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IMAGES OF PAKEHA-MAORI

**A Study of the Representation of Pakeha-Maori by Historians of New
Zealand From Arthur Thomson (1859) to James Belich (1996)**

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy in History
at
The University of Waikato**

**Trevor William Bentley
University of Waikato 2007**

Abstract

This thesis investigates how Pakeha-Maori have been represented in New Zealand non-fiction writing during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The chronological and textual boundaries range from Arthur Thomson's seminal history *The Story of New Zealand* (1859) to James Belich's *Making Peoples* (1996). It examines the discursive inventions and reinventions of Pakeha-Maori from the stereotypical images of the Victorian era to modern times when the contact zone has become a subject of critical investigation and a sign of changing intellectual dynamics in New Zealand and elsewhere.

This thesis is about the history of attitudes to culture-crossers in New Zealand, the use of the term 'Pakeha-Maori', and the images that underlie the thinking of Britons and Pakeha about them. It explores the motives and backgrounds of specific authors and the ways in which they frame New Zealand history. It elucidates the ambiguous and contradictory perspectives of Pakeha-Maori in the literature and analyses its impact on changing public perceptions about them. The study critiques the literature with emphasis on theoretically informed research, historical analysis, and literary insights. Discussion is confined to published texts, with the aim of exploring the multiplicity of Pakeha-Maori images and the processes that gave rise to them.

This study is essentially an investigation into how and why historians and other scholars try to draw boundaries between cultures in order to create a satisfactory metanarrative or myth of the 'settlement' of New Zealand and thus to forge a sense of New Zealandness. The cultural and racial categories of 'Maori' and 'Pakeha' are very unstable, however, and a consideration of the 'in-between' or 'culture-crossing' category of 'Pakeha-Maori' can reveal the way in which 'Maori' and 'Pakeha' and a sense of New Zealand and New Zealanders have been constructed. More particularly, consideration of representations of those culture-crossers or race-crossers called Pakeha-Maori can reveal the hopes and fears of Pakeha writers regarding Pakeha, Maori and New Zealand and how Pakeha-Maori have frequently been a barometer or litmus test of public perceptions of relations between Maori and Pakeha in different historical periods.

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Preface

My interest in Europeans ‘gone native’ was born out of my own boundary crossings between New Zealand, where I live and work, and my ancestral village of Saleilua in the Falealili district of Western Samoa. My specific interest in Pakeha-Maori was ignited during the 1990s, through the beachcomber stories I heard during sojourns in the villages of Saleilua and Poutasi. Among these stories of colourful characters and bizarre happenings was the tale of one of my European ancestors, a castaway Portuguese sailor, who, armed with a fabled sword of steel, participated with distinction in the wars against the Tongans.

I subsequently developed an interest in culture-crossers as white warriors and my MPhil History thesis, ‘Tribal Guns, Tribal Gunners’ (1998), included a chapter entitled ‘Foreign Fighting Men in pre-1840 Maori Expeditions of War’. My increasing fascination with this subject led to further research, writing, and the publication of two books about culture-crossing Europeans, *Pakeha Maori: The Extraordinary Story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand* (1999) and *Captured by Maori: White Female Captives, Sex and Racism on the Nineteenth Century New Zealand Frontier* (2004). This project is a continuation of that interest.

The writing of this thesis has been a challenging and fascinating experience. In the course of examining how writers in different eras constructed and reconstructed images of Pakeha-Maori, the study has provided insights into many of the preoccupations and anxieties of British and Pakeha writers and readers.

I have written the study around a contradiction, Pakeha-Maori, who are part of New Zealand history and who have remained a constant presence in non-fiction since the early nineteenth century. Pakeha-Maori emerged at a time when Maori were creating

their own hierarchy of ethnic and social categories for newcomers. By the late 1820s, Maori had fused the various categories of culture-crossing foreigners, white slaves, warriors, traders, whalers, and farmers into this single category. Pakeha-Maori need to be analysed and theorised because of their special position in New Zealand history, their ongoing presence in the zone where Maori and Pakeha culture merge, and their ramifications for future New Zealand. Though some empirical information as background material is crucial, and does appear as context, this study is not concerned with establishing new ‘facts’ about them.

During the nineteenth century, shifts in Maori-Pakeha power contributed to a decline in people described as Pakeha-Maori, but the term has remained in the literature. ‘Pakeha-Maori’ was the term many writers employed to denote types of culture-crossing Europeans. This study examines how, from the outset, British and/or Pakeha usage of the term was imprecise. It was used subjectively to illuminate the wider views the writers had about race as Pakeha-Maori were structured to fit the writers’ wider views of New Zealand history.

In this thesis, I maintain that Pakeha-Maori now stand in a very special position in our history. Their children were portents of the mixed race that will characterise the New Zealand population by the mid-twenty-first century. Thus Pakeha-Maori can also be considered prototypes for modern bicultural Pakeha. This material is part of the current effort by some modern writers to use Pakeha-Maori to help us understand who we are in New Zealand and where many New Zealanders come from. It is hoped that the thesis will generate further studies on the topic and encourage other writers to explore, discuss, and add to this distinctive aspect of our past.

One of the most significant developments in Pacific history has been the remarkable expansion of writing about culture-crossing Europeans. This study is part of that new scholarship and follows a number of excellent research papers and theses on Pakeha-Maori. Written by graduate students in New Zealand universities, these studies have enhanced some of the perspectives contained in this thesis.

