.

<sup>204</sup> Heywood, p. 192.

fed infants, and is rare in the breast-fed: it will be still rarer if strict attention were paid to insuring perfect cleanliness of the breasts'.<sup>205</sup>

Accordingly, King provides detailed instructions for care and cleanliness of the nipples and breasts in *Baby's First Month*.<sup>206</sup> Good hygiene limits the germs that could be passed to baby and their undeveloped immune system. Furthermore, King believes breastfeeding was beneficial beyond simply feeding baby. It was also important for the future health of mother and child.<sup>207</sup> Breastfeeding would ensure babies reached weight milestones as expected and provided sustenance necessary to develop healthy constitutions. It also cultivates a strong bond between mother and baby, and expedited the process of "shrinkage" of the womb to its natural size as blood was diverted from the abdomen to the breasts.<sup>208</sup>

To persuade mothers to breastfeed, King reminds women that their breastmilk is 'created for the baby' and is 'the baby's birthright'.<sup>209</sup> He believes it was a mother's duty to provide 'a proper supply of the only perfect food'.<sup>210</sup> However, King did accept that some women are unable to breastfeed. He does not rhapsodize over reasons for this nor does he provide any sustained moral judgement of such circumstances. Instead, he takes a pragmatic approach and provides instructions for breast-pumping and recipes for replacement milk, while making it clear that 'whatever may be the appearances, the "suckled baby" always has the advantage over the "Bottle-fed." Breast-feeding tends to build sounder and healthier children'.<sup>211</sup>

King's alternative to breastmilk was known as 'humanised milk' and was a mixture of cow's milk and additives such as sugar and whey. Recipes were provided in both *Baby's First*

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<sup>205</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 31.

<sup>206</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, pp. 8-13.

<sup>207</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 3.

<sup>208</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 3.

<sup>209</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 3.

<sup>210</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 3.

<sup>211</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, p. 36.

*Month and Feeding and Care of Baby*.<sup>212</sup> By the 1930s, however, some of New Zealand's first paediatricians (who had been educated or trained in America) were critical of King's artificial formula recipe, claiming its deficiency in sugar and protein, both considered vital for the development of strong, healthy babies.<sup>213</sup>

*Baby's First Month and Feeding and Care of Baby* both display black and white photographs of babies, accompanied by descriptions of salubriousness and linked to the benefits of breastfeeding. This is King's use of the 'vividness effect' described earlier in this section. One caption compliments two '[h]ealthy, bright, happy babies... [who] were entirely breastfed.'<sup>214</sup> Two other images appear with stories about persevering with breastfeeding following difficulties: one, a '[b]right, active, firm-fleshed, sturdy girl' was breastfed while her mother suffered with influenza.<sup>215</sup> The baby was not affected in any way by the illness, and in fact would have been significantly developmentally impaired had the mother taken the advice given by medical professionals to wean her child. The other, 'a firm, sturdy, muscular, active child' was initially weaned at just a few weeks old, as her mother was 'very young, small, pale, anaemic, and delicate'.<sup>216</sup> In this story, breastfeeding helped both mother and baby, as even 'delicate women tend to gain in strength and condition while nursing' due to the food and exercise expected for adequate milk production.<sup>217</sup> These photographs and their accompanying stories serve as visual encouragement for breastfeeding. Taking advantage of the reasonable parental desire to see "your" children succeed, the happy, healthy babies indicate what "your" baby could be if "you" breastfeed baby. While weight charts and scientific minutia may be

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<sup>212</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, pp. 37, 39; *Feeding and Care of Baby*, pp. 23, 25.

<sup>213</sup> Bryder, 'Challenging New Zealand's Icon, Sir Frederic Truby King', pp. 207-208.

<sup>214</sup> King, *Baby's First Month*, figures D. and E.

<sup>215</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 14.

<sup>216</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 14.

<sup>217</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 14.

easily forgotten by the browsing mother (if not glossed over entirely), the emotive, rich stories of “real” babies and mothers are likely to catch and hold attention easily.

An entire section of *Feeding and Care of Baby* titled ‘Artificial Feeding’ provides extensive instructions for the preparation, storage, and dispensing of this humanised milk. The section opens with the following quote: ‘It is wiser to put up a fence at the top of a precipice than to maintain an ambulance at the bottom’.<sup>218</sup> It is clear, therefore, that King views the adequate feeding of infants as preventative medicine, and that correct nourishment will reduce the need for treatment of ailments later in infancy, childhood, and adulthood. This echoes King’s assertions in both *Feeding and Care of Baby* and *Baby’s First Month* that the first months and year of baby’s life were most important, and his comments in other media that correct child-raising techniques will result in a healthy, happy adult.

King places biological responsibility on mothers to provide nourishment for their children. His repeated use of words like ‘duty’ and ‘birth right’ implied that only a selfish woman would not breastfeed when she was capable of doing so. These phrases also place women firmly within the home as child-bearers and nurturers. But instead of pushing them into the background, King incidentally affords women a vital role in the creation of an improved and transformed future for New Zealand. However, it was King’s view that women did not know how to be mothers and therefore needed to be taught these skills, so, like the women in Julius Vogel’s *Anno Domini 2000*, they still ultimately defer to the authority of a male.

While the strength of the empire was important to King, he also portrays New Zealand women as more resilient and physically stronger than their British counterparts, particularly regarding childbirth. This reflects a commonly held belief of the late nineteenth century which portrayed New Zealand as a “better Britain” and consequently, New Zealanders as “better

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<sup>218</sup> King, *Feeding and Care of Baby*, p. 19.

Britons”. King rejected Victorian social norms such as “lying-in” or postpartum confinement. He referred to it as ‘coddling’ and refused the practice on the basis it was ‘debilitating, not beneficial, unless there is some special reason for invalidism’.<sup>219</sup> Furthermore, King invokes emotive symbolism with the use of the phrase ‘fortify the system for the battle of life’.<sup>220</sup>

The ‘battle of life’ invokes images of war and exploits New Zealand’s links to the wider imperial world. This continues throughout *Save the Babies* with core themes of the nation’s connection to Britain and the obligations of New Zealanders during and after times of war. King capitalizes on feelings of comradeship and nationalism that were increasingly present in New Zealand society during the 1910s, as well as a widespread fear for the future resulting from an extended, globally devastating armed conflict:

In no period in our history have we felt ourselves more a part of the Empire than we do today. What affects England affects us equally. It is our bounden duty to save our children and build up for the Empire a stalwart race of men and women and thus avoid the huge number of army rejects and be able to take our place even more fully than we can to-day in any future imperial crisis.<sup>221</sup>

King again uses emotions to communicate his messages of infant welfare and exploits this uncertainty about the future. By referring to ‘army rejects’ above, he engages directly with anxieties about imperial strength that emerged as many recruits for the South African War of 1899-1902, also known as the Second Boer War, were found to be in ill-health. King’s guidebooks for infant welfare are the solution; between the instructions in the pamphlets and the support of Plunket nurses, babies will be raised correctly and will become strong citizens who will not be rejected from the armed forces on the basis of health.

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<sup>219</sup> King, *Baby’s First Month*, p. 4.

<sup>220</sup> King, *Baby’s First Month*, p. 4.

<sup>221</sup> King, *Save the Babies*, p. 9.

*Save the Babies* also highlights New Zealand's obligations and responsibilities to the "motherland". While King is writing within the context of World War One, perhaps the most vibrant example of New Zealand's loyalty to Britain and the Empire is Michael Joseph Savage's oft quoted speech following the country's entry into World War Two: 'With gratitude for the past and confidence in the future we range ourselves without fear beside Britain. Where she goes, we go; where she stands, we stand.'<sup>222</sup> King attempts to persuade New Zealand parents to comply with his methods of baby rearing by invoking feelings of guilt related to imperial allegiances. He argues that Plunket 'ought to command the sympathies and financial support of all who value our Empire's progress', implying that rejection of Plunket ideas is also direct disregard for the Empire.<sup>223</sup> This implication has significant hidden meaning due to the time period: during times of war, society becomes more vigilant about dichotomies such as ally versus enemy, good versus bad. King's suggestion utilizes this unease to gather support for his infant welfare recommendations, and to essentially shame any detractors into compliance.

Furthermore, King manipulates racial anxieties present across the Western World and the British Empire. As previously discussed, it was vital for the Empire to maintain population dominance over its colonies and dominions. King and Plunket specifically targeted Pākehā women, with the intention of reinvigorating the European population in New Zealand. King claimed that Britain was responsible for the civilization of the world – a statement that seems rather hyperbolic on first glance but should be considered in light of the fact that by 1922, the British Empire comprised about 25% of the world's total land surface and a population of over 450 million. However, the Empire was built upon the subordination, assimilation, and often

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<sup>222</sup> 'Prime minister declares New Zealand's support for Britain', *New Zealand History* <<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/pm-declares-new-zealands-support-for-britain-in-famous-radio-broadcast>> [accessed 6 April 2021].

<sup>223</sup> King, *Save the Babies*, p. 8.

extermination, of indigenous people. Continued control over colonized territories was necessary. Within this context, King's statements, including the assertion that '[t]he defeat of Britain means the defeat of liberty' are warnings about the future that may eventuate if King's infant welfare advice is ignored, a future that may involve the ascendancy of non-Western worldviews.<sup>224</sup>

## Conclusion

Truby King's pamphlets *Feeding and Care of Babies* and *Baby's First Month* combined educative and instructional content with emotively loaded language and future focused rhetoric in order to attain both short- and long-term horizons regarding infant welfare. In the immediate future, King wished to reduce infant mortality rates, and in the more distant future, he desired all New Zealand adults to be "good" adults as a result of their appropriate parenting as infants. To King, a good adult was one that was physically and mentally healthy as well as happy and compliant toward authority. His expectations of males and females differed and reflected contemporary spaces of expectation: boys would grow into strong citizens who could defend the nation and Empire effectively, and girls would become efficient, capable mothers responsible for raising the next generation of military recruits and child-bearers. His later booklet, *Save the Babies*, strongly communicates this message and imbeds it within suggestions of the dystopia that may eventuate if the advice provided in the earlier two pamphlets (and day-to-day from Plunket nurses) is not heeded.

The publication time of these three booklets is significant. King's rhetoric spread through New Zealand homes at a time when the world was bracing for war. There had also been a shift during the nineteenth century to viewing babies and children as particularly vulnerable and worthy of special care. This combined with population anxieties present across

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<sup>224</sup> King, *Save the Babies*, p. 9.

the British Empire in the early twentieth century that feared dominance by numerically superior adversaries, whether they be the Central Powers during World War One or the Indigenous people of colonized lands. King appropriated these widespread anxieties about the future and suggested solutions that, on the surface, appeared achievable and uncomplicated.

Children were central to ideas about the future in New Zealand in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. Just as children and young people were considered “little adults” as they would physically mature, they were also regarded as opportunities to shape the mental and emotional state of a future “ideal” citizen. King placed emotional pressure on parents by explaining that the youngest New Zealanders could represent a bright future for the country and the empire. Ideas about the future were used to project adult anxieties and concerns. He exploited the willingness of adults to pursue individual success for *their* children. Constructions of the future are reflective of wider cultural preoccupations and concerns, and furthermore, exist as a form of ongoing cultural colonization. In King’s ideal world, babies would be shaped into his definition of ideal citizens. This allows the creation (or continuation) of New Zealand society as a utopia underpinned by middle-class European fantasies.

Broadly, King was motivated by a desire to see progress for New Zealand and the British Empire. He believed the means to that end was to improve the health and well-being of babies, and to achieve that, mothers required education and support. This chapter has repositioned King not just as the saviour of babies – as he has been occasionally revered since his death in 1938 – but as an idealist who saw an issue and sought to use his skills, knowledge and interest to imagine a horizon that would benefit future society. King is firmly remembered within historiography of welfare across New Zealand and the world. While King and Plunket should be placed in that context, the focus on King’s legacy for babies and mothers has ignored the influence of King’s horizons in creating that legacy. This chapter has highlighted the use of “the future” in Plunket publications authored by King and argues that the trope was vital to

the construction of his narratives of infant welfare, and therefore significantly contributed to the endurance of Plunket.

Further differences and similarities between the three booklets indicate that “the future” is a flexible rhetorical tool and that King employs varied uses of the trope to communicate and persuade different audiences within changing contemporary circumstances. All three booklets demonstrate King’s belief that present action was necessary to achieve short- and long-term goals – specifically, reducing infant mortality rates, and raising babies to become “good” adults – and emphasize the importance of individual action to better the collective. Parents, particularly mothers, were expected to comply with King’s suggestions not only for the good of their own children but also for the good of wider society. *Save the Babies* particularly highlights the duty of individuals to contribute to the future success of the British Empire. The guidebooks communicate their core horizon with an uplifting tone and by invoking images of utopia and sought to replace anxieties with hope. However, in *Save the Babies*, King aggressively communicates a warning to the general public, strongly underpinned by dystopian imaginings of the future that exploited feelings of fear. This narrative shift was a result of World War One and reflected widely held concerns about the social and demographic impacts of war.

## Chapter Four: 'And now it is the married women on whom we must rely' - Ettie Rout's *Safe Marriage* (1922) and *Two Years in Paris* (1923)

The chief obstacles to healthy marriage are the venereal diseases, and these could be extirpated in two or three generations if sexual cleanliness was properly taught to all adults, and if promiscuous intercourse was properly regulated during the same period.<sup>225</sup>

- Ettie Rout, *Safe Marriage*.

Ettie Rout's two pamphlets, *Safe Marriage* (1922) and *Two Years in Paris* (1923), record and extend her work with soldiers in World War One, circulating her ideas about venereal disease and its treatment to civilians in a post-war world. The epigraph encapsulates Rout's key thoughts on the matter of venereal disease: that it was a problem of hygiene that could be solved with education and regulation, and that uncontrolled infections impact 'healthy marriage'. The fundamental feature of Rout's horizon of expectation is that venereal disease is capable of being eradicated. Working and writing within a space of experience strongly connected to World War One and its effects, Rout's vision for the future is a combination of the contemporary and the transformed, particularly with regards to marriage and sex. She attempted to reshape existing societal conventions to better serve the needs of the post-war world and its future. However, her suggestions – both within these texts and beyond their newsprint boundaries – were often met with derision. For example, *Safe Marriage* was banned from importation and sale in New Zealand throughout the 1920s. The future Rout imagined was polarizing in contemporary times and remained controversial for many decades after her death. These responses to Rout's horizon were influenced by contemporary contexts of morality and gender, and their relationship to existing social norms of sex and marriage. This chapter situates Rout within her biographical context, before moving to an exploration of her

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<sup>225</sup> Ettie Rout, *Safe Marriage: A Return to Sanity* (London: William Heinemann Medical Books Ltd., 1922), p. 22.

cultural, political, and social spaces of experience and the ruptures caused within these by World War One. A detailed analysis of the horizons within Rout's two booklets investigates the ways in which Rout placed responsibility for the achievement of that horizon on different categories of people – or, in some cases, predicated that achievement on the exclusion of certain groups. This chapter also emphasizes responses and reactions, highlighting competing spaces of experience in New Zealand and beyond. This introductory section will first consider Rout's chosen form, the medical advice guidebook.

Like King, Rout's pamphlets fall under the broad category of advice manuals and draw on understandings of medicine and the body. Within this field, Rout's pamphlets are best described as sex education literature. *Safe Marriage* is an educative pamphlet, intended to bypass legislation which disallowed written instructions to be provided with prophylaxis on purchase, while *Two Years in Paris* is less didactic and more descriptive. Sex education literature began to emerge across the Western world in the early twentieth century as an informal solution to widespread sexual ignorance, with the intention that education could prevent issues such as promiscuity, which was largely considered to be the reason for the spread of venereal disease. Lisa Featherstone posits that sex education was 'a particularly modern response to a perceived crisis' and that its use and popularity 'indicates a profound optimism in the capabilities of education and rational thinking'.<sup>226</sup> It is important to note that, despite an increased reliance on medical professionals for information, sex education literature was not always authored by trained doctors or nurses. Furthermore, sex education was not welcomed by all. In the early twentieth century, Lesley Hall identifies a

continuing dialectical struggle between those advocating the provision of clean, healthy, scientific knowledge (by the standards of the day) to combat the sordid or partial information picked up from a range of sources by children, and the opposing

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<sup>226</sup> Lisa Featherstone, 'Sex educating the modern girl: the formation of new knowledge in interwar Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 34.4 (2010), 459-469, (p. 460).

forces who believed that to give children sexual information was to corrupt primal innocence.<sup>227</sup>

Furthermore, in the early years of the twentieth century, several factors converged to make sex and sex education a pertinent subject. Firstly, the issue of prostitution was gaining media attention, and secondly, authorities were becoming increasingly concerned at the spread of venereal disease, both within military and civilian populations.<sup>228</sup> These anxieties coincided with a wider societal shift that placed increased trust in medical science and medical professionals, the same revolution which helped popularize child-rearing manuals, as discussed in Chapter Three. Lutz Sauerteig and Roger Davidson suggest that movement towards ‘medical notions’ of sexuality was also a movement away from religious definitions of acceptable and unacceptable sexual behaviour.<sup>229</sup> Philippa Levine describes the resulting rhetoric as an overlapping of religious and scientific conceptions of sex: the existing moral categorization of sex ‘was encoded within a new and increasingly technical vocabulary of medical expertise’.<sup>230</sup>

Historian Philip Fleming has explored the cultural landscape of venereal disease in New Zealand from 1910 to 1945.<sup>231</sup> Rather than examining the actual initiatives enacted to respond to the issue, Fleming focuses on the ‘anxieties, aspirations, and assumptions’ which helped to define what were considered ‘socially and morally acceptable’ solutions.<sup>232</sup> His research highlights connections between venereal disease and ‘contemporary anxieties about racial

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<sup>227</sup> Lesley A. Hall, ‘In Ignorance and in Knowledge: Reflections on the History of Sex Education in Britain’, in *Shaping Sexual Knowledge: A Cultural History of Sex Education in Twentieth Century Europe*, ed. by Lutz Sauerteig and Roger Davidson (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 19-36 (p. 21).

<sup>228</sup> Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 8.

<sup>229</sup> Lutz Sauerteig and Roger Davidson, ‘Shaping the Sexual Knowledge of the Young: Introduction’, in Lutz Sauerteig and Roger Davidson, eds., *Shaping Sexual Knowledge: A Cultural History of Sex Education in Twentieth Century Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 1-15 (p. 7).

<sup>230</sup> Philippa Levine, ‘Public Health, venereal disease and colonial medicine in the later nineteenth century’, in *Sex, Sin and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870*, ed. by Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall (Routledge: New York, 2001), pp. 160-172 (pp. 160-161).

<sup>231</sup> Philip Fleming, ‘Fighting the ‘Red Plague’: Observations on the Response to Venereal Disease in New Zealand 1910-1945’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 22.1 (1988), 56-64 (p. 56).

<sup>232</sup> Fleming, p. 57.

fitness, sexuality, and social change'.<sup>233</sup> This chapter also seeks to survey those contemporary anxieties and to demonstrate the relationship between Rout's horizons and shifting spaces of experience regarding sex and marriage in the early twentieth century. Rout's horizon was characterized not only provided practical solutions to improve the health of men (particularly soldiers) and women (particularly wives and prostitutes) but she also sought to give women greater knowledge over and control of their own bodies.

Prior to the mid twentieth-century, venereal disease referred to syphilis and gonorrhoea.<sup>234</sup> Due to the similarities in symptoms, these infections were considered to be different phases of the same affliction. Sufferers could experience rashes, discharge from the genitals, fevers, fatigue, hair loss, and more.<sup>235</sup> Symptoms could disappear and reappear over long periods of time, but individuals could also be entirely asymptomatic.<sup>236</sup> Venereal disease was a stigmatized illness. It was considered a disease of poor hygiene, vice, and sexual overindulgence.<sup>237</sup> However, the true panic about the illness was that it could be passed on to sexual partners and unborn children.<sup>238</sup> Gonorrhoea could cause infertility in women, and children born to an infected mother were at high risk of being blind. Congenital syphilis caused miscarriages and foetal deformities.<sup>239</sup> As explored in the previous chapter, concerns about the health and wellbeing of babies and children surged in the early twentieth century, and individuals like Truby King sought to avert this crisis of the unfit by educating mothers. Rout too saw a crisis that could be prevented, or at least mitigated, with knowledge. While Rout imagined a future without venereal disease as a very real possibility, she was also pragmatic

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<sup>233</sup> Fleming, p. 57.

<sup>234</sup> Antje Kampf, *Mapping Out The Venereal Wilderness: Public Health and STD in New Zealand 1920-1980* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007), p. 1.

<sup>235</sup> Noelle Gallagher, *Itch, Clap, Pox: Venereal Disease in the Eighteenth-Century Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), p. 2.

<sup>236</sup> Gallagher, p. 2.

<sup>237</sup> Kampf, *Mapping Out the Venereal Wilderness*, p. 43.

<sup>238</sup> Gallagher, p. 3.

<sup>239</sup> Paul A. Lombardo, 'A Child's Right to Be Well Born: Venereal Disease and the Eugenic Marriage Laws, 1913-1935', *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 60.2 (2017), 211-232 (pp. 215-216).

enough to recognize smaller steps needed to be taken first, presenting a horizon that was idealistic in the long-term but realistic in the short-term. Like King, Rout used the future as a way to communicate a problem and present practical solutions.

### Ettie Rout, 1877-1936

Ettie Anne Rout was born in Tasmania in February 1877. She was a twin, and also had a younger sister. Rout and her family migrated to New Zealand in late 1884, where her father opened a plumbing business in Wellington. Little is known about her childhood as Rout either did not record much about her family life or what she did record has been destroyed or lost. We do know that she excelled at school, earning a prestigious scholarship for two years of tuition at Wellington Girls High School with an examination score of 580 out of a possible 700.<sup>240</sup> However, Rout declined this scholarship and due to her father's failed business ventures and subsequent insolvency, the family moved to Woodville.<sup>241</sup>

A few years later, Rout and her family moved again, this time to Christchurch. Rout enrolled at Gilby's College to learn shorthand and typing. With discipline and practice, she reached 180 words per minute in shorthand, outshining her classmates as well as her teacher.<sup>242</sup> Rout enjoyed the reputation of one of the fastest typists in the city, if not *the* fastest. By 1896, Rout was the main breadwinner for her family, taking on freelance shorthand and typing jobs and later, teaching at Gilby's College.<sup>243</sup> In 1904 she established a typist's business, where she employed many young women as apprentices.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Jane Tolerton, *Ettie: A Life of Ettie Rout* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 24. 'Her nearest rival, a boy, trailed her by nearly 80 marks, nearly everyone else scored under 300.' Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 24.

<sup>241</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 25.

<sup>242</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 27.

<sup>243</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 28.

<sup>244</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 36.

In Christchurch, she also became known for her expeditious bicycling and the unconventional clothes she wore: she preferred short skirts for cycling, sometimes trousers, and men's boots.<sup>245</sup> She refused to wear a corset, which, combined with her exercise regime, resulted in her figure appearing 'very muscular' compared with the female shape that was 'on trend' in the early twentieth-century.<sup>246</sup> She was also one of the few women who wore their hair short prior to World War One.<sup>247</sup> The young Rout could perhaps be described as the epitome of the nineteenth-century 'new woman' trope. This phrase first appeared in article by Sarah Grand in 1894 and was further popularized by Ouida.<sup>248</sup> Traditionally applied to works of fiction, the term encompasses ideas of 'female independence, education and work and a protest against patriarchy'.<sup>249</sup> Kirstine Moffat argues that the expression 'New Woman' has been used in two contrasting ways:

Those following in Ouida's footsteps used the term in a derogatory spirit, employing ridicule to label late nineteenth-century feminists as trouser-wearing, bicycle-riding, mannish threats to social order and marital happiness. In contrast, New Women themselves claimed the term as a badge of honour that expressed their fierce opposition to the oppression of women.<sup>250</sup>

Rout could certainly be viewed as a 'trouser-wearing, bicycle-riding, mannish threat[s] to social order and marital happiness'. She was blunt, sometimes terse, in an era where women were often careful (and content) to appear 'harmlessly womanly'.<sup>251</sup>

Rout was a proponent of social radicalism at a time when social purity was gradually losing favour. After World War One, 'social reform feminism' became the dominant woman's

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<sup>245</sup> Jane Tolerton, 'Rout, Ettie Anne – Dictionary of New Zealand Biography', *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand* <<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r31/rout-ettie-annie>> [Accessed 6 April 2021].

<sup>246</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 41.

<sup>247</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 42.

<sup>248</sup> Kirstine Moffat, "'Devoted to the cause of woman's rights": The New Zealand New Woman novel', *Women's Writing*, 26.3 (2019), 304-327 (p. 308).

<sup>249</sup> Moffat, p. 308.

<sup>250</sup> Moffat, p. 308.

<sup>251</sup> Jane Tolerton, 'A Lifetime of Campaigning: Ettie Rout, Emancipationist beyond the Pale', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18.1 (2010), 73-97 (p. 75).

rights discourse, concerned with issues such as sexuality and birth control, and influenced strongly by eugenics.<sup>252</sup> Rout was also a committed eugenicist; a viewpoint that is visible in her published writing, particularly those on the subjects of sex and marriage. As a socialist, Rout co-founded the *Maoriland Worker* around 1910 as an honorary member of the Shearers' Union.<sup>253</sup> Contemporary histories of the publication cited a 1911 inauguration, thus obscuring Rout's connection.

In early July 1915, Rout established the Volunteer Sisterhood, advertising in Canterbury newspapers for 'intelligent competent women to go out to Egypt and nurse the sick and wounded colonials.'<sup>254</sup> At least two hundred women responded to Rout's Volunteer Sisterhood advertisements.<sup>255</sup> Rout did not have the support or approval from government or military authorities to establish the Volunteer Sisterhood. In order to secure official endorsement and to encourage public support of the scheme (including financial backing), Rout embarked on an extensive public relations campaign. In one published plea, titled "The Women's Appeal", Rout utilized the trope of the future in order to invoke an emotional response in readers, and in turn encourage them to donate money:

We look into the future with that long clear vision which is our racial heritage as women. We see line upon line of diseased and disabled men filing past for months and maybe for years. Their call for human help sounds in our ears... Will you not help us to do our duty to the sick and wounded?<sup>256</sup>

This is similar to the way in which Truby King used "the future" to coerce parents into following his baby raising guidelines circulated in Plunket pamphlets.

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<sup>252</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 97.

<sup>253</sup> Tolerton, 'A Lifetime of Campaigning', p. 77.

<sup>254</sup> 'Volunteering! Twenty Nursing Sisters', *Star [Christchurch]*, 3 July 1915, p. 6.

<sup>255</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 107.

<sup>256</sup> 'Volunteer Sisterhood', *Sun [Christchurch]*, 24 July 1915, p. 7.

The first twelve Volunteer Sisters left for Egypt in October 1915. Rout herself joined them, alongside a second deputation, in late December. On Rout's arrival, she found a thriving city, with sights and sounds novel and exhilarating to Kiwi servicemen. She was also confronted with a growing problem: large numbers of soldiers were contracting venereal disease from local prostitutes, and military authorities were reticent to provide practical, realistic solutions to prevent or reduce infections.<sup>257</sup> During her time in Cairo, Rout collected information about the Wazza and the men's enjoyment of the nightlife within. She concluded that recognizing the needs of men was paramount and therefore moral prophylaxis was not and would not be effective.<sup>258</sup> Unlike some military figures who categorized soldiers as either "innocent" or "indecent" with regards to sex with prostitutes, Rout did not discriminate.<sup>259</sup> Instead, she viewed servicemen first and foremost as human beings. She believed war was a dehumanizing experience.<sup>260</sup> Based on an understanding that sex was 'a real need' for soldiers, Rout suggested to British authorities and key military and political figures that preventing connections between the men and prostitutes was futile, and instead it might be more effective to provide a way make such sex 'sanitary'.<sup>261</sup> The Army Council rejected this recommendation on the basis that it could not support 'any system of prophylaxis that might be said to afford opportunities for unrestrained vice'.<sup>262</sup>

Throughout World War One, Rout made many attempts to convince the British and New Zealand militaries and the general public of the ineffectiveness of moral responses to venereal disease, and the benefit and value of physical and chemical prophylaxis. Rout

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<sup>257</sup> On a trip to England in 1917, Rout also found that prostitution was flourishing on the streets of London. Official reports claimed 13.4% of the New Zealand troops in England were infected with venereal disease in the first six months of 1917, although due to the stigma associated with contracting venereal disease the actual figure was likely higher: Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 150.

<sup>258</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 128.

<sup>259</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 129.

<sup>260</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 132.

<sup>261</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 148.

<sup>262</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 151.

supported the view of medical men like Colonel James Barrett, the assistant director of the Australian Medical Service, who had enough faith in physical prophylaxis that he claimed venereal disease ‘could be eliminated in just a few years’ with proper prevention and treatment.<sup>263</sup> Rout’s ideal solution, therefore, combined the provision of physical prophylaxis with licensed (inspected and certified) brothels. She made contact with several British campaigners of prophylaxis, including Sir Bryan Donkin and Sir Archdall Reid, but her main focus remained on the soldiers themselves. She believed that they were the “real experts” and their input was vital for the creation of a practical, useful solution.<sup>264</sup> Armed with anecdotal as well as rudimentary medical knowledge, Rout assembled a prophylactic kit containing calomel ointment, potassium permanganate (also known as Condy’s Crystals), and an early condom prototype.<sup>265</sup> This prophylaxis kit that was eventually adopted by the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) and dispensed for free to servicemen going on leave.