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My research and writing have profited from the guidance of a number of people. I wish to acknowledge and thank Peter Gibbons, my chief supervisor, for his patience, generosity of time, knowledge, and advice. Mike Goldsmith influenced my thinking and helped guide my reading of anthropological texts enabling an interdisciplinary approach to the topic. Material received from Daniel Thorpe, Associate Professor of History at Virginia Tech, USA, provided useful ideas and new directions in the research. Many hours have been spent in the New Zealand rooms at the University of Waikato and Tauranga public libraries and I also wish to express my appreciation for help given by their reference staff. My wife Helen deserves special mention for always supporting me and encouraging my endeavours.

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THOMSON (1859) TO JAMES BELICH (1996).

INTRODUCTION

When visiting Europeans began to live in New Zealand from the 1790s, they entered into highly complex and constantly changing individual and collective relationships with the indigenous people of the land, commonly called Maori. These relationships have remained close and contentious, and are central to the self perceptions of the colonists and their descendants, even though the latter are demographically and politically dominant. In the introduction to an anthology entitled *The Writing of New Zealand* (1995), the literary scholar Alex Calder has commented: ‘the joint entanglement of Maori and European in colonialism has been the most salient context for the stories we tell about ourselves, of the place [New Zealand], to each other’.¹ These ‘stories’ have changed through time in response to shifts in the contemporary views of Pakeha (the term currently used to describe the descendants of the colonists) on the actual or ideal past, present and future ‘place’ of Maori.

Pakeha-Maori were a by-product of this ‘joint entanglement’. They were Europeans who crossed cultures and became part of indigenous (Maori) communities. Although their numbers were relatively small and their significance is debatable, Pakeha-Maori have found a place in most accounts of the New Zealand past which include or focus upon the years preceding the establishment of British sovereignty in 1840. The primary purpose of this study is to explore how writers, in fashioning accounts of New Zealand, have depicted or represented Pakeha-Maori, and in particular how the historical roles and significance of Pakeha-Maori have been characterized in non-fiction writing, especially in histories of New Zealand.

In examining representations of Pakeha-Maori, this thesis offers a fresh approach to an intriguing topic. As a scholarly exercise, the study is timely, adding to an increasing body of research (especially recent masters theses) interrogating various aspects of New Zealand history and historiography. This study provides a critical perspective on how the past has been represented and reinterpreted (and to some extent recycled), primarily through exploring historical writings.

This Introduction introduces the hypothesis and identifies the five interrelated aims of the study. The structure of the thesis and methodology employed are then outlined, and the choices of period and genre are justified, with some discussion of the importance of genre in shaping presentations of Pakeha-Maori. The origins and utility of the term 'Pakeha-Maori' are outlined, together with the evolution of the dual and contradictory images of 'good' and 'bad' Pakeha-Maori. The Introduction also considers how Pakeha-Maori represented themselves, and reflects upon modern understandings and definitions of the term. A discussion on representation and related issues of historical truth and minority histories follows. The term 'Pakeha-Maori' as a shifting construct is discussed before concluding with an outline of the chapters.

In *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), David Lowenthal asserts that remembering the past is crucial for the sense of identity of us all. 'Memory validates personal identity' and 'history perpetuates collective self awareness.'² The past they reveal however is not simply what happened, it is in a large measure a past of our own creation, moulded by selective invention. In this sense, representations of Pakeha-Maori in historical texts are never unproblematic, faithful records of the physical, social and psychological 'realities' of Pakeha-Maori existence, however much nineteenth and twentieth century historians wrote about or used them as if they were or could be.

The general hypothesis around which this study is organized is that representations of Pakeha-Maori in non-fiction accounts can be analysed as literary constructions and that my analyses reveal how judgements about Pakeha-Maori are implicated in larger narratives about colonization, 'civilization', 'progress', 'assimilation', 'race relations'

and, more recently, biculturalism. In other words, history is constantly being revised, or reinterpreted and reshaped in the light of contemporary concerns, and this thesis demonstrates that images of Pakeha-Maori reveal as much (and perhaps more) about contemporary concerns and attitudes of the observers or writers than about the ostensible historical subjects. A generation after the publication of Bernard Smith's *European Vision in the South Pacific* (1960) and Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), these are not novel propositions. However, little analysis along these lines has been conducted into New Zealand historiography, and thus the exploration of representations of Pakeha-Maori in non-fiction, primarily historical, writings provides an original study. Pakeha-Maori are therefore both the instrument and the intellectual lens through which the broader hypothesis is illustrated.

The thesis has a number of interrelated aims. Rather than a consideration of the phenomenon of culture-crossing per se, its focus is the textual representations of a category of culture-crossing European who in the past were named, who sometimes named themselves, and who many recent writers continue to call Pakeha-Maori. The thesis is not, therefore, a history of Pakeha-Maori, who they were, where they came from, or the frequently intimate and often unsettling circumstances of their crossing from one culture or society to another; instead, it attempts to understand and explain how others, primarily historians, have described, defined and represented Pakeha-Maori through their later published texts.

Secondly, the study will explain the evolution of the term 'Pakeha-Maori' or, more specifically, who initially employed the term, its various orthographic formulations, and how and why it has been used by writers over the years, including modern understandings of the term. This approach reveals Pakeha attitudes towards actual and desirable relationships between Maori and Pakeha: even though Pakeha-Maori were few in number, as Europeans who crossed cultures, their motivations, experiences and eventual fates were of recurring concern to writers and their readers.

Thirdly, the study tries to understand and explain how representations of Pakeha-Maori

vary according to the interests and strategies of the writers concerned. It will attempt to confirm what Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum in *Fragments* (2000) have called 'the double helix' of historical research, that is, 'the connections between past and present, and between the historian and her or his subject'.³ Thus the study attempts to identify some of the general perspectives brought to the texts by major writers as they frame Pakeha-Maori within their own particular versions of New Zealand history

This thesis is part of the critical literature which arises from 'postcolonial' perceptions, where scholars, in New Zealand as elsewhere, are turning their attention to the various ways in which Europeans have attempted to validate their presence in settler societies: how they have sought to efface their roles as colonisers; and how they have marginalised and appropriated many aspects of indigenous identities. It attempts to understand and explain how, in some eras, representations of Pakeha-Maori were influenced by the rhetoric of 'national identity', and how these images have been drawn on to support notions of national identity.

Finally, questions of 'race' and the nature of the relations between New Zealand's indigenous people and colonial settlers have been major themes for historians providing accounts of the New Zealand past from the first histories by Arthur Thomson and George Rusden.⁴ Thus, the study will also attempt to understand and explain the extent to which depictions of Pakeha-Maori were a barometer of (or litmus test for) 'race relations' or cultural interaction between Maori and Pakeha. This will be measured by reading the texts for their inscriptions of 'race', noting convergences between (actual or anticipated) 'good' race relations and positive images of Pakeha-Maori, and vice versa.

Nevertheless, the thesis is more a study of published texts than contexts. Although the roles given Pakeha-Maori in texts indicate general perspectives about colonization, intercultural contact and the mixing of cultures, the study does not attempt to identify direct links between particular representations and cultural and ideological changes in Pakeha society. While some of the wider changes in Pakeha society are noted and their likely influence upon the views of contemporary or later writers is suggested, the

emphasis is on the texts themselves rather than upon detailed social, cultural, political and intellectual contexts. To establish more precisely what events, experiences, and preoccupations may have influenced the writers, and in what ways, requires a number of associated studies of New Zealand historiography and cultural history. It may be hoped, that the present project will provoke further such studies.⁵

The methodology of this thesis has involved textual analysis rather than archival research. This analysis of texts was informed by international postcolonial literature, and by other anthropological and literary scholarship on cultures, culture-crossers, culture-crossing, and representations. The texts themselves, or the relevant parts of the texts, have been subjected to close reading, or deconstructive reading strategies. Jacques Derrida has argued that deconstruction is not synonymous with destruction: ‘The deconstruction of a text does not proceed by random doubt or arbitrary subversion, but by the careful teasing out of warring forces of signification within the text itself’.⁶ Employing a multidisciplinary approach, key texts are read using a combination of theoretically informed research, historical analysis, and literary insights. New questions are asked of older material, so this study is part of the postcolonial interest in re-reading and deconstructing literature, in this case historical writings.

The thesis begins conveniently with Arthur Thomson’s *The Story of New Zealand* (1859), the first published history of New Zealand but, more important, the first text to make extensive use of the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ and place those so designated within a New Zealand historical framework. William Pember Reeves’ *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa* (1898), is much more like a general history than Thomson’s early effort, albeit a brief one and, historiographically, it is of much greater significance than Thomson’s history. Reeves, however, acknowledges the usefulness of Thomson’s work in providing information on early contact and colonization and he derives much of his detail on Pakeha-Maori from Thomson’s *Story*, so this study begins with the latter text.

Frederick Maning’s *Old New Zealand* (1863), is also included, being the first widely read account by an author claiming a Pakeha-Maori identity. An influential text, set in an

autobiographical framework, its attractive style gave it wide currency. Issued by Creighton and Scales in the first of many New Zealand editions, it was closely followed by a London imprint.⁷ Reeves both praised *Old New Zealand* and drew upon it for information, as have subsequent historians to the present day, though modern scholars have been more cautious about accepting Maning's tales at face value. From the late nineteenth century to the 1960s, characterizations of Pakeha-Maori were based largely upon the writings of Thomson and Maning. Thus to begin with Reeves' 1898 history would leave the 'pre-history' (or 'pre-historiography') of Pakeha-Maori in something of a vacuum, given the extent to which Thomson's details and Maning's quotable text are recycled in later works.

The study ends in the modern era with two very sophisticated histories, popular as well as scholarly, that provide fresh interpretations of culture-crossing episodes and their significance, and which have reflected and influenced changing perspectives on Pakeha-Maori: James Belich's *Making Peoples* (1996), and Anne Salmond's *Between Worlds* (1997). The first volume of a two volume reinterpretation of New Zealand's past, Belich's text describes many individual Pakeha-Maori and re-evaluates their role in the early contact period. In the second volume of a very detailed reconsideration of initial contact, Salmond discusses the experiences of the culture-crossers George Bruce and James Caddell without using the term Pakeha-Maori, which was not current in the period she writes about.

The broad period covered by this study then, from 1859 to virtually the end of the twentieth century, makes it possible to demonstrate with some clarity how textual representations of Pakeha-Maori have changed over time as attitudes to Pakeha-Maori have shifted, and as 'grand narratives' of the relationships between Maori and Pakeha have been adjusted. The implication here is that the representations will continue to change as contemporary sources are reinterpreted, new or different methodologies are employed by scholars and, especially, as national and intercultural narratives are refashioned.