Soon, with the support of General George Richardson, commander of New Zealand troops in Britain, the kits were officially provided to all soldiers by the NZEF.<sup>266</sup> However, Rout received no credit from the New Zealand government or NZEF for producing the kits, and shortly after the appropriation of her hard work, mention of Rout was banned in New Zealand newspapers under the War Regulations.<sup>267</sup> The New Zealand Minister of Defence, James Allen, noted in a private letter that ‘Miss Rout is very indiscreet and is creating great trouble for us’.<sup>268</sup> Both Prime Minister William Massey and Leader of the Opposition Sir Joseph Ward were also ardently anti-prophylaxis and hostile towards Rout.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 130.

<sup>264</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, pp. 154, 155.

<sup>265</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 165.

<sup>266</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 169.

<sup>267</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 169.

<sup>268</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 169.

<sup>269</sup> Massey infamously declared, ‘If I had my way with Miss Rout’s correspondence, I would have her letters burned by the common hangman’: Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 169.

By the end of 1918, Rout was meeting New Zealand soldiers at the Gare du Nord train station to dispense kits and to provide the address of her ‘sanitary’ brothel, Madame Yvonne’s. She proudly reported that New Zealand had the lowest rates of venereal disease of any nationality of soldier in Paris.<sup>270</sup> After the end of World War One, Rout continued her campaign for appropriate prevention of venereal disease, shifting her focus to educating the general public. To this end, she wrote and published two short books on the subject of venereal disease, *Safe Marriage* (1922) and *Two Years in Paris* (1923). The books vary in tone and focus. *Safe Marriage* is a guidebook, providing written instructions on the use of prophylaxis. *Two Years in Paris* details Rout’s time spent in the city during World War One, dispensing prophylactic kits to New Zealand soldiers on leave and supervising a ‘safe’ brothel where employed prostitutes were guaranteed to be free from infection. *Two Years in Paris* is also rather sarcastic in parts, with an acerbic rebuttal served in the direction of Rout’s detractors.

Rout returned to England in 1920 and married Fred Hornibrook at a registry office in London in May.<sup>271</sup> The pair had met in Christchurch around 1900. Hornibrook, an Irishman, migrated to New Zealand and soon founded the Christchurch School of Physical Culture.<sup>272</sup> During World War One, Hornibrook worked as a massage therapist on the hospital ship *Marama*.<sup>273</sup> He also worked with Rout on her various venereal disease campaigns through England and Paris, with Rout often frustrated at his military obligations when they clashed with her plans.<sup>274</sup> The couple had no children, and Hornibrook remarried after Rout’s death.

A prolific writer, Rout was never without a typewriter. She singlehandedly maintained a public relations machine from Egypt sending correspondence back to New Zealand detailing

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<sup>270</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 187.

<sup>271</sup> Jane Tolerton, *Ettie Rout: New Zealand’s Safer Sex Pioneer* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2015), p. 186.

<sup>272</sup> Tolerton, *Ettie Rout*, p. 26.

<sup>273</sup> Tolerton, *Ettie Rout*, p. 86.

<sup>274</sup> Tolerton, *Ettie Rout*, p. 106.

the work of the Volunteer Sisterhood.<sup>275</sup> Biographer Jane Tolerton found researching Rout ‘a frustrating business’ due to a lack of personal ephemera.<sup>276</sup> Rout had no children and there are no extant letters or diaries on anything besides business. Therefore, Tolerton found she had to read the sparse archival imprint with caution as Rout’s intention was to persuade and convince others of the value of her campaigns.<sup>277</sup> Rout wrote books on a range of subjects throughout the 1920s, preferring to publish under her maiden name but occasionally referencing that she was a married woman.<sup>278</sup> This chapter pays particular attention to two texts penned by Rout on the subject of venereal disease: *Safe Marriage* (1922) and *Two Years in Paris* (1923). Her marriage to Hornibrook was almost a ‘professional prerequisite’ for these books as it was socially unacceptable for an unwed woman to write about sex.<sup>279</sup>

Rout and Hornibrook spent their married life pursuing various professional and personal projects. Rout authored six books between 1922 and 1925.<sup>280</sup> She also continued her campaigns to provide practical solutions to venereal disease and also supported her British and American contemporaries in their endeavors. Rout was introduced to Marie Stopes in 1920 and supplied her with research notes and correspondence on venereal disease, to help Stopes write a book on the subject.<sup>281</sup> In 1922, Rout helped American birth control activist Margaret Sanger mount a legal defense of her pamphlet titled *Family Limitation*.<sup>282</sup> Historian and Rout biographer Jane Tolerton describes Rout as ‘not so much an original thinker as a synthesiser of ideas, a publicist for them and a catalyst for bringing them into practice’.<sup>283</sup> This is very clear when viewing Rout’s career as a whole. Rout networked with other leaders of this nascent ‘safe

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<sup>275</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, pp. 135-136.

<sup>276</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 17.

<sup>277</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 17.

<sup>278</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 205. In some cases, the first editions were published under ‘Rout’ with subsequent printings under ‘Hornibrook’: Tolerton, *Ettie Rout*, p. 244.

<sup>279</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 205.

<sup>280</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 213.

<sup>281</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 209.

<sup>282</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, pp. 218-219.

<sup>283</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 18.

sex' movement and like-minded medical professionals, and she knew the value of a strong public relations campaign. By the 1930s, Hornibrook and Rout were estranged. Rout returned to New Zealand in 1936; her first time back in the country since her departure in 1916. She visited Rarotonga, and it was here that Rout died on 17 September 1936, aged 59, from a self-administered quinine overdose.<sup>284</sup>

Rout received little recognition during her lifetime for her work combatting venereal disease. For her work in France, she did receive the Reconnaissance Française, a medal presented to civilians whose volunteer work bettered the country.<sup>285</sup> But it is unclear whether this award was intended to acknowledge her work with soldiers in Paris, her work with the Red Cross after the end of the war, or both. This contrasts sharply with the level of acknowledgement received by the other three authors surveyed in this thesis. Julius Vogel, Āpirana Ngata, and Truby King all received knighthoods at some point in their careers. While nuanced scholarly analysis of their work and legacies has emerged, during their lifetimes they were all relatively accepted as authority figures in their respective fields. Acknowledgment did not materialize immediately posthumously, either. Rout's obituary in New Zealand newspapers made oblique reference to 'her vigorous and unremitting advocacy of a certain doctrine of personal hygiene' among soldiers on leave during World War One and framed her life through her connection with Hornibrook.<sup>286</sup>

Rout's story does not conform to preferred narratives of World War One and general New Zealand history. She was neither a combatant, transported to faraway places in defense of King and country, or a nurse, called upon to support our troops, nor was she an anxious mother or pining wife left behind in New Zealand. Defined by the boundaries of the nation state, New

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<sup>284</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 253.

<sup>285</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 14.

<sup>286</sup> 'Noted Social Worker', *Auckland Star*, 19 September 1936, p. 9.

Zealand histories throughout the twentieth century have tended to emphasize themes such as ‘growth, development, self-reliance, and coming-of-age’.<sup>287</sup> Modern popularist perceptions of the eugenic movement of the early twentieth century are that it was “bad” or “evil”; definitely not subject matter that can be considered indicative of progress or amelioration. This contributes to the historical neglect of Rout, her work, and her publications. It is clear that Rout supported eugenic ideas such as mandatory sterilization of ‘the unfit’.<sup>288</sup> Popular histories display a clear antipathy to individuals associated with eugenics and it would seem that Rout’s eugenicist beliefs have not been deemed worthy enough for extended academic exploration. In comparison, Truby King, whose thoughts about eugenics are ambiguous, has been scrutinized in both popular history and academic scholarship that explores the eugenics movement.<sup>289</sup>

Rout’s inability – or perhaps, lack of desire – to ‘fit in’ is a recurring theme. A World War One nurse interviewed by Tolerton in 1983 rather exasperatedly explained, ‘She didn’t fit in anywhere. She just didn’t fit in.’<sup>290</sup> Judith Smart points out that Rout’s idea of patriotic work during World War One was at odds with the activities of most New Zealand women, who ‘sat and waited at home, sewing, knitting and organizing fund-raising events’.<sup>291</sup> Indeed, the difficulty in placing Rout in her contemporary context is also reflected in her significant absence from the historical record. The lack of personal archival material as described by

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<sup>287</sup> Giselle Byrnes, ‘Introduction: Reframing New Zealand History’, in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 1-18 (p. 3).

<sup>288</sup> Ettie Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 27.

<sup>289</sup> See: Emily Writes, ‘Plunket’s founder was an awful person obsessed with eugenics’, *The Spinoff* <<https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/07-05-2019/plunkets-founder-was-an-awful-person-obsessed-with-eugenics/>> [accessed 30 January 2020]; Black Sheep podcast, ‘Eugenics: the story of a really bad idea’, *RNZ* <<https://www.rnz.co.nz/programmes/black-sheep/story/201823436/eugenics-the-story-of-a-really-bad-idea>> [accessed 30 January 2020]; Diane B. Paul, ‘Truby King, Infant Welfare and the Boundaries of Eugenics’, in *Eugenics at the Edges of Empire: New Zealand, Australia, Canada and South Africa* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 243-266.

<sup>290</sup> Tolerton, *Ettie: A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 18.

<sup>291</sup> Judith Smart, review of Jane Tolerton, *Ettie: A Life of Ettie Rout*, in *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27.2 (1993), 228-230 (p. 228).

Tolerton in 1992 no doubt contributes to this silence. It seems ironic that a woman who was so self-confident in life would need ‘rescuing’ from the archive.

The fact remains that Rout was a New Zealander who did most of her work overseas, particularly in Europe. While current historiographic trends seek to disrupt and complicate the use of ‘the nation’ as the dominant historical framework, it has been a central narrative in New Zealand history for well over a century.<sup>292</sup> Keith Sinclair asserts that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ‘people have been most commonly identified by reference to their nation’.<sup>293</sup> This perspective informed New Zealand historians for decades.<sup>294</sup> Rout’s overseas-based work does not easily fit within these national boundaries when considering New Zealand’s past, and her identity as a New Zealander also makes it challenging to include her in the histories of the countries she worked in, such as England and France. European historiography tends to focus on their ‘own’ heroes or villains, such as Marie Stopes, Rout’s English counterpart. I believe, however, that any inclusion of Rout in the writing of New Zealand history provides much value in disrupting national identity narratives.

Scholarly interest in Rout’s life and work did not occur until the late 1960s. In the very first edition of the *New Zealand Journal of History*, Peter O’Connor’s article ‘Venus and the Lonely Kiwi’ examines the work of Rout and military authorities to combat venereal disease. O’Connor begins by recognizing that Rout and her work ‘induced violent feelings, nearly always hostile’.<sup>295</sup> However, he implies Rout’s involvement somewhat complicated the issue of sexual health:

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<sup>292</sup> Giselle Byrnes and Catharine Coleborne, ‘Editorial Introduction: The Utility and Futility of ‘The Nation’ in Histories of Aotearoa New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 45.1 (2011), 1-14 (p. 3).

<sup>293</sup> Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand’s Search for National Identity* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p. 3.

<sup>294</sup> Byrnes, p. 3.

<sup>295</sup> P.S. O’Connor, ‘Venus and the Lonely Kiwi: The War Effort of Miss Ettie A. Rout’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1.1 (1967), 11-32 (p. 11).

[Rout] and the problem with which she occupied herself were of acute and continuing concern to the military authorities and to the New Zealand government.<sup>296</sup>

Despite choosing to write on a rather obscure individual – and publish that research in the inaugural *NZJH* no less – O'Connor does not pen a hagiography of Rout. In fact, the tone of the article is slightly hostile: O'Connor refers to Rout's Volunteer Sisterhood as a 'monstrous regiment' and 'little band', he describes Rout as having 'demonic energy' and he calls her ongoing interest in venereal disease 'her monomania'.<sup>297</sup> Even Rout's husband, Fred Hornibrook, is not free of O'Connor's judgement. Fred is recorded as claiming that 'he can breathe more deeply through the nose than most people', a quote that is undoubtedly included in O'Connor's article to mock and deride the man.<sup>298</sup>

'Venus and the Lonely Kiwi' is pitched as part one of a larger research output. Promised at the end of the article, part two would cover Rout's work in England and France. However, part two never came. It was not until 1998 that someone acknowledged the incomplete publication. Mary Ronnie, New Zealand's first female National Librarian, wrote to the *NZJH* explaining that

Part II exists unfinished, with considerable other notes on Ettie Rout's activities in 1917 and 1918... All of this has now been deposited in the Alexander Turnbull Library in the National Library of New Zealand...<sup>299</sup>

It would appear that historians were not quite ready to write or read about Rout in the late 1960s. Contraceptive and reproductive rights were still a controversial subject at this time, and sex and sexuality not openly discussed in public. World War One remained within living memory for many and as discussed later in this chapter, representations of soldiers as morally

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<sup>296</sup> O'Connor, p. 11.

<sup>297</sup> O'Connor, p. 17, 18.

<sup>298</sup> O'Connor, p. 17.

<sup>299</sup> Mary Ronnie, 'Correspondence', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 32.2 (1998), p. 232.

pure was an important pillar of their ‘hero’ status. Discussing their extra-marital sexual exploits was considered disrespectful to returned servicemen, their families, as well as those who did not come home.

In the late 1970s, Jane Tolerton responded to a letter published in the *New Zealand Herald* asking if anyone knew anything about Ettie Rout. The request was from Chris O’Sullivan, a Sydney-based journalist in his eighties, who had met Rout in London in 1923. Soon, Tolerton took over the biographical project of Rout that O’Sullivan had begun.<sup>300</sup> Tolerton found researching Rout ‘a frustrating business’.<sup>301</sup> Rout had no children and there are no personal letters or diaries on anything besides business. Therefore, Tolerton found she had to read the sparse archival imprint with caution as Rout’s intention was to persuade and convince others of the value of her campaigns.<sup>302</sup>

The resulting biography, *Ettie: A Life of Ettie Rout* was published in 1992. The front cover highlights the polarizing nature of Rout and her work: it asks the reader, ‘Guardian angel or wickedest woman?’. Reviewer Judith Smart praised Tolerton for including ‘warts-and-all evidence’ which provides a critical analysis of a controversial historical figure.<sup>303</sup> Nadia Gush also explored the controversy surrounding Rout’s work and the multiplicity of responses to her campaign against venereal disease, utilizing a framework based on Jacques Derrida’s *The Politics of Friendship* (2005).<sup>304</sup> Gush explores concepts of gender and gendered interactions, concluding that Rout ‘negotiated a place for herself and other women at war’ that was beyond the traditional trope of the colonial helpmeet and more akin to female-gendered brotherhood.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, pp. 15-16. Tolerton explains that she replied to the letter as her aunt, Joyce, is the daughter of Rout’s cousin: Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 16.