As indicated above, the texts on which this study focuses are works of non-fiction, primarily (but not quite exclusively) histories. Pakeha-Maori, so designated, appear much more frequently in histories than in other written genres, although the theme of crossing between cultures, and transgressing cultural boundaries, is also prominent in New Zealand fiction. Historical writings provide what can be termed 'factual' truth value in contrast to imaginative works such as verse, fiction, drama and film, even though, as this study shows, historical texts operate in some similar ways to works of fiction, since they too employ figurative language and are 'emplotted'. Despite the use of figurative language, histories are read and regarded as authoritative in a different way to works of fiction.

Additionally, nearly all analysis of New Zealand literature thus far has focused on the genres of verse, short fiction, novels and drama, as evidenced by Patrick Evan's *Penguin History of New Zealand Literature* (1990) which excludes non-fiction. *The Oxford History of New Zealand in English* (1991) has a single chapter on non-fiction, and, in a more recent example, Jane Stafford and Mark William's *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914* (2006), some 300 pages in length, deals mainly with verse and fiction. While the literary scholars Simon During and Alex Calder in carrying out deconstructive readings of Maning's *Old New Zealand* have crossed this conventional divide between imaginative and 'factual' writing and others will continue to do so, there is a clear imbalance between literary scholarship on prose fiction which is extensive, and non-fiction which is not. The extent to which this study uses literary analysis to explore New Zealand historical texts then is innovative. The focus on non-fiction has also meant that publications which have not often been scrutinized in the past can be examined, at least for those passages, sometimes brief, sometimes more extensive that include comment on Pakeha-Maori, however variously defined.

History, in the sense of historical writing, can be regarded as a narrative that we impose on the past. This thesis of course imposes its own narrative on the past, but its immediate concern is to explore how others have imposed a narrative on the New Zealand past, or aspects of the past, through a focus on Pakeha-Maori. The Pakeha-Maori characters and

the roles they are assigned by historians are therefore sites at which historiographical shifts may be charted. Hence (with the exception of Maning who straddles both categories), it is not the historical Pakeha-Maori who are the central figures in this study; but the historians and writers who fashioned these images.

When analysing Thomson's *Story*, Maning's *Old New Zealand*, James Cowan's frontier yarns or any other work of New Zealand writing, it is not only necessary to establish some knowledge about the authors and the period in which the texts were written, but also something about the conventions of the genre that the writers have chosen to employ. As Terry Sturm puts it, 'A writer's choice of genre and selection from the variety of given conventions within a genre (narrative, stylistic, linguistic), immediately engages the writing dynamically with the powerful cultural meanings and values such conventions carry'.⁷

The general histories belong to the dominant historiographical tradition of empiricism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which privileges contemporary documentary materials as guarantors of veracity, and appears to avoid speculation and theory. Although the contemporary source materials about culture-crossers, including Pakeha-Maori, are not extensive, what has been available and (and increasingly accessible) to researchers and writers has constrained as well as enabled a consideration of how Pakeha-Maori have been characterized. The major constraint is that the writers of the works examined have not generally attempted to imaginatively recreate the circumstances of Pakeha-Maori, an option available to writers of prose fiction and more recently, film makers.

As noted, the more incisive analyses of Maning's *Old New Zealand* have been undertaken by literary scholars but there is no reason why speculation or theory, particularly imaginative re-creation constructed within theoretical frameworks cannot be undertaken by historians. This has been done, for example, by Niel Gunson and Judith Binney with their studies of evangelical missionaries in the South Pacific and New Zealand, but the empirical tradition in New Zealand historiography remains very strong.

Paradoxically, Maning's *Old New Zealand* is the contemporary source on Pakeha-Maori regularly referred to by historians as a reliable account and is often quoted. The text however, is highly problematical as a factual account, as will be discussed in Chapter Two below. Thus empirical historians have placed weight upon a source that is extremely opaque as a memoir, with the powerful cultural meanings and values such conventions carry.

The limited range of 'primary materials' which historians can call upon allows, as this study demonstrates, the roles of Pakeha-Maori individually and collectively, to change according to the 'emplotment', the grand narrative which the historian provides about progress, civilization intercultural relations and the role of culture-crossers in New Zealand. This study confirms the relationship between the ways Pakeha-Maori are represented and the genre they are presented in and notes the particular kinds of writing within these categories, which have basic forms that invite authors to present images of Pakeha-Maori in certain ways and/or to give them specific roles. The study then is not just about empirical evidence and the authors' perceptions and cultural aspirations; it is also about forms of writing or pieces of literature which have the characteristics of other literary works.

History-writing then, privileges documentary records, and the representations of Pakeha-Maori in histories are based over and over on the same limited materials, mostly written, a few graphic. Additionally, the chronological approach has largely confined Pakeha-Maori as a phenomenon to a specific era, the period before the effective establishment of British authority during the 1840s. As we will see, Cowan, whose accounts are often of episodes set in the past, frequently without specified dates, rather than a connected chronological narrative, is very much the exception which illustrates the rule: his 'yarns' take place on a 'frontier' of contact which is not chronologically limited to the period up to the 1840s. In general, however, while Pakeha-Maori are often seen as 'colourful', and occasionally as admirable, they are reported in sober terms according to the historians' interpretations of the empirical data.