<sup>301</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 17.

<sup>302</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 17.

<sup>303</sup> Smart, p. 229.

<sup>304</sup> Nadia Gush, ‘Negotiating fraternal gender lines in World War I: Ettie Rout, venereal disease, and the female brother’, *Women’s Studies Journal*, 30.1 (2016), 47-61.

<sup>305</sup> Gush, p. 59.

Tolerton produced an updated biography of Rout in 2015, titled *Ettie Rout: New Zealand's Safer Sex Pioneer*. The foreword to the book written by Dame Margaret Sparrow, a reproductive rights advocate, who explains that the New Zealand Sexual Health Society (NZSHS) had asked Tolerton to write a shorter biography that would be accessible to a wider audience.<sup>306</sup> Royalties from the sale of this text would be invested in the Ettie Rout Fund, which would provide financial support to restore and maintain Rout's grave.<sup>307</sup> *Ettie Rout: New Zealand's Safer Sex Pioneer* is much more celebratory in tone compared to Tolerton's 1992 biography. Rout is described as an 'unlikely heroine' and the back cover of the book declares that she 'fought a battle for safer sex'.<sup>308</sup>

Some recent commemorations of World War One have attempted to bring Rout into the public eye but historical narratives of broader subjects that include Rout in a meaningful way are infrequent.<sup>309</sup> I believe this is, at least in part, due to the tendency of New Zealand historians to mythologize Gallipoli, fixating on ANZAC experiences on the Turkish coast and 'forgetting' others. For many decades during the twentieth century there existed

a persistent and widespread belief that something of enormous significance to New Zealanders occurred on that distant peninsula in the Aegean Sea – not a 'baptism of blood', perhaps, but a degree of sacrifice for an ideal that gave New Zealanders a shared nationwide experience.<sup>310</sup>

Jock Phillips deconstructed the 'obsession' with Gallipoli in his landmark text *A Man's Country?* Phillips explained that the contemporary perception of soldiers as heroes helped to develop a stereotype of New Zealand masculinity that eventually became a kind of

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<sup>306</sup> Margaret Sparrow, 'Foreword', in *Ettie Rout: New Zealand's Safer Sex Pioneer* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2015), pp. 8-13 (p. 13).

<sup>307</sup> Sparrow, 'Foreword', p. 10.

<sup>308</sup> Tolerton, *Ettie Rout*, back cover.

<sup>309</sup> Examples of recent commemorations include Rout's induction on to the Tasmanian Honour Roll of Women in 2008, alongside 27 others, and a 2003 project which saw artistic glass etchings installed in the Anglican Cathedral of St Paul, Wellington, alongside tribute books which contained the names and biographies of 50 women who contributed to women's rights in New Zealand: see Sparrow, 'Foreword', pp. 12-13.

<sup>310</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 507-508.

representative nationhood.<sup>311</sup> More recent discussions, particularly near the centenary of World War One, reflected on the reality of the Gallipoli campaign. Felicity Barnes asked why ‘a failed imperial invasion of a foreign land’ provided New Zealanders a new sense of self when Australian troops also shared this experience.<sup>312</sup> She continued, criticizing the ‘relentless focus on Gallipoli’ and the resulting loss of interest and knowledge of New Zealand’s wider involvement in World War One.<sup>313</sup>

Attempts are now being made to shift the focus of World War One histories. An exhibition titled *An Impressive Silence: Public Memory and Personal Experience of the Great War* was prepared and hosted by Archives New Zealand from 2008. Organized into seven thematic sections such as nursing and commemoration, one was dedicated entirely to ‘Ettie Rout and VD’. Reviewer Kirstie Ross explained in the *New Zealand Journal of History* that the exhibition ‘reflects the diversifying historiography of World War I’.<sup>314</sup> In her 2017 book *Make Her Praises Heard Afar*, Jane Tolerton uses a chronological and geographical framework to construct an anthology of New Zealand women overseas during World War One.<sup>315</sup> Tolerton includes Rout and situates her and other women within the broader context of the war, highlighting their connections to each other. Such an analysis of Rout’s work highlights her role in promoting a horizon free from venereal disease, where women were educated about reproductive health and wellbeing and empowered to make choices about sexual partners and procreation.

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<sup>311</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man’s Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996), p. 163.

<sup>312</sup> Felicity Barnes, ‘Anzac: Myth and Memory’, *Newsroom* <<https://www.newsroom.co.nz/anzac-myth-and-memory>> [accessed 25 September 2019].

<sup>313</sup> Barnes, ‘Anzac: Myth and Memory’.

<sup>314</sup> Kirstie Ross, review of *An Impressive Silence: Public Memory and Personal Experience of the Great War*, in *New Zealand Journal of History*, 43.1 (2009), 112-114 (p. 113).

<sup>315</sup> Jane Tolerton, *Make Her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand Women Overseas in World War One* (Wellington: Booklovers Books, 2017).

## Sex, marriage, and an era of change

Rout's booklets *Safe Marriage* and *Two Years in Paris* and their imagined horizons emerge from a transitional era in global history, where the impacts of World War One were being tallied and resolved. The pamphlets indicate a tension between tradition and convention in the post war period, with reactions to Rout's work especially illuminating a struggle between those who viewed continuation of the status quo as the best horizon, and those who insisted on the benefit, and in some cases necessity, of a revolutionized future. By exploring early twentieth century spaces of experience related to sex and marriage, we can also see traces of earlier horizons of expectation like those presented by Julius Vogel and explored in Chapter One.

Perspectives on marriage shifted somewhat in New Zealand during the 1880s and 1890s, in part due to the suffrage campaign and its success in gaining women the right to vote in 1893. It is here that we again meet the idea of the 'new woman', the emancipated female who was derided by the intransigent as a 'trouser-wearing, bicycle-riding, mannish [threat] to social order and marital happiness'.<sup>316</sup> In the early twentieth century, the new woman sought (among other things) to modernize marriage.<sup>317</sup> This transformed woman,

when she did not shy away from marriage altogether, was widely regarded as insisting on a marriage on very different terms from her more conventional sisters.<sup>318</sup>

It is within this matrimonial zeitgeist that Rout writes and publishes *Safe Marriage*. Rout presents 'very different terms' for marriage including the ability for women to control their reproductive futures and an emphasis on marriages defined strongly by love. Deborah Montgomerie argues that it was common for women's right's advocates of this era to articulate

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<sup>316</sup> Moffat, p. 308.

<sup>317</sup> Note: 'The early-twentieth-century commotion about modern marriage concentrated on Pākehā women and their marital prospects.' Deborah Montgomerie, 'New Women and Not-So-New Men: Discussions About Marriage in New Zealand, 1890-1914', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 51.1 (2017), 36-64 (p. 40).

<sup>318</sup> Montgomerie, p. 51.

marriage as something positive, and more importantly, something that could be improved: marriage could be made perfect.<sup>319</sup> This is also reflected in Rout's *Safe Marriage*, as the title of her book comes from her consistent refrain that marriage could be made 'safe' from the dangers of vice.<sup>320</sup> Montgomerie is careful to make clear that the idea of the new woman was exactly that – an idea. In reality, few women were as zealous about women's rights as the caricature implied. However, Montgomerie emphasizes the significance of the trope was not necessarily in its truth but in its ability to epitomize 'a sense of changing times'.<sup>321</sup> Perspectives on marriage had also been transforming before the new woman emerged.

Despite changing views of marriage, birth control and sex education remained controversial topics in the early twentieth century, both within and outside matrimonial realms. Education as a form of venereal disease prevention or treatment was rejected on the grounds of the 'moral danger' such information may pose to children and young people.<sup>322</sup> During the nineteenth century and at the turn of the twentieth, children and young people were expected to receive sex education from their parents, as authorities such as schools, churches, and the health department refused to provide such information.<sup>323</sup> However, parents did not necessarily freely dispense knowledge about sex – if at all. In some cases, children were actively prevented from obtaining sex education; girls in particular were to be protected.<sup>324</sup> Sex was a taboo topic and children were commonly discouraged from asking questions, as adults believed honest sexual knowledge would frighten them.<sup>325</sup> One of the most commonly suggested solutions to the problem of venereal disease was abstinence. It seemed simple: young people could not contract venereal disease if they were not engaging in the act that spreads it. However, cultural

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<sup>319</sup> Montgomerie, p. 51.

<sup>320</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 33.

<sup>321</sup> Montgomerie, p. 45.

<sup>322</sup> Kampf, *Mapping Out the Venereal Wilderness*, p. 53.

<sup>323</sup> Kampf, *Mapping Out The Venereal Wilderness*, p. 53.

<sup>324</sup> Hera Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception 1800-1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 169-170.

<sup>325</sup> Cook, pp. 169-170.

expectations considered sex to be necessary in marriage – husbands would demand ‘marital rights’ from wives to satisfy their own carnal needs as well as to procreate – so chastity was only recommended to unmarried youths.<sup>326</sup>

Since venereal disease was considered an infection of vice and sin, and marriage was a sacred union of two individuals, it appears that matrimony was seen as a ‘safe harbor’ from infections. Marriage became a popular solution to the dual problems of venereal disease and ‘promiscuity’ (that is, sex between unmarried individuals). Early sex education literature commonly situated sexuality within the contexts of marriage and reproduction.<sup>327</sup> Sex outside marriage was condemned but sex within marriage was viewed positively, and procreation was encouraged. Rout, too, framed her suggestions for the reduction of venereal disease rates within the realms of marriage. She recommended ‘early marriage’ but she also redefined terms like ‘chastity’ and rejected morality-based arguments that viewed venereal disease as punishment for vice or sin.

Rather than reduce rates of venereal disease, a significant consequence of a lack of sex education was that of sexual ignorance. Oral histories conducted on the subject of sex, particularly in the decades between World War One and World War Two, have consistently found that sexual knowledge was low:

This sexual ignorance often included lack of knowledge of how babies were made, that the baby emerged into the world through the vagina, of reproductive processes such as menstruation, of the body of the opposite sex, and of the actual act of coitus.<sup>328</sup>

Perhaps one of the most outrageous stories of sexual ignorance is that of British woman Marie Stopes. Born in Edinburgh in 1880, Stopes was married in 1911 at the age of 31. Several years

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<sup>326</sup> June Rose, *Marie Stopes and the Sexual Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), p. 111.

<sup>327</sup> Sauerteig and Davidson, p. 7.

<sup>328</sup> Hera Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception, 1800-1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 169.

later, motivated by her worry that she had not yet fallen pregnant, she began researching sex.<sup>329</sup> It was through her reading that she – apparently – discovered she was still a virgin, and it was this revelation that resulted in the annulment of her marriage in 1916 and provided the impetus for her book *Married Love*.<sup>330</sup> Historians debate the truth of this story but it does align somewhat with the ubiquitous ignorance common throughout the historiography of sex. While an extreme example, Stopes used her experience to promote *Married Love*, capitalizing on both the familiarity in her story and the scandalous nature of a woman speaking or writing publicly about sex.

A compelling duality present within shifting conceptions of marriage in the early twentieth century was that marriage remained desirable: the key change was to encourage and empower *better* unions, not to dissuade women from marrying. By the end of World War One, this was partially fueled by the moral panic over venereal disease. Venereal disease was not a new issue faced by the world when Rout landed in Cairo in 1916. While the first recorded outbreak of syphilis can be traced to Western Europe in 1492, there are opaque and unverified accounts of symptoms that *could* refer to venereal disease as far back as 2500 BC.<sup>331</sup> Infections skyrocketed during World War One, as soldiers in cities far from home found themselves facing their own mortality: the majority of soldiers contracted venereal disease from prostitutes.<sup>332</sup> While venereal disease rates increased for Canadian, British, and Australian forces during the war, historian Antje Kampf points out that the demographic characteristics of New Zealand soldiers contributed especially to their proclivity for engaging sex workers. Most of these men were under 30 years old and unmarried, and this relative freedom (and perhaps some naivety) combined with easy access to alcohol and brothels in cities like Cairo and

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<sup>329</sup> Geppert, p. 399.

<sup>330</sup> Geppert, p. 399.

<sup>331</sup> See: J. D. Oriel, 'Origins' and 'The French Disease', in *The Scars of Venus: A History of Venereology* (London: Springer London, 1994), 1-10 and 11-24.

<sup>332</sup> Oriel, p. 208.

Paris.<sup>333</sup> By the end of the war, over 400,000 cases of venereal disease had been reported across the British Army including the Dominion Forces, with approximately 16,000 of those cases identified as New Zealand soldiers, although the actual figures are likely to be higher.<sup>334</sup> These high rates of venereal disease galvanized the attitudes of the press and authorities towards ‘immoral women’ (i.e. prostitutes) who were seen as the main cause of infections and ‘good marital relations’, such as those described in books like *Married Love* and *Safe Marriage*, were viewed as the solution.<sup>335</sup>

Military authorities either did not or could not deal effectively with the problem of venereal disease. Today, the main treatment for sexually transmitted diseases (STIs) is antibiotics, but penicillin was not discovered until 1929 and was not mass produced for medical use until the 1940s. Treatments for venereal disease in the early twentieth century could be painful and were not always successful. The standard treatment for syphilis was mercury or arsenic/bismuth injections once a week for a total of forty weeks, and for gonorrhoea, regular urethral irrigation.<sup>336</sup> However, military authorities during World War One preferred an educative approach, including preaching abstinence from both alcohol and sex.<sup>337</sup> This was for two main reasons. Firstly, due to high casualty rates, the Allied Forces needed to return men to the front lines as soon as possible; they simply could not allow long periods of hospitalization.<sup>338</sup> Secondly, military authorities worried any distribution of condoms or the recommendation of other preventative measures would be seen as acceptance or

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<sup>333</sup> Antje Kampf, ‘Controlling Male Sexuality: Combating Venereal Disease in the New Zealand Military during Two World Wars’, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 17.2 (2009), 235-258 (pp. 238-239).

<sup>334</sup> Rose, pp. 111-112. See also: Philippa Levine, ‘Colonial Soldiers, White Women, and the First World War’, in *Prostitution, race, and politics: policing venereal disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>335</sup> Rose, pp. 111-112.

<sup>336</sup> Margaret Sparrow, ‘Milestones in New Zealand Sexual Health’, *Australasian Sexual Health Conference*, 2003 <[http://www.nzshs.org/images/History/Milestones\\_in\\_NZ\\_Sexual\\_Health.pdf](http://www.nzshs.org/images/History/Milestones_in_NZ_Sexual_Health.pdf)> p. 1 [accessed 6 April 2021]; Kampf, ‘Controlling Male Sexuality’, p. 241.