The term Pakeha-Maori is historically, orthographically and historiographically a slippery one. In *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand* (1817), John Nicholas, an English visitor, recorded that, in 1815, Bay of Islands Maori were using the word ‘packaha’ to describe the strangers visiting their region.⁸ In the Hauraki Gulf in 1815, strangers were referred to as tangata tupua (‘goblin people’).⁹ Variants or alternative terms used elsewhere in New Zealand included tangata ke (‘strange men’), tangata ma (‘white men’), tangata pora (‘ship men’) and uropi (a transliteration of ‘European’).¹⁰

The Samoan term ‘Papalagi’ can apply to Europeans specifically or to all foreigners, and the term Pakeha is also a minefield. However, whether the term ‘Pakeha’ was inclusive of the Pacific Islanders, Lascar and Negro sailors who lived in Maori communities in the early contact period is uncertain. In *New Zealand: Being A Narrative of Tales and Adventures* (1838), the first published text to use the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’, the Jewish trader Joel Polack maintained that the term ‘Pakeha’ derived from the Maori term ‘na Pakeha kes’ (‘the strange men’) and that the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ referred to both ‘strangers turned into natives’ and ‘native speaking white men’.¹¹ By the 1830s, ‘Pakeha’ seems to have come into general use in New Zealand, used by Maori as an expedient term to describe all Europeans. From the early 1840s the term became hegemonic, employed in European texts with increasing frequency.

Before contact, there was no concept of Maori identity in the sense of cultural or ‘national’ commonality. ‘Instead, the distinguishing features which demarcated groups were mainly attributable to tribal affiliations and the natural environment.’¹² Contact between Maori and European saw the emergence of the word ‘Maori’, by which indigenous New Zealanders distinguished themselves from Europeans or Pakeha. The term ‘maori’ was not a noun but an adjective, a description of ancient, local, and ordinary things. Salmond observes: ‘All the various surviving Maori accounts of first meetings with Europeans share the supposition however that these new arrivals were not “maori”, or ordinary. The newly constituted groups were defined in relation to each other; what are now commonplace ethnic labels in New Zealand (“Maori” and “Pakeha”) at first meant

simply “familiar”, “everyday”, and “extraordinary” in some way.’¹³

The term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ was a Maori invention, subject to Maori pronunciation and its appearance in the early years of culture contact was indicative of Maori power to name and moreover *rename* European intruders. The first recorded use of the term occurred in 1827 when Rev. John Hobbs noted the chief Patuone’s agreement to the construction of a Wesleyan mission station at the Hokianga, but with the proviso that the missionaries should ‘let the Paki’ha maori (natural white men) trade in Muskets Powder and what they please’.¹⁴ In 1832, the Hauraki chief Warekaua pleaded with Rev. Henry Williams ‘for Missionaries to live in his neighbourhood, as they would never be *ora* [? “satisfied”] by the *Pakeha Maori*’.¹⁵ The term ‘maori’, then, was not a noun but an adjective meaning normal, and Pakeha-Maori were normal or natural men who took Maori wives and lived among Maori, as opposed to missionaries (*mihinere*) who had European wives and lived a largely separate European-style existence.

According to Maning, Pakeha meant ‘foreigner’ or ‘foreign’ to New Zealanders or Maori, but in discussing the nest of runaways from the shipping at the Bay of Islands he mentions only Europeans.¹⁶ Were the Tahitians, Marquesans, Lascars and American Negroes who lived with Maori classified as Pakeha-Maori? None of them are described as such in European accounts of Pakeha-Maori written at the time, thus supporting the argument that Pakeha may be a term derived from the colour of the newcomers’ skin, lighter than that of Maori and as pale as that of the fairy folk ‘pakepakeha’. Nevertheless, by the 1830s, Pakeha and Maori were using the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ exclusively to describe Europeans living among Maori. In 1840, for instance, the missionary Richard Taylor records comments by the chief Nopera Pani Karao: ‘I am jealous of the speeches of the Pakia Maori be careful and don’t listen to the speeches of bad white men.’¹⁷

The term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ was also a condition or class marker. For George Angas, Pakeha-Maori were ‘white men of no consequence’.¹⁸ For Maning, they were respectable traders. Literate Pakeha who claimed to understand or ‘know’ Maori adopted the epithet during the 1880s.¹⁹ According to Cowan, who interviewed several former colonial

soldiers who crossed cultures, Pakeha-Maori were not limited to illiterate runaway convicts and sailors and nor were they limited to the nineteenth century.²⁰

‘Pakeha-Maori’ has, then, always been an ambiguous and contested term. It has recently been defined by the lexicographer Harry Orsman as ‘a white or European man living as Maori’, with the note that it was ‘at first used as a respectful epithet, and later, esp. by English speakers, taking on a measure of contempt’.²¹ The ambivalent attitude of early nineteenth-century Europeans towards Pakeha-Maori has been also described as ‘a strange fascination of guilt, compounded with admiration’.²²

Evangelical missionaries consistently attacked the immorality and impiety of Pakeha-Maori and the ‘corrosive’ effects of these ‘white savages’ on Maori.²³ Early governors and colonial officials similarly represented them as renegades who agitated against the imposition of British law and order. As cultural and commercial go-betweens for their adopted tribes they were both filters and fifth columnists for Western culture and technology. ‘Among ‘respectable’ Europeans they were looked down upon as quasi-Maoris, while for Maori they were valued chiefly for their ‘European-ness’ and for their contacts with the European world’.²⁴

Consequently, the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ as applied to James Caddell, Jacky Marmon, or Kimble Bent by many writers carried connotations of opprobrium. As men who had chosen to live as Maori, they were regarded by settlers as renegades and a source of anxiety in fragile, new colonial communities which were trying to practice ‘civilized’ behaviour. Thus Pakeha-Maori in the English language became a derogatory label for people who had ‘betrayed European values. According to Ian Campbell in *Gone Native in Polynesia* (1998), ‘going native’ was a mark of degeneration. Consequently such men were perceived by colonial authors to have rejected the world of progress, enlightenment, civilisation, order and morality and embraced a life of paganism and lawlessness.²⁵ Campbell maintains that, throughout the Pacific: ‘This was not only personal decadence, it was an affront and a challenge to the ethos of Western society, which assumed and asserted a moral and existential superiority over savagery or a life in the “state of nature”’.