<sup>337</sup> Kampf, ‘Controlling Male Sexuality’, pp. 239-240.

<sup>338</sup> Oriol, p. 203.

encouragement of pre-marital sex, which was ‘immoral behavior’ – especially from the honorable soldier.<sup>339</sup>

After World War One, concerns were raised about soldiers returning home and spreading venereal disease to civilians, such as their wives and girlfriends. This in turn fueled fears about ‘national efficiency’ and the future of the British race that had been already heightened by the high death toll of the war.<sup>340</sup> In New Zealand, the Contagious Disease Branch of the Health Department was established in 1919 and venereal disease clinics opened in the four main urban centres: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.<sup>341</sup> These clinics were established to treat returned servicemen, but quickly extended to accommodate the rising number of civilian cases.<sup>342</sup>

Despite shifting attitudes towards marriage and a recognition of the severity of the venereal disease problem, Rout remained objectionable, particularly in New Zealand. Her frankness about sex, practical approach to improving sexual health, and insistence that both soldiers and prostitutes were part of the transmission problem sat uneasily with both military hierarchy and a wider society that continued to be preoccupied with questions of morality. This reassessment of Rout’s significance and exploration of her mobilisation of the future as a trope to improve sexual health furthers recent work that acknowledges her central role in both the national and international story.

### Soldiers and prostitutes

In the two publications *Safe Marriage* and *Two Years in Paris*, Rout envisions a horizon of expectation to frame a narrative of venereal disease, imagining a positive future where

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<sup>339</sup> Kampf, ‘Controlling Male Sexuality’, p. 241.

<sup>340</sup> Kampf, *Mapping Out the Venereal Wilderness*, p. 16.

<sup>341</sup> Kampf, *Mapping Out the Venereal Wilderness*, p. 16.

<sup>342</sup> Kampf, *Mapping Out the Venereal Wilderness*, p. 16.

infections no longer exist but also presenting a rather dystopian alternative where innocent people, particularly women and children, suffer unnecessarily. This latter scenario reflects the reality of Rout's space of experience; due to the stigma associated with venereal disease the experiences of those infected rarely received press. By highlighting the consequences of venereal disease, Rout attempts to educate the general public and in turn, motivate change, particularly encouraging cultural acceptance of physical and chemical prophylaxis.

*Safe Marriage* is a short pamphlet, intended to provide instruction for the use of prophylaxis procured at chemist stores or from doctors. Legislation in England prevented medical professionals from recommending these for the prevention of venereal disease and they were forbidden to supply printed directions with them.<sup>343</sup> Rout also expresses the need for prophylaxis and how these measures can prevent venereal disease. The booklet is educative and practical. *Two Years in Paris* is more narrative based than *Safe Marriage*, telling the story of Rout's time in Paris during World War One. Rout outlines her work with soldiers and prostitutes, proclaiming the success of prophylaxis in reducing venereal disease rates and the willingness of individuals to patronize the licensed brothel she supervised. The tone of *Two Years in Paris* is rather sarcastic and caustic: Rout appears frustrated with her opponents. She refers to their 'childish inaccuracies and deliberate half-truths' about venereal disease and the 'poison gas' they spread about prophylaxis options – the latter being quite the dog whistle to a world that has just emerged from a devastating global conflict.<sup>344</sup>

Rout's future-focused rhetoric is further tailored within these two books to apply specifically to several different groups of people, such as husbands, wives and children, and prostitutes. She commonly references the responsibility all individuals have towards the collective future of 'the nation' and to this end, she also comments on the future role of birth

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<sup>343</sup> Ettie Rout, *Two Years in Paris* (London: self-published, 1923), p. 4.

<sup>344</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, pp. 20, 48.

control and prophylaxis as a eugenicist tool. Prevention of venereal disease is presented as vital to creating and maintaining healthy, happy, and strong future populations. While the two booklets *Safe Marriage* and *Two Years in Paris* were intended to bring Rout's wartime ideas about safe sex and the prevention of venereal disease to the general public, she still necessarily engages with a soldier/prostitute dichotomy throughout her narratives. Her ideas are extended and modified to apply more appropriately to civilians, and her discussions of prostitution remain relevant as sex work continued even during times of peace.

Rout observes that society has a duty of care to prevent the spread of disease. This extends even to 'immoral' women. She justifies this by explaining why women become prostitutes in the first place: prostitutes are often 'of a peculiar mentality or [have] overdeveloped animal instincts', and many adopt the profession due to alcoholism or poverty.<sup>345</sup> These ideas reflect commonly held beliefs about prostitutes at the time. These women were often portrayed as 'fallen women' and were often treated as an entirely different class of human compared to those in 'moral' society. Rout also claims that prostitution is actually the *effect* of venereal disease not the cause, as many prostitutes are 'mentally and morally deficient' with their deficiencies caused by syphilitic or alcoholic parents.<sup>346</sup> Therefore, the transmission of venereal disease is a cycle, which Rout intends to break.

While Rout's proposed solutions to the venereal disease issue tend to err on the side of realistic and practical short-term change, she does offer some long-term options. In terms of prostitution, she promotes a system of regulated and inspected brothels, where the women are guaranteed to be infection-free. But, rather radically, Rout suggests that the way to abolish prostitution long-term is for women to become fully economically independent.<sup>347</sup> In Rout's

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<sup>345</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 25.

<sup>346</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 25.

<sup>347</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 7.

ideal future, women would not need to sell their bodies in order ‘to purchase the necessities and comforts of civilized life’.<sup>348</sup>

Rout seeks to explain some of the reasons for prostitution, yet she still positions herself as fundamentally opposed to the activity, often referring to it as ‘mercenary intercourse’ throughout the booklets. This phrasing conjures images of men fighting for whichever side paid the best; an association that does not reflect well on the sex worker’s ethics and does not indicate the presence of loyalty that Rout claims is a key characteristic of a safe marriage. While Rout does display empathy to the plight of both the soldier and the prostitute she does not necessarily approve of their choices:

Promiscuous or casual relationship with strangers is a nasty, dirty habit – devastating to personal health and happiness... Marriages of convenience and all other forms of mercenary intercourse, are wrong, indecent, unnatural, anti-social.<sup>349</sup>

In terms of the soldier buying sex when he is on leave, Rout understands the reasons for the impulse. He has been exposed to the ‘filthy discomfort, weary monotony, nerve-racking noise and ever-present death’ of war, and the pleasure of intercourse is a welcome comfort.<sup>350</sup> Rather than attempt to discourage the activity, as military authorities had unsuccessfully tried, Rout provided the address of a ‘sanitary’ Paris brothel and dispensed prophylaxis kits to New Zealand soldiers on leave. She appealed to these men by exploiting their sense of duty to girlfriends left at home and future wives and children.<sup>351</sup>

As described previously in this chapter, Contagious Disease Acts were enacted in Britain and New Zealand in the late nineteenth century. These were legislative controls that somewhat intended to prevent the spread of venereal disease, but also served as a way to

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<sup>348</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 7.

<sup>349</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>350</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 10.

<sup>351</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 9.

remove undesirable women (i.e. prostitutes) from society and ‘treat’ or ‘reform’ them. The Acts were repealed in the early twentieth century, with Rout in opposition to their removal, referring to this as a ‘great misfortune’ and ‘the worst blow ever struck at marriage’.<sup>352</sup> She suggests that they should have instead been extended to apply to men too. This is not recognition of the existence of male prostitutes but rather a way to highlight a double standard regarding sex: men avoided culpability, despite their actions in soliciting sex workers.

Significantly, Rout also used the future in a novel way to convince Parisian prostitutes to use her prophylaxis kits during World War One.<sup>353</sup> She suggested to these women that if they were to infect ANZAC soldiers, the men would be too unwell to fight the Germans, and this would result in the fall of Paris where the women would become refugees.<sup>354</sup> Apparently, the prostitutes enthusiastically accepted this reasoning and agreed to use the kits, declaring that ‘they would help to win the War by keeping our soldiers Clean and Well’.<sup>355</sup>

### Husbands and fathers, wives and mothers

The key theme of *Safe Marriage* is that of ‘making marriage safe’ - that is, preventing harm caused to women and children by their husbands and fathers. Rout claims that marriage is ‘the most dangerous of all our social institutions’ and is blighted by sexual ignorance and disproportionate legal and religious control.<sup>356</sup> She also recognizes that the main purpose of marriage is to procreate and uses this to justify placing responsibility firmly with women to expand their sexual knowledge.<sup>357</sup> Rout appears to believe that sex is inevitable. She alludes to men’s ‘mental and physical needs’ especially those of soldiers, and to the fact that abstinence

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<sup>352</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 63.

<sup>353</sup> Note: Rout refers to World War One as simply ‘the war’ for obvious reasons. I have used alternative nomenclature throughout this analysis for purposes of clarity.

<sup>354</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 12.

<sup>355</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 12.

<sup>356</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 17.

<sup>357</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 17.

is not a viable long-term solution for reasons of population decline.<sup>358</sup> With the certainty of intercourse in mind, Rout suggests that the best way to fight the spread of venereal disease is to avoid infections and prevent pregnancies where the mother and/or father are afflicted.<sup>359</sup>

Asserting that venereal disease is the ‘chief obstacle’ to healthy marriage, Rout imagines a future where such infections have been eliminated.<sup>360</sup> This could occur in two or three generations, she reasons, if appropriate sexual hygiene was taught to all adults and if promiscuous intercourse (i.e. sex outside marriage) was effectively regulated.<sup>361</sup> These solutions echo common contemporary refrains about venereal disease: it was apparently caused by uncleanness, and often spread by less desirable members of society such as the sexually deviant or prostitutes. Despite similarities in her rhetoric, Rout did not necessarily share the moral beliefs that underpinned these notions.

Rout took particular exception to the idea that venereal disease was in some way punishment for sin or vice, especially if contracted through extra-marital sex. She questions why children must pay penance for ‘the sins of the fathers’.<sup>362</sup> However, she does seem to concede that promiscuous intercourse was indeed a sin of sorts, referring to those who contract venereal disease as ‘sinners’. Due to the severity of the consequences of this sinful action, Rout reasons that

we must cease wanting to poison the sinner. We must actively work to save him from the penalties of his folly, for that is the only way in which we can save his victims.<sup>363</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 11; Rout, *Safe Marriage*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>359</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 29.

<sup>360</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 22.

<sup>361</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 22.

<sup>362</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>363</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 25.

The key point of difference appears to be that Rout believes men infected with venereal disease are not malicious but instead oblivious and uninformed.

Rout also rejects suggestions that her proposed future and the action required to achieve it will ‘make vice safe’. Instead, she proposes a pragmatic, realistic solution to a problem that affects innocent people but also damages the physical health of the individual and the collective.<sup>364</sup> She wants to avoid ‘adding one fragment after another to the Nation’s pile of damaged goods’.<sup>365</sup> Furthermore, Rout acknowledges the financial cost of venereal disease. She discloses that those infected are being treated at the public expense and, since venereal disease is entirely preventable, this is a cost that taxpayers unnecessarily bear.<sup>366</sup>

Responsibility is mainly placed on the woman – the present or future wife and mother – to ensure the good health of herself and her partner. Rout justifies this by explaining that any contraceptives are most easily and most effectively used by women, not men.<sup>367</sup> If a woman does not trust her husband’s reproductive health then she should avoid conception and infection by using the prophylactic precautions outlined in *Safe Marriage*.<sup>368</sup> The key consideration for any woman engaging in sexual intercourse is that such an intimate connection may result in a pregnancy: she must be sure of the man’s suitability for fatherhood, and this includes knowledge or reassurance of his salubrity.<sup>369</sup> Rout does not provide guidelines for how to obtain this knowledge. She does not suggest physical characteristics to look for or helpful questions to ask – a puzzling omission from a booklet intended to educate women and to ‘make marriage safe’.

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<sup>364</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 33.

<sup>365</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 65.

<sup>366</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 34.

<sup>367</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 33.

<sup>368</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 29.

<sup>369</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 29.

For Rout, woman is ‘the natural guardian of sexual virtue’.<sup>370</sup> Biologically, all new life relies upon the female body, so it is imperative that women are suitably educated to understand their obligations and duties.<sup>371</sup> This is similar to the ethos of Truby King, who sought to teach women about their responsibilities during pregnancy and in the first few months and years of baby’s life. One of the central aspects of King’s Plunket manuals is that babies rely upon their mothers to give them the best start possible in life. In a similar vein, although referring to an earlier part of motherhood (even before conception) Rout points out that women have the power, through avoiding or partaking in intercourse, to improve, stagnate, or degrade the population.<sup>372</sup> Even though it is her husband who brings venereal disease into the marital bed, it is the duty of the wife to ‘break the chain of infection’.<sup>373</sup> Women are in control of future transmissions of venereal disease. Just like King believes that education about motherhood would reduce infant mortality, Rout declares that knowledge about sex and sexual hygiene will empower women to stop the spread of sexually transmitted infections.<sup>374</sup>

Promotion of sex education is important to Rout and is interwoven across the two books. Informal sex education was minimal and formal information non-existent, so much of the population was highly ignorant about the details of intercourse and bewildered by their own bodies. Rout argues that the ‘national blood-stream’ will only be clean when ‘there is complete knowledge of sexual control and sanitation among all of us’.<sup>375</sup> She very clearly presents the didactic purpose of *Safe Marriage*, explaining that:

The following pages are written with the object of imparting useful, practical knowledge to sensible and serious women. The women who accept and apply this knowledge can rest calm in the sure and certain faith that it is their offspring who will build up the coming race.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 7.

<sup>371</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 36.

<sup>372</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 7.

<sup>373</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 36.

<sup>374</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 36.

<sup>375</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 36.

<sup>376</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 36.

Rout firmly believes in the benefit of knowledge, and claims that a sense of false morality based upon fear has preyed upon society. Her booklets seek to dismantle that fear-based morality framework by providing information about birth control and the prevention of venereal disease.<sup>377</sup> Rout does concede that books can only partially help to improve the situation and recommends that men and women seek ‘personal tuition’ from a ‘competent authority’.<sup>378</sup>

Rout was not the only woman writing sex education manuals in the early twentieth century. British woman Marie Stopes published a book titled *Married Love* in 1918. It was inspired by her own apparent ignorance of sex. It was

... a handbook on how to obtain sexual gratification and sustain romance in modern marriage, written from the women’s point of view.<sup>379</sup>

The book was aimed at young men and women and was highly sex-positive.<sup>380</sup> Similarly to Rout’s publications, *Married Love* was controversial. Initially, Stopes struggled to find a publisher as no business would risk printing the book.<sup>381</sup> Of particular concern was the text’s description of sexual intercourse. Despite the idea of the new woman and shifting conceptions of marriage, this explicit explanation conflicted with extant Victorian attitudes to sex and women, still somewhat prevalent in British society.<sup>382</sup> In 1922, *Married Love* was also banned in New Zealand under the same legislation that restricted sales of Rout’s *Safe Marriage*.