Civilized men who adopted the lives of savages were to be neither trusted nor tolerated.’²⁶ Their destructive influences on Maori were often emphasized in some histories, although they were sometimes later to become ideal figures in New Zealand colonial and post-colonial narratives of adventure and romance.

However, in many texts, the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ as applied to culture-crossing traders, frontier guides, translators and ships pilots carried connotations of approval. Some visitor and settler authors acknowledged the assistance provided by these men in the promotion of civilization, and the term was used in a positive fashion by Thomson in his *Story of New Zealand*. The traders, particularly, were perceived by many writers to have taken Maori wives and conformed to some customs in the pursuit of profit, creating a trading demand among Maori which, according to James Cowan gave them ‘[a] useful place in the beginning of New Zealand industry and commerce’.²⁷ Campbell maintains that such men were ‘folk heroes’, ‘who although they might attract amused and tolerant contempt from metropolitans’ were recognised by historians as being on the right side of history.²⁸

Culture-crossing European women were not considered Pakeha-Maori by nineteenth century Maori and Pakeha and have not been represented as such by male authors until recent years in the texts of James Belich and Michael King. While the term ‘Pakeha’ is gender neutral, the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ designates a male, reflecting the demography of colonial exploration and trade. To claim Pakeha-Maori status was a statement about identity, but for women on the nineteenth-century frontier it was difficult to make statements about their own identities and very few, except perhaps for wives of missionaries, claimed for themselves roles as mediators who straddled the cultures.

In *Captured by Maori* (2004), I identify by name seven Pakeha women and eight girls who entered nineteenth-century Maori communities as captives. Three women, Charlotte Badger, Mary Bell, and Caroline Perrett, refused European offers of ‘rescue’, choosing to remain among Maori.²⁹ I also refer to ‘Mrs Anaru’, a European woman who married a tattooed Ngai Te Rangi sailor in Sydney before voyaging to New Zealand to live among her husband’s tribe at Tauranga during the 1860s.³⁰

The British empire carefully monitored the borders of what the German philosopher Johan Gottlieb Fichte described as the site of nation making projects or the nations' 'interior frontier', which were sites of affiliation allowing 'enclosure and contact' as well as 'passage and exchange'.³¹ In colonies like New Zealand, white males 'making vulnerable claims to legitimate rule saw their manhood status bolstered by perceptions and practices based on their racial superiority'.³² White women were charged with maintaining the prestige of their race. Those who crossed cultures were consequently viewed as a threat to that prestige and omitted from histories of contact and settlement or represented by historians either as insane, as resistant captives, or as fully transculturated. Thus, while the term 'Pakeha-Maori' was inclusive, it is not a free category, and until the late twentieth century it remained fixed and gendered.

Images of Pakeha-Maori in published histories of New Zealand have been influenced by the ways these culture-crossers represented themselves. An important creative form of identity for Pakeha-Maori is their literature. Barnet Burns, Maning, Charles Marshall, and John Boulton were literate and have left accounts of their lives among Maori.³² Most were illiterate but some, like George Bruce, John Rutherford, James Caddell, Jacky Marmon and Caroline Perrett dictated their experiences to others.³³ In all, seventeen nineteenth-century Pakeha-Maori are known to have written or dictated accounts of their lives among Maori and many of these narratives were subsequently published, obliging historians to incorporate into their histories the past of a minority group who left their own sources.

Pakeha-Maori faced distinct pressures on re-entering the European sphere and their narratives are highly contrived. While, like modern anthropologists, their authority to speak came precisely from having been participant observers of Maori life, they were under pressure from editors or publishers to confirm the cultural stereotypes their readers had about Maori. Cannibalism, headhunting and violence receive much attention, while the narrators generally represent themselves as morally distinct and superior to Maori, portraying their participation in savage customs as arising from duress or from survival

motives.³⁴ These culture-crossing observers were important as their books were widely read as ‘inside’ accounts in the colonial period. The preconceptions that settlers and would-be settlers had about Maori were formed from such literature and they continue to be cited in modern anthropological and historical studies.

Published and republished for consumption by British and, later, New Zealand audiences, the Pakeha-Maori narratives always carry traces of their authors’ marginality. Maning’s *Old New Zealand* brought the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ back into popular use, and he represented them in a positive light. There are some twenty editions and it remains one of the most widely read and widely quoted books on early New Zealand. Maning’s self-representations as a Pakeha-Maori in *Old New Zealand* are central to this thesis and his influence on representations of these men in the works of many later historians is noted in Chapters Three, Four and Six.

Janet Frame has commented that ‘in every cross-cultural encounter there is a dominance, a submission, a merging, or a resistance. The ‘older’ culture tends to win, if it has more literacy and the weapons of literacy’.³⁵ Maning’s literary skills and irony did much to rehabilitate the reputation of Pakeha-Maori and to create enduring images of them. Maning’s *Old New Zealand* was to change significantly European perceptions of Pakeha-Maori as Other as well as the perceptions which governors and colonial officials had about Maning.

The term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ was employed by the New Zealand writer James Cowan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries alongside the related phrase ‘taken to the blanket’.³⁶ While many missionaries, artists, soldiers and ethnologists crossed cultures in pursuit of European goals, they were never described colloquially as having ‘taken to the blanket’, a phrase that has been defined as ‘a Pakeha who lives as a Maori’.³⁷ The European colloquialism ‘gone native’ in *The Longman Dictionary of Idioms* refers to European persons in non-European countries who follow the social customs and dress of the foreign people among whom they are living.³⁸ The *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary* considers ‘going native’ to be assimilating ‘oneself to an alien culture or to

the way of life of a foreign country (usually less advanced than one's own)'.³⁹ The *Oxford Advanced Dictionary* considers that immigrants or visitors who 'try to live and behave like the local people' have 'gone native'.⁴⁰

Writers past and present have most frequently applied the term 'Pakeha-Maori' to those who lived permanently or semi-permanently among Maori. Thomas Kendall, George Besant, James Burns, John Boulton, and Edward Markham lived as Maori for between three months and a year, but the extent of their acculturation is concealed by later writers who describe them as 'missionary', 'seaman', 'sealer', or 'gentleman rover'. They are never designated Pakeha-Maori, unlike the tattooed transients George Bruce who lived for a year among Ngapuhi, or Barnet Burns who lived for two years among Ngati Kahungunu.⁴¹

The consensus among modern writers is that becoming a Pakeha-Maori seems to have been a question of perception, for to be recognised as a Pakeha-Maori – by either a Maori or a Pakeha – involved an accretion of elements, not all of equal weight, which identified them as having crossed cultures: Maori language, a Maori wife and kinsfolk, empathy with and observance of Maori custom, permanent or semi-permanent residence in the kainga, and for some in the pre-annexation period, tattooing, participation in inter-tribal warfare and cannibalism. The basis of being Pakeha-Maori, then, does seem to have been the mental attitude of the culture-crossers. It was their acceptance of Maori protocols and the subordination of their own interests to the tribe that made their identity transformations recognisable and durable.

My own definition of Pakeha-Maori is important in this study as the treatment of culture crossing Pakeha in colonial texts is evaluated against accepted modern definitions of the term. In this study I refer to all Europeans who lived among Maori permanently or temporarily as culture-crossers but distinguish between those who 'went native', lived as Maori and were labelled Pakeha-Maori, and those who retained their European values and identities and were never so labelled.

Examining representations of Pakeha-Maori is in effect exploring Pakeha self-perceptions by analyzing how they have in their writings projected their hopes fears and aspirations upon Pakeha-Maori. History then is a problematic construction rather than a series of facts or truths to be swallowed and regurgitated. According to Paul Moon:

The misappropriation of history is a method often used by those who wish to use past events to justify present actions. The manipulation of historical data, though, is in at least one sense, inevitable – whether it be deliberate or not. This is because not all of the past is recoverable, and therefore, the study of history is confined to what evidence exists or can be reconstructed. Thus, history is not, as it is popularly perceived, a study of the past *per se*, but rather, a study of present traces of the past. What is important is present evidence, not the fact of past evidence having existed. There is considerable truth, then, in the scornful adage that to historians are granted a power that even the gods are denied: to change history.⁴²

Although journals by or writings about the culture-crossing visitors James Burns, John Boulton and Edward Markham were not unearthed and published until after the mid-twentieth century, the contemporary evidence on Pakeha-Maori available to chroniclers has not significantly increased since the end of the nineteenth century, though there have been improvements in accessibility, with the production of typescripts and the publication of manuscripts. Changes in representations of Pakeha-Maori are not for the most part the result of the discovery of ‘new’ source material as adjustments to the perspectives of the writers and their readers. These perspectives are derived from, are a response to, or are broadly related to shifts in the contemporary views of Pakeha writers about the preferred outcomes of colonization and more generally to changing Western and international attitudes about colonization, decolonization and the process of acculturation.

Edward Said maintains that fictions have their own logic and their own dialectic of growth and decline.⁴³ Textualised representations of Pakeha-Maori were related to the domination and control of the subject, the images always filtered through European perspectives that transformed Pakeha-Maori according to the values of the time. This study identifies several nineteenth and twentieth century British and New Zealand writers who did not understand the term ‘Pakeha-Maori, or preferred not use it in their texts. By

Anglicising or Europeanising these men, labelling them differently or deleting their histories, Pakeha-Maori were reconstructed or suppressed to suit the particular visions writers had for New Zealand history.