However, the book was a ‘runaway success’ with more than 2000 copies sold within the first fortnight.<sup>383</sup> Furthermore, the popularity of *Married Love* endured, with multiple

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<sup>377</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 8.

<sup>378</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 43.

<sup>379</sup> Rose, p. 88.

<sup>380</sup> Rose, p. 112.

<sup>381</sup> Rose p. 102.

<sup>382</sup> Rose, p. 100.

<sup>383</sup> Rose, pp. 108, 110.

revisions and editions demanded over the decades from 1918.<sup>384</sup> By 1955, over a million copies had been printed over 28 editions.<sup>385</sup> The phrase ‘married love’ also entered the popular vernacular as a synonym for ‘everlasting happiness’ reflecting contemporary conceptions of sex, spiritual love, and shifting ideas of marriage.<sup>386</sup> Much scholarship regarding Stopes focuses on *Married Love* as it was the pinnacle of her literary career, which contrasts starkly with Rout, who is rather absent from the historical record either as an author or a campaigner.<sup>387</sup> It is also difficult to find records of sales of Rout’s *Safe Marriage* due to its ban in New Zealand.

*Married Love* also turned Stopes into a sort of celebrity expert on sex and marriage, something that Rout did not gain from the publication of her books. After *Married Love* was published Stopes received hundreds of letters from the general public who viewed her as ‘a heroine, counsellor, doctor and friend’.<sup>388</sup> Both husbands and wives wrote to her for advice on a range of intimate issues, and as Stopes began to campaign on the subject of birth control, many women also corresponded about unwanted pregnancies.<sup>389</sup> Just as her personal experiences had formed the foundation for *Married Love*, Stopes also responded to these letters often with guidance and recommendations she practiced herself.<sup>390</sup>

The success of *Married Love* was based upon a multitude of converging factors, including fortuitous timing. Stopes’ writing style was considered accessible and her tone very

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<sup>384</sup> Alexander C. T. Geppert, ‘Divine Sex, Happy Marriage, Regenerated Nation: Marie Stopes’s Marital Manual *Married Love* and the Making of a Best-Seller, 1918-1955’, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 8.3 (1998), 389-433 (p. 397).

<sup>385</sup> Geppert, p. 397.

<sup>386</sup> Geppert, p. 407.

<sup>387</sup> Geppert, p. 397.

<sup>388</sup> Rose, p. 115. As a young woman, Stopes studied botany and geology, earning both a Doctor of Science (D. Sc.) from University College London and a Ph. D. in botany from the University of Munich, Germany, around 1904 or 1905. In 1904, she became a lecturer of Paleobotany at Victoria University of Manchester. Alongside this teaching role she undertook independent and collaborative research projects, particularly related to studies of coal. Despite listing her qualifications on the title page on *Married Love*, neither Stopes nor her publisher made it clear that her education had not been in medicine: Geppert, p. 396.

<sup>389</sup> Rose, p. 139.

<sup>390</sup> Rose, p. 139.

appropriate for the subject matter.<sup>391</sup> Despite containing rather explicit material for the time period, Stopes was praised for providing a ‘clinically detached’ description of how to enjoy sex.<sup>392</sup> The book was also relatively short and concise.<sup>393</sup> The fact that Stopes was a woman writing about sex for an audience that included other women was also significant:

[S]he had dared to stake a claim for female sexuality, for women’s sexual needs and sexual rights. Her views challenged the centuries of prejudice and superstition and the accretions of religious teaching which saw women’s bodies and women’s attractions as desirable but also dirty and corrupting and the lust for women as shameful and sinful...<sup>394</sup>

This energized both men and women in a time where ideas about marriage were changing and gender roles were beginning to transform. *Married Love* lurched onto bookshelves in an era where female sexuality was perhaps more fluid than it had been previously. Labour demands of World War One had allowed women more economic freedom, and since Stopes’ book came out eight months before the end of the war, she benefitted from this critical point of change.<sup>395</sup> Furthermore, *Married Love* was released a month after some groups of British women were enfranchised for the first time (homeowners, wives of homeowners, and women over 30 years old).<sup>396</sup> Rout’s *Safe Marriage*, however, perhaps was released slightly too late to capitalize on many of these factors and by 1922, the novelty of a sex guidebook had somewhat waned.

Rout did attempt to make her writings relevant to contemporary society. She made connections between sex education and women’s rights. Rout believes in bodily autonomy, and equates reproductive freedoms with other improvements in women’s lives:

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<sup>391</sup> Rose, p. 115.

<sup>392</sup> Rose, p. 113.

<sup>393</sup> Geppert, p. 404.

<sup>394</sup> Rose, p. 111.

<sup>395</sup> Rose, p. 111.

<sup>396</sup> Rose, p. 112.

If she is fit to vote, fit to pay taxes, fit to hold her own estate under the Married Women's Property Act, why should she not learn to exercise intelligent and responsible control over her own self?<sup>397</sup>

Perhaps this is also an attempt by Rout to provoke compliance among female readers of her publications. Despite Rout's previous philosophical conflicts with 'traditional' feminists, it is possible that she was astute enough to recognize the support of women's right advocates was invaluable.

Rout certainly did use specific language and pertinent anecdotes to appeal to the emotions of her readers, with similarities again to the methods used by Truby King. By describing the consequences of ignoring the high rates of venereal disease, she attempts to influence feelings of guilt or shame in order to motivate changed attitudes and inspire action. Rout describes wives and children often as 'innocent' or even as 'victims' and suggests that their plight 'must affect us most deeply'<sup>398</sup> A vignette at the end of *Two Years in Paris* invokes a strong image of the consequences of untreated venereal disease passed to babies:

Is syphilis a dirt-disease or a just-punishment?

If a punishment — think on this picture:

A tiny baby sitting all day in its chair before the window, waving its little hands to and fro — to and fro — to and fro — between the light of Heaven and what should have been its own bright eyes. Just a blur was all the babe could see. Blind from birth. Its father — syphilitic!

And on this:

A new-born babe thrilling its mother's heart with the first cry for nourishment. Three days later its eyes two red and yellow sockets of pus — screaming in its agony, every scream a crucifixion of the mother's soul. Latent gonorrhoea in the father the cause of the tragedy.

Without sin these tiny ones were. Blind they would never have been if only the father had been — CLEAN.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>397</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>398</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 33.

<sup>399</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 48.

This imagery is no doubt intended to influence feelings of guilt and shame in fathers, and anger and anxiety in mothers. Rout perhaps reasoned that by exploring the impacts on others, men and women would start to take venereal disease and in turn, their own reproductive health, seriously – or risk ‘Disease, Disablement, Mental Anguish and Physical Torture, National Deterioration — Death Itself’.<sup>400</sup> Conversely, Rout also attempts to appeal to mothers by suggesting a positive, successful future for any children born to a woman who takes Rout’s advice seriously:

The women who accept and apply this knowledge can rest calm in the sure and certain faith that it is their offspring who will build up the coming race.<sup>401</sup>

Rout compliments women who take her advice, referring to them as sensible and serious.<sup>402</sup>

### The “other”: the unfit and the religious dissenters

In the early twentieth century, discourses around venereal disease also intersected with the eugenics movement. The early birth control movement has been linked by historians to ideas about eugenics, with contraceptives offering a way to reduce procreation from the “undesired” population.<sup>403</sup> Discussion of birth control featured in sex education literature, especially during the inter-war years, with some – like Rout’s *Safe Marriage* – providing instruction in the use of contraceptive methods and prophylactics. As the Western world sought to repopulate after World War One, eugenic ideas were galvanized, with the prevailing thought being that ‘suppressing weaker members of the next generation’ would ensure a future population

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<sup>400</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 49.

<sup>401</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 36.

<sup>402</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 36.

<sup>403</sup> For example, see: Richard A. Soloway, ‘The “Perfect Contraceptive”: Eugenics and Birth Control Research in Britain and America in the Interwar Years’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 30.4 (1995), 637-664; Jane Carey, ‘The Racial Imperatives of Sex: birth control and eugenics in Britain, the United States and Australia in the interwar years’, *Women’s History Review*, 21.5 (2012), 733-752. These narratives are especially popular in American histories, with birth control advocate Margaret Sanger placed at the forefront of eugenic discourse: see Angela Franks, *Margaret Sanger’s Eugenic Legacy: The Control of Female Fertility* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2005).

healthier in body and mind.<sup>404</sup> Eugenicists defined ‘weaker’ in a range of ways, often referring to people with disabilities but sometimes also those living in poverty or with low standards of education.<sup>405</sup> Philipa Levine asserts that Rout undertook her work with soldiers in World War One ‘in the name... of racial purity’ and my analysis of Rout’s booklets affirms this.<sup>406</sup> This section considers the place of “the unfit” in Rout’s horizon, connecting eugenic spaces of experience to her imagined future.

Rout’s horizon did not include a place for everyone. Her eugenic beliefs and animosity towards a worldview based on religious ideas of purity are clear within the two texts. Rout even seeks to redefine words with religious significance that are commonly used by those who oppose her views and beliefs, thus reclaiming the language of dissent and reshaping it to fit within her portrayed horizon. As *Safe Marriage* discusses prophylaxis in depth, the issue of birth control as a eugenic tool is also raised. Rout appears to believe that the women who are mostly likely to seek birth control methods are the women who are most fit to be mothers, and it is the irresponsible and reckless portion of the population who are of most concern. She advocates compulsory sterilization of ‘the feeble-minded and unfit’ and anyone who, or any other reason, is unsuitable to be a parent.<sup>407</sup> Birth control, as a temporary measure to avoid conception, should not be offered to all individuals; instead, the most effective method to improve the health and well-being of the general population is to ‘eliminate the unfit as breeding material’ through permanent means.<sup>408</sup>

Women, as potential mothers, are seen by Rout not only as responsible for giving birth to healthy children but also as responsible for *preventing* the birth of the unfit. The way to

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<sup>404</sup> Rose, p. 134.

<sup>405</sup> Herzog, pp. 24-25.

<sup>406</sup> Levine, *Prostitution, race, and politics*, p. 152.

<sup>407</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, pp.26-27,

<sup>408</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 27.

achieve this is knowledge, and Rout laments that this knowledge is currently deficient.<sup>409</sup> The actual way in which this could be accomplished is through the use of prophylaxis, which Rout does encourage, and is likely alluding to: knowledge and information in turn produces action. Condoms could be used to avoid a future in a physical sense. Fertilization would not occur and, potentially, a child deemed unfit would not be conceived nor born.

In general, Rout seems dismayed that anyone would prioritize religious beliefs over science.<sup>410</sup> She specifically compares and contrasts the prostitute with the Puritan and asks which one is more mischievous and irresponsible<sup>411</sup> She concludes that ‘good’ women do more damage than ‘bad’ women:

at the worst the prostitute inflicts damage on the body, whereas the Puritan inflicts damage on the mind — and the mind is more than the body. The Prostitute is a social rebel; the Puritan a social slave; and slavery may be worse for a Nation than rebellion.<sup>412</sup>

Rout accuses those who opposed her on religious grounds as blocking ‘the Road to Health’ and calls them virulent and poisonous, rather apt descriptions considering that the broader narrative is focused on disease.<sup>413</sup> Rout counters their statements about infected soldiers such as ‘Serve them right!’ with a reminder that those who will suffer most are not these men but their wives and children, and that this kind of response to the suffering of innocents was cruel.<sup>414</sup> Even the patriotic approach appears not to have changed minds, with ‘blind hostility and prejudiced opposition’ rejecting the suggestion that venereal disease affected the fortitude and stamina of armies, therefore prolonging World War One.<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 36.

<sup>410</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>411</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 11.

<sup>412</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 12.

<sup>413</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 11.

<sup>414</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 11.

<sup>415</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p.11.

Rout's apparent belief in the inevitability of sex contrasts strongly with the religious-based opposition she received. Many of these dissenters clung to their inflexible solution of abstinence without recognizing the reality of the circumstances in question, especially when it came to soldiers soliciting prostitutes in war time. Rout had first-hand knowledge of the soldiers of World War One and their experiences both of the war and of the cities they visited during leave. Rout disparages the suggestion that soldiers remain celibate:

... those who in War are torn asunder from their wives and families, no matter what their mental and physical needs may be, must sacrifice themselves on the Altar of Self-Immolation.<sup>416</sup>

Rout links the specific expectation of abstinent soldiers to a more general sanitized, theistic perception of war. Instead, she suggests that war was 'a reversion to jungle-life' and rather than being a spiritual experience for both the soldiers on the front lines and the omnipotent nation, it was a brutalizing affair.<sup>417</sup> Knowledge of Rout's background working with ANZACs and others during World War One provides indirect credence in Rout's authority to speak on the subject of soldiers, sex, prostitutes, and venereal disease – and implicitly discredits her detractors.

Rout also redefines some words and phrases with religious foundations that are commonly used when discussing sex, such as sin, vice, and chastity. Rout reshapes the definition of the word 'chastity', suggesting that celibacy will result in the extinction of humans. Instead, for Rout, chastity means 'happy, healthy sexual intercourse between a man and a woman who love one another'.<sup>418</sup> She seems exasperated at those who would focus on

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<sup>416</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 11.

<sup>417</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 31.

<sup>418</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 35; Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 7.

abstinence as a solution, and strongly implies that the real choice is between sex with love, and sex without love – the latter she labels ‘unchastity’.<sup>419</sup>

Rout expands further on this distinction, labelling sex between two healthy adults without love as ‘vice’, and a woman withholding sex from a relationship enjoying ‘mutual love and desire’ as ‘sin’.<sup>420</sup> Rout also very skillfully weaves two other implications into this explanation. Firstly, the narrative of cleanliness and fitness is continued, with Rout making it clear that the kind of sex that is acceptable is between *healthy* men and women. She also assumes female responsibility for having or not having sex – it would be the woman refusing, not the man – which reflects but also complicates Rout’s belief that women are the physical gatekeepers of sexual health. In *Safe Marriage* Rout states clearly several times that women should not engage in intercourse if they cannot be sure of their partner’s sexual health, yet here, she admonishes women for withholding sex when the man is healthy.<sup>421</sup> Rout does not suggest a way to determine if a man is ‘clean’ enough in either booklet.

Furthermore, Rout concedes that without the presence of venereal disease there would still be vice and sin. She justifies this statement by explaining that venereal disease is a disease of uncleanness – a contention that underpins her life’s work regarding the prevention of such infections.<sup>422</sup> Overall, the pamphlets represent a distillation of Rout’s years of work to prevent venereal disease among soldiers and prostitutes. Rout reframes her ideas from World War One to be relevant to a wider audience during peacetime, reflecting on a future where marriage is made “safe” and women’s health is improved through sex education. In turn, society benefits from happier marriages (which ensures robust nuclear families) and reduced infant mortality.

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<sup>419</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, p. 35; Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 7.

<sup>420</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 7.

<sup>421</sup> Rout, *Safe Marriage*, pp. 29, 31-32.

<sup>422</sup> Rout, *Two Years in Paris*, p. 9

## Reception and rebuttals

The most common theme throughout the spaces of experience inhabited by Ettie Rout is that of controversy, and this defines the cultural space in which her publications were produced and circulated. Even before publication of her booklets, military authorities did not share Rout's enthusiasm for a prophylactic solution to the venereal disease problem, initially believing that the provision of physical prophylaxis would encourage "sin" (specifically, utilizing a prostitute's services). Fear of damaging the reputation of the armed forces or the individual soldier served as a strong deterrent to adopting any provisions that may be interpreted by the wider public as encouraging such 'immoral behavior'.<sup>423</sup> In the early twentieth century, Kiwi servicemen were viewed as inherently honorable heroes whose 'whose triumphant manhood was seen as proving New Zealand's very nationhood'.<sup>424</sup> Exploration of the tension between Rout and her opponents highlights not only the multiplicity of horizons in post-World War One New Zealand but indicates diverging interpretations of relevant spaces of experience, too.

Colonel Parkes, Deputy Director for the NZEFs Medical Services, wrote to the New Zealand Minister of Defense after a meeting with Rout on the subject of venereal disease:

... as a result of the interview I have formed the opinion that venereal disease has become an obsession and completely fascinates her. The person, I cannot say lady, is highly objectionable in every way.<sup>425</sup>

Parkes criticized Rout's demeanor more than her ideas about prevention and treatment of VD, but it is clear that he expected a certain standard of moral conduct from a female, to which Rout did not conform by speaking so candidly about venereal disease.

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<sup>423</sup> Kampf, *Mapping Out the Venereal Wilderness*, p. 91.

<sup>424</sup> Kampf, *Mapping Out the Venereal Wilderness*, pp. 91, 95; Phillips, pp. 158-159, 163.

<sup>425</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 131.

In 1910, the New Zealand government passed the Indecent Publications Act. This followed earlier censorship legislation such as the Offensive Publications Act 1892 (including its many amendments) and the even earlier unofficial system of customs regulations that allowed for the confiscation of offensive material, with the definition of ‘offensive’ to be determined by the individual customs official.<sup>426</sup> The 1910 Act attempted to restrict the availability of ‘indecent’ and ‘obscene’ material:

... literature was obscene if it referred to the sexual organs, to problems arising from sexual intercourse, to prevention or removal or irregularities in menstruation, or to drugs, medicines, appliances, treatment or methods for procuring abortion or miscarriage or preventing conception.<sup>427</sup>

The Customs Act 1913 provided authorities with further powers to control and limit access to printed material deemed ‘offensive’. This Act prohibited the importation of all literature that fell within the above definition of indecent, and provided for discretion on behalf of customs officials.<sup>428</sup> For example, some books were forbidden completely, while others were permitted only for professional use.<sup>429</sup> In theory, literature that discussed or described sexual physiology, or provided contraceptive information could be banned.<sup>430</sup> However, while some ‘sex manuals’ or sexual advice literature was not allowed to enter New Zealand, others were permitted. Furthermore, such censorship did not necessarily have the support of the public.<sup>431</sup>

In October 1922, Rout’s book *Safe Marriage* was banned in New Zealand under the provisions of the Indecent Publications Act and the Customs Act. A handful of advance copies had apparently already been imported by this time.<sup>432</sup> Initial newspaper reports communicated

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<sup>426</sup> Paul Christoffel, *Censored: A short history of censorship in New Zealand* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1989), pp. 3-4. This Act remained in effect until 1954.

<sup>427</sup> Helen Smyth, *Rocking the Cradle: Contraception, Sex and Politics in New Zealand* (Wellington: Steele Roberts Ltd, 2000), p. 30.

<sup>428</sup> Christoffel, p. 10.

<sup>429</sup> Christoffel, p. 10.

<sup>430</sup> Smyth, p. 15.

<sup>431</sup> Smyth, p. 30.

<sup>432</sup> ‘Local and General’, *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 10 October 1922, p. 4.

the prohibition of Rout's book rather benignly, but quickly questions were raised about the inconsistent application of the legislation:

... how is it that books dealing with the same subject with equal frankness have been on sale in probably every bookseller's shop in the Dominion for years past, without any barrier to their importation being raised... or any objection to their open sale...<sup>433</sup>

Particular derision is directed at the level of discretion trusted to 'some obscure official' who is empowered to act 'above the law'.<sup>434</sup> It appears that public opinion against the ban of *Safe Marriage* was neither concerned with the book itself, nor the power of government to prohibit the importation or sale of literature deemed offensive, but simply the process by which offensive material was determined to be indecent or obscene. A letter to the editor of the Christchurch *Star* called the system currently used 'deplorable' and suggested strongly that the 'under hand [sic] methods at present employed should be discontinued.'<sup>435</sup> It was not until early 1923 that it was revealed the main reason for the ban of *Safe Marriage* was Rout's lack of medical qualifications.<sup>436</sup>

Despite her apparent educational deficiencies, Rout's campaigns against venereal disease and her publications were supported by doctors across Europe. The preface to *Safe Marriage* was written by Sir William Arbuthnot Lane, a pioneering British surgeon. Sir Archibald Reid, superintendent of radiology at St. Thomas' Hospital in London, and the author of *Prevention of Venereal Disease* (1920) which was also banned in New Zealand, commented on the censorship debate around *Safe Marriage*. He compared the prudence of New Zealanders with that of 'Darkest Africa' and quipped, 'I wonder if anyone can tell me what New Zealanders do read.'<sup>437</sup> Sir Bryan Donkin, a British doctor and criminologist who also penned

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<sup>433</sup> 'The Censorship', *Press*, 11 October 1922, p. 6.

<sup>434</sup> 'The Censorship', *Press*, 11 October 1922, p. 6.

<sup>435</sup> 'Literary Censorship', *Star [Christchurch]*, 11 October 1922, p. 6.

<sup>436</sup> 'A Censored Book', *Auckland Star*, 9 January 1923, p. 7.

<sup>437</sup> 'Forbidden Books', *Evening Star*, 8 January 1923, p. 4.

the introduction to *Safe Marriage*, made similar comments expressing his surprise and frustration at the restriction of Rout's book. With obvious scorn, he remarked: 'New Zealand is apparently destined to become the last home of the original Puritans.'<sup>438</sup>

The two latter men conflated the views of New Zealand authorities with the beliefs of the general population. In a similar vein, John Stenhouse and Tobias Harper have criticized New Zealand historians for maintaining misconceptions of New Zealand's religious disposition across decades of scholarship. Stenhouse highlights the tendency of academics to present a linear narrative that applauds the 'inevitability of secularization'.<sup>439</sup> Harper interrogates the stereotype of the 'wowsers' – a term used to describe puritans, especially those in support of alcohol prohibition – and concludes that by the 1920s, the wowsers existed in mainstream New Zealand society primarily as a caricature.<sup>440</sup> Significantly, censorship was viewed as a 'sinister plot' associated with wowsers.<sup>441</sup> This perhaps explains responses to the ban placed on Rout's *Safe Marriage*; concerns were raised mostly with the process of censorship rather than the content of Rout's book, indicating that *Safe Marriage* was not necessarily the target. New Zealanders were more fearful of a potential puritan autocracy that did not reflect the views of the majority of the population.

However, a ubiquitous response to Rout's work to prevent venereal disease was very much based in morality. Rout had been introduced to the idea of 'women's rights' at a young age. In 1890, she was recruited by a female teacher from her school to collect signatures for the first women's suffrage petition.<sup>442</sup> During her time in Christchurch she was also acquainted with Alexander Bickerton, a scientist and university professor with radical social beliefs. His

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<sup>438</sup> 'Puritans' Last Home', *Poverty Bay Herald*, 13 January 1923, p. 12.

<sup>439</sup> John Stenhouse, 'God's Own Silence: Secular Nationalism, Christianity and the Writing of New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 38.1 (2004), 52-71 (p. 53).

<sup>440</sup> Tobias Harper, 'Amen, Amen! Christianity, Society and Visions of the Future in 1920s New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 42.2 (2008), 133-153 (p. 134).

<sup>441</sup> Harper, p. 134.

<sup>442</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 24.

feminist views ranged from the economic independence of women to the suggestion that mothers should be paid by the state to raise children, as it was a type of work.<sup>443</sup> He also advocated the supremacy of love over marriage.<sup>444</sup> It is clear that Rout's later ideas about marriage and sex were influenced by her experiences and the people she interacted with, such as Bickerton.

Rout did not fully support the "brand" of feminism that characterized the New Zealand suffrage movement, and directly conflicted with some prominent figures of the movement such as Anna Stout. Rout has been described as a 'social radical', while suffrage-era feminists were 'social purists'.<sup>445</sup> One of the main points on which these groups disagreed was their perception of venereal disease and, in turn, their responses to the Contagious Diseases Act 1869. This Act followed British legislative examples and authorized forced physical examinations of suspected prostitutes and compulsory treatment if they were found to have venereal disease. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) agitated for repeal of this Act on the grounds that it was 'state regulation of vice' and did not do enough to discourage men from engaging with prostitutes.<sup>446</sup> Rout, however, argued that the very way to control the spread of venereal disease and reduce the number of infections was to regulate sexual contact that occurred outside marriage.<sup>447</sup>

The refrain that she was "making vice safe" has echoed throughout the years. One of Rout's most vocal detractors was The New Zealand branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), whose members were mostly religious women. Stenhouse recognizes that many first-wave feminists were Protestant Christians.<sup>448</sup> The WCTU had been

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<sup>443</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>444</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 31.

<sup>445</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 96.

<sup>446</sup> Tolerton, *A Life of Ettie Rout*, p. 95.

<sup>447</sup> The Contagious Diseases Act 1869 was eventually repealed in 1910.

<sup>448</sup> Stenhouse, p. 62.

established in New Zealand in the 1880s following the model of the American organization with the same name. The members of the New Zealand branches were mostly ‘urban middle class women’ who not only organized campaigns for female suffrage but also ‘laid the foundations’ for later legislation such as restrictions on contraception and sex education.<sup>449</sup> The WCTU issued a statement in March 1918 that condemned the ‘effrontery’ of Rout and her apparent encouragement of extra-marital sex (i.e. immoral behaviour):

We contend that we send our sons to fight for purity and righteousness, and we utterly discountenance everything that slackens moral fibre and self-control. We place on record our emphatic repudiation of prophylactics and the woman who advocates them.<sup>450</sup>

This statement was published and republished in many New Zealand newspapers over the following days.

Tobias Harper applies Callum Brown’s idea of ‘discursive Christianity’ which recognizes that dominant religious ideas often exist and are maintained within popular culture and public discourse, rather than by any form of ‘official’ theology.<sup>451</sup> Shaped by this approach, Harper explores religion in New Zealand outside the realm of the church, concluding that:

Theological and organizational developments within institutional churches are relevant to understanding the impact of Christianity on society, but to appreciate the broader role of Christian ideas we need to examine how they were played out and contested in public and popular discourse.<sup>452</sup>

Extending this analysis, Charlotte Greenhalgh traces the development of the concept of ‘spiritual love’ from church-based emergence to its transmission in mainstream New Zealand

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<sup>449</sup> Philida Bunkle, ‘The Origins of the Women’s Movement in New Zealand: The Women’s Christian Temperance Union 1885-1895’, in *Women in New Zealand Society*, ed. by Philida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes (Auckland: Allen & Unwin, 1980), pp. 52-27 (pp. 53-54).

<sup>450</sup> ‘Stop Press Items’, *Evening Star*, 19 March 1918, p. 8.

<sup>451</sup> Harper, pp. 136-137.

<sup>452</sup> Harper, p. 136.

fiction.<sup>453</sup> Greenhalgh argues that spiritual love was based upon shared religious faith and was strongly underpinned a ‘harmonious and loving marriage’.<sup>454</sup> In turn, romantic relationships were celebrated as a fundamental part of ‘a meaningful life’ and sex was considered a ‘sacrament of love’.<sup>455</sup> These beliefs are reflected in the fact that in New Zealand and across the British Empire, marriage remained an important societal expectation into the twentieth century. Deborah Montgomerie contends that New Zealand had been ‘founded in a flurry of pro-marriage sentiment’ with colonists such as Edwin Gibbon Wakefield envisioning marriage as a civilizing force on the wild frontier of a new colony.<sup>456</sup> Set against this backdrop of pro-marriage sentiment and spiritual love, Rout's focus on practical issues to do with sexual health created discomfort. Her pioneering efforts were ahead of their time, evidenced by both the sidelining of her work and the vilification of Rout as somehow “unwomanly” for her campaign against venereal disease.

## Conclusion

Augmenting her work from World War One with ANZAC soldiers, Ettie Rout imagined a horizon of expectation in which venereal disease would be eradicated. She used “the future” to frame her post-war publications on sex, marriage, and contraceptives. Rout’s horizon was one characterized by few or no venereal disease infections, which would in turn reduce the impacts of these illnesses on ‘innocent’ wives and children. Her future was one of warning: one that cautioned against the continuation of the status quo (which at the time, was essentially to do

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<sup>453</sup> Charlotte Greenhalgh, ‘The Church as a Site of Romance in Interwar New Zealand’ in *The Spirit of the Past: Essays on Christianity in New Zealand History*, ed. by Geoffrey Troughton and Hugh Morrison (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011), pp. 126-41.

<sup>454</sup> Greenhalgh, p. 137.

<sup>455</sup> Greenhalgh, p. 137, 139.

<sup>456</sup> Deborah Montgomerie, ‘New Women and Not-So-New Men: Discussions About Marriage in New Zealand, 1890-1914’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 51.1 (2017), 36-64 (p. 37). See also Raewyn Dalziel, ‘The Colonial Helpmeet: Women’s Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 11.2 (1977), 112-123.

nothing). She combined an idealistic future with practicality, emphasising small changes that will aggregate into a larger, revolutionary horizon.

Rout's battle against venereal disease was an extension of national efficacy anxieties raised across the Western world in the early twentieth century, reflecting spaces of experience that existed beyond the borders of New Zealand. Others, including Truby King, utilized their knowledge and interests at this time to not only imagine a brighter future, but also to ensure that future would be achieved. Rout too used her skills in this way. Unlike King, she was not a medical professional, but she had the capability to build intellectual bridges between people with a problem and experts with solutions. Rout's future imaginings also coincided with the rising popularity of medical advice literature and an era of transformation of attitudes to sex, marriage, and contraception.

Rout navigated a rather hostile environment in which she conflicted with military authorities and New Zealand politicians, including the Prime Minister, culminating in the banning of her book *Safe Marriage* in New Zealand. It appears that Rout's personality antagonised others more than her ideas that venereal disease was a medical, not a moral, issue. This is most apparent in the fact that the controlling powers of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force did adopt her prophylactic kits for distribution to soldiers but did not credit her, either publicly or privately.

Rout did not gain much public support for her work either, particularly when compared to her international counterparts, Marie Stopes in England and Margaret Sanger in the USA. Stopes and Sanger retain rather significant places in the histories of sexuality and birth control in their respective contexts. As a New Zealander who spent much of her life overseas, with a career built upon work undertaken in the international theatre of World War One, Rout fits uncomfortably within existing New Zealand historical narratives. Her disconnection from New

Zealand is further enlarged by the banning of *Safe Marriage*, the enactment of war regulations that prevented New Zealand newspapers mentioning her, and the many politicians affronted by her demeanour (including Prime Minister William Massey). Unlike Julius Vogel, Āpirana Ngata, and Truby King, who all gained and leveraged political authority, Rout was repeatedly relegated to the periphery with those in power often attempting to eliminate what influence she did possess.

These differences in contemporary treatment of Rout and her achievements are further complicated by her gender. Just as she is the lone female author surveyed by this thesis, Rout is also the discordant voice among many military, medical, and political men who were also aware of the extent of venereal disease infections both during and after World War One. As a woman discussing sex, including the solicitation of prostitutes, Rout overstepped the boundaries of acceptable behaviour for females in the early twentieth century, and furthermore, she did so within spaces traditionally occupied by a male majority. Additionally, unlike the three male voices in this thesis, Rout never received recognition from the New Zealand government in her own time either. This chapter reveals the reasons for this contemporary and neglect and repositions Rout alongside other future-focused campaigners, affirming the significance of her imagined horizon within New Zealand's past.

## Conclusion

The four individuals surveyed across this thesis - Julius Vogel, Āpirana Ngata, Truby King, and Ettie Rout – all imagined a horizon of expectation in order to frame and communicate their thoughts on contemporary problems. However, they did so in a range of ways, using different genres, textual forms and stylistic features to convey their messages. All four individuals also sought to appeal to various groups within New Zealand society, highlighting further the spaces of experience underpinning the author's depiction of the future and the connection to their proposed horizon. Several key themes tightly bound to conceptions of the future are visible across the texts analysed, including ideas of form; authority, power and identity; and gender, race, and empire. By considering the horizons of expectation produced by these four authors as a continuum of New Zealand settler futurity, the nuance and multiplicity of settler colonial New Zealand is illuminated.

Vogel, Ngata, King, and Rout imagined the future for various reasons. They all recognised that something could be better – that something could be improved upon or that something terrible could be prevented – but they also had individual motivations for their publications. Vogel's novel explores many dreams he did not get to fulfil during his political career, and in a more practical sense, he anticipated *Anno Domini 2000* would make a substantial amount of money to fund his retirement activities (it did not). Ngata was motivated to preserve Māori heritage as this was *his* heritage too, and that of his family and friends. King viewed a reduction in infant mortality rates as one way to strengthen the British Empire, which was especially pertinent following the incredible loss of life as a result of World War One. Rout wished to reframe attitudes to sex and marriage in order to make these activities more pleasant and enjoyable, especially for women, but she was also motivated by eugenic beliefs

that viewed population management by contraception as a means of invigorating the British Empire.

Themes of empire are an indelible presence in all seven texts. Broadly, all four authors were influenced by settler colonialism. Rout's work emerges from war-time anxieties, with her horizon stretching beyond the borders of New Zealand and linking New Zealand to "traditional" imperial allies such as Australia and Britain, but also to new places such as mainland Europe, particularly France. King's 1917 pamphlet *Save the Babies* relies heavily upon imperial rhetoric, attempting to capitalise on post-war sentiments of racial decay and fears of the consequences of depopulation, but his earlier guidebooks are also underpinned by a fundamental desire to strengthen the empire by enriching the health of future generations. Vogel's imagined future is led by female politicians, but the political landscape is shaped by federation of the British Empire, an almost impervious global force. Ngata's essay seeks to preserve Māori identity within a colonised society, problematising and challenging settler colonial dominance. It is also introspective regarding his own identity as a young Māori man educated within a European system and his future as a changemaker within Pākehā political institutions.

A contrast is evident between the 'contemplative' futures of Vogel and Ngata, and the 'didactic' ones of King and Rout. That is not to say that educative futures cannot also be visionary, but if the texts are considered on the basis of form alone (and not tone), there is a clear distinction between the guidebooks of King and Rout, Vogel's novel, and Ngata's essay. The latter two do not necessarily seek to solve the issues at hand; they recognise the problem and provide commentary on possible resolutions, but they lack the prescriptive format inherent to a guidebook. It is the nature of fiction, especially speculative fiction, to explore issues and ideas rather than to provide solutions. While the essay as a form is linked to persuasive argument, it is likewise a vehicle for contemplation and reflection, and Ngata utilizes this to

examine an issue from a variety of viewpoints. Comparatively, the guidebooks of King and Rout are more akin to ‘how to’ manuals that map out step-by-step instructions for amelioration.

This reflects the degree of authority each author possessed at the time of writing and their capacity to enact change. For example, King was the head of a national infant welfare charity whose lectures and guidebooks were greeted with acclaim – within New Zealand and internationally – and whose advice on baby raising methods was disseminated to thousands of New Zealand mothers and Plunket nurses. Rout was in the middle of her career as a social campaigner, attempting to adapt her prior work with soldiers to be more relevant and applicable for the general public in a post-war era. In comparison, Vogel was retired and no longer involved in New Zealand politics at the time of writing *Anno Domini 2000* and did not possess the power to spearhead legislative change. However, the novel can be viewed as a speculative successor to his failed bill to grant women the right to vote, and an attempt to change readers’ perceptions of suffrage through his imagined future. Ngata was a young man yet to begin a career in politics when he wrote the essay *The Past and Future of the Maori*. He received respect due to his educational achievements and whakapapa, and the essay forms part of the important body of work on which Ngata’s future mana and authority as a politician was to rest.

Comparisons can also be drawn with regards to the level of support these four authors received in their individual space of experience, and how acceptable or distasteful their proposed horizon was perceived to be. Despite Vogel writing *Anno Domini 2000* several years before New Zealand women gained the right to vote, New Zealand readers generally tolerated his vision of female politicians, with negative reviews of the novel focusing more on the poor writing style or uninteresting characters. His vision, while speculative, connected with many of the concerns of the suffrage movement in New Zealand and its argument that women were inherently moral and therefore deserving of the right to vote. King, too, received little criticism

regarding his baby-raising manuals, enjoying a successful career as an infant welfare specialist that also earned him much admiration and respect.

These men depicted futures that were, broadly, palatable, and in tune with the sentiments and preoccupations of their day. Rout, on the other hand, was viewed by a vocal few as disruptive, with her work censored and banned. Despite spaces of experience that recognised venereal disease as a problem, her imagined future conflicted with mainstream ideas of marriage, love, and sex, and therefore her future was regarded as more revolutionary and unsettling. Military authorities eventually adopted the prophylactic kits developed by Rout, thus implying at least some agreement with her imagined horizon, but she was never formally credited or acknowledged for this work. Furthermore, her work after World War One that focused on preventing (or at least reducing) the ongoing consequences of venereal disease on civilians was censored officially by the New Zealand government. Rout was writing at a time when the intervention of women into public discourses around health, and especially sex, was viewed with equal parts discomfort and cynicism. Her gender and the future she presented combined to make male hierarchies and readers of both genders antagonistic.

Ngata occupies a unique space in terms of support for the future he depicted. Generally, his essay was met with adulation, winning a prize at Canterbury College before being serialised in several newspapers both in New Zealand abroad, and later republished in its own right. However, Ngāti Porou leaders of the early 1890s were reticent to accept Ngata's initial attempts at amelioration for Māori, suspicious of the age of Ngata and his peers and their audacity to moralize to iwi elders. As Ngata's political career progressed from the turn of the century, Pākehā officialdom consistently awarded him high praise, while also seeking to minimise Māori political influence in a general sense. In turn, Ngāti Porou leaders took Ngata's ideas more seriously, eventually welcoming the influence of his youth on his leadership style and the subsequent challenges he raised to generational hierarchies.

The relationship and interactions between past, present, and future also varies across the seven texts explored in this thesis. *Anno Domini 2000* focuses almost exclusively on an imagined future with the present and the past lurking in the shadows. The contemporary undoubtedly motivated Vogel's subject matter, but the novel does not engage directly with present day affairs such as the New Zealand suffrage movement or Vogel's failed suffrage bill of 1887. This means Vogel is somewhat released from the shackles of the era and can truly imagine a visionary future where women can vote and enjoy successful political careers. The novel is in many ways a kind of tool for wish fulfilment through which Vogel hopes to influence his readers. In comparison, Ngata's depiction of the future is more muted, as he recognised the interconnected nature of the past, present, and future, and remained rather contemplative throughout. King presents a future-focused narrative that is clearly and directly linked to the present. He consistently uses dystopian possibilities, such as ill-reared babies growing into disabled adults, to evidence the crisis at hand and to motivate change in the present, and more specifically to prompt mothers to follow his advice. Rout, too, follows the *status quo* into the future, describing the consequences of untreated venereal infections (including deformed babies and sterile women) before returning to the present to communicate the actions necessary to prevent these horrors, thus ensuring a different – better – future.

Vogel, King, and Rout all concern themselves with women and issues of gender, from careers to motherhood and marriage, to bodily autonomy. Julius Vogel's *Anno Domini 2000* was written and published at a time when existing gendered spaces of experience were being challenged by some and defended by others. Vogel's horizon of expectation is that of achievement; women are politically and intellectually empowered, through the right to vote, to stand for elected office, and to pursue academic interests. However, some aspects of *Anno Domini* reinforce settler colonial ideas about patriarchal power and control, and the importance of family and child-rearing (undertaken by mothers and wives, not fathers and husbands).

Truby King's work with Plunket and his publications directly respond to perceived challenges to settler colonialism and suggests a solution to these challenges through the reinforcement of the gendered order that underpins settler colonialism – or perhaps, as King views it, a *return* to certain gendered labour divisions that New Zealand had drifted from. King's horizon is that of avoidance, of changing the present to ensure a desirable future and to prevent an undesirable one. Significantly, his desirable horizon is closely informed by a *reimagination* of the spaces of experience related to motherhood, as compared to Vogel, whose horizon is comparatively visionary and breaks new ground.

Ettie Rout also imagines a rather visionary future. Based upon her spaces of experience working with soldiers and prostitutes in World War One, she imagines a horizon where women are empowered to control their reproductive health and in turn, improve the wellbeing of babies born and ensure marital happiness. Her horizon is almost a combination of Vogel and King; she views women as nuanced beings, as mothers *and* citizens, with great responsibility to literally create the next generation but also with great potential in their present, if given appropriate control over their bodies and adequate education about sex and birth control.

Vogel, King, and Rout all view women as significant participants in shaping positive or desirable futures and avoiding undesirable ones. The two male authors frame this contribution through the lens of male authority, with King positioning himself as the expert who women and Plunket nurses should trust, and Vogel placing a male Emperor as the ultimate authority in his imagined future. In addressing questions of male and female reproductive health (or lack thereof), Rout instead framed women as solely responsible for the achievement of a horizon free from venereal disease. These three authors also consider aspects of masculinity, highlighting key characteristics of the 'desirable' male, such as Vogel's emotionally stable and physically strong male characters, or King's expectation that husbands would simply cheerlead their wives from the sidelines as they learned how to become 'good'

mothers. Rout too writes about men and masculinity, accepting that men (especially soldiers) will seek sexual pleasure no matter the circumstance.

Ngata's essay responds to racial hierarchies characteristic of settler colonialism, and gently challenges them, providing a Māori voice within a wider political and cultural framework influenced by and enclosed within Pākehā views. Ngata seeks to place Māori within New Zealand's future – a horizon that had been, up until the late nineteenth century, exclusively shaped within a Pākehā space of experience. He reinforces settler colonialism in some ways, but the fundamental core of his essay is that of Māori self-determination which undermines elements of settler colonialism – specifically, settler intentions to control Indigenous populations in order to eliminate or assimilate them into the settler culture. Despite Ngata's encouragement of Māori self-determination, his essay is framed in such a way that makes it less confronting to Pākehā. It is through this act of imagining a future that Ngata himself demonstrates his complexity as a historical figure; he simultaneously inhabits spaces of experience distinctive to Māori and Pākehā, and the horizon he imagines likewise blends multiple threads.

This thesis has demonstrated that using 'the future' as a lens for historical analysis is especially useful when exploring the past of settler societies like New Zealand. By investigating horizons of expectations and the spaces of experience that influence them, hegemonies of power and control are illuminated, and ideas about authority, influence, and privilege can be deconstructed. Furthermore, in a specific New Zealand context, examining future imaginings provides a rich space in which settler colonial concepts such as 'progress' and 'growth' can be dissected and notions of settler futurity can be interrogated. Progress meant different things to different people at different times in New Zealand's past: Vogel's empowered woman was relatively radical within his space of experience, but by the 1920s she was not empowered enough for Rout. Vogel's federated British Empire was a marvel to be

celebrated, but Ngata carefully questioned the role of Empire in shaping a distinctive New Zealand future that acknowledged the past, present, *and* future of Māori. King iterated on his own horizon, employing increasingly fervent language to enact change as the impacts of World War One were tallied. Settler futurity was flexible, and it transformed as spaces of experience were interpreted in new or shifting ways, and as horizons were anticipated, constructed, rejected, or attained.

The future has been an underutilized tool of analysis for historical research in New Zealand and this thesis serves as an example for subsequent investigations of the future as envisioned by past settler societies. To imagine the future in New Zealand between 1889 and 1923 was to consolidate anxieties with possibilities; to combine the known spaces of experience to shape and articulate unknown horizons of expectation. Authors such as Vogel, Ngata, King, and Rout engaged with contemporary issues to imagine their respective futures. They moved within networks of concern and expertise, both within New Zealand and internationally, with varying degrees of approval from both readers, peers, and authorities. They used different literary forms and stylistic features to communicate, disseminate, and in some cases implement imagined futures. By combining textual analysis of depictions of the future with consideration of print culture, biography, and historical contexts, this thesis demonstrates that the connections between spaces of experience and horizons of expectation are vital to fully understand histories of the future – and serve to highlight multiplicity in New Zealand’s settler colonial past.

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