In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, James Clifford argues that truths are inherently partial and incomplete, where all ‘constructed truths are made possible by powerful “lies” of exclusion and rhetoric’.⁴⁴ Power and history have always worked through texts to represent Pakeha-Maori. In *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said abandons the idea that a text is a representation of the truth, describing the self-interested representations of Orientalism as ‘deformation’.⁶³ While the idea of representation generally bases itself on some notion of being true to the original, this is not always guaranteed or possible, as Said points out:

we must be prepared to accept the fact that a representation is *eo ipso* implicated, intertwined, embedded, interwoven with a great many other things besides ‘truth’, which is itself a representation. What this must lead us to methodologically is to view representations (or misrepresentations – the distinction is at best a matter of degree) as inhabiting a common field of play defined for them not by some inherent common subject matter alone, but by some common history, tradition, universe of discourse. Within this field, which no single scholar can create but which each scholar receives and in which he then finds a place for himself, the individual researcher makes his contribution.⁴⁵

In their analyses of the power-knowledge relationship, Foucault and Said assert that power produces knowledge and the reverse. According to Foucault, the disciplined society is grounded in the idea of normality, and Said maintains that the power of that society is exercised through the representation of the strange, the exotic: the representation of other.⁴⁶ Thus, what was convenient about Pakeha-Maori was that describing them was not difficult as European culture gained strength and identity by setting itself off against whites who had ‘gone native’ and slipped back down the scale of civilisation. Pakeha-Maori were frequently exoticised in text because, with their strange language, customs and Maori kinship ties, they could be easily submitted to being made Other.

Benedict Anderson has argued that nationhood depends on imagined communities, and this study identifies British and Pakeha writers who have created imagined communities inclusive or exclusive of Pakeha-Maori.⁴⁷ Dipesh Chakrabarty notes how the writing of history has increasingly become entangled with ‘the politics and production of identity’ and a mode of writing history that came to be known in the 1970s as ‘history from below’.

The expression ‘minority histories’ has come to refer to all those pasts on whose behalf democratically minded historians have fought the exclusions and omissions of mainstream narratives of the nation. Official and officially blessed accounts of the nation’s past have been challenged in many countries by the champions of minority histories. Postmodern critiques of ‘grand narratives’ have been used to question single narratives of the nation. Minority histories, one may say, in part express the struggle for inclusion and representation that are characteristic of liberal and representative democracies.⁴⁸

Jonathan Lamb in *Exploration and Exchange* argues that individuals operating at the intersection of cultures are receiving increasing attention from historians and anthropologists.⁴⁹ Before the histories of New Zealand by Keith Sinclair, W. H. Oliver, and more recently those by James Belich and Michael King, general histories of New Zealand were written from settler perspectives of colonisation and the viewpoint of ‘civilization’ versus ‘savagery’, which saw Pakeha-Maori as unusual, possibly threatening. Within the last generation this perspective has changed as modern writers on New Zealand and the Pacific have explored biculturalism. Historians such as Belich, King, Binney, and Salmond and anthropologists like Athol Anderson, as well as Maori scholars including Ranginui Walker and Pat Hohepa, have found a centre-periphery model a useful framework for exploring the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. Their concerns have manifested themselves in revisionist writing which interprets the past by taking the perspective of the periphery, allowing the voices of Maori and Pakeha-Maori to be heard.⁵⁰

The term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ is a shifting construct and its power lies in its simultaneity of

identity. The term is a contradiction that for British and New Zealand readers carried positive and/or negative connotations. It describes ambiguous identities and forecasts an intensely linked Maori-Pakeha destiny. The term implies duality, but this study shows how every representation is a ‘distortion’, as some European writers emphasised one context over the other according to their agendas and the need to make Pakeha-Maori intelligible and identifiable to their readers.

It is best to think of the term Pakeha-Maori as a recurring literary and historical preoccupation. At different times these culture-crossers are resurrected and specific features become predominant as different historians have reinterpreted the evidence and constructed images of them. Indeed, ‘Pakeha-Maori’ is a slippery label that changes as writers adjust their own views about cultural similarities and differences over time. It has been used variously by individual writers to describe Europeans living permanently or semi-permanently with Maori (1850s), renegade Pakeha (1860s), Pakeha who sympathised with Maori aspirations (1880s), native-born Pakeha New Zealanders (1940s), Europeanised Maori (1940s), and those of mixed Maori and Pakeha descent (1980s and 1990s).⁵¹

The term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ has had a multitude of orthographic forms. In the primary and secondary literature it is used with or without a hyphen, initial capitals or italics for either or both words: pakeha mauri (White, 1837), pakehá mauri (Polack, 1838), Pakeha-Mowries (Bidwill, 1839), Pakia Mauri (Taylor, 1840), Pakeha Maori (*Australia and New Zealand Gazette*, 1853), Pakeha-Maori (Hursthouse, 1865), *Pakeha* Maori (Firth, 1890), pakeha-Maori (*Quick March*, 1900), ‘Pakeha-Maori’ (Sutherland, 1941), *pakeha*-Maori (Marsh, 1937), pakeha-Maori (Frances, 1964), and ‘pakeha-maori’ (Stephenson, 1947).⁵² Today, the capitalised version of both words in roman, hyphenated or unhyphenated, is the accepted form in both English and Maori orthography. The orthography seems finally to have been fixed; but the term still has no secure referent.⁵³

This study explores the range of definitions and characterizations provided by non-fiction writers, especially historians, showing how they have variously identified, who should be

designated Pakeha-Maori, how they have been defined and what kinds of experiences and behaviours may be regarded as distinctively Pakeha-Maori experiences. Definitions of Pakeha-Maori generally peg such people as boundary crossers, and today the term has become synonymous with those who cross cultures to live as Maori. One of the simplest and most readily accepted broad, modern definitions is that proposed by Sinclair: ‘that is a white man living with and more or less as the Maoris’.⁵⁴ The categories Maori, Pakeha, and Pakeha-Maori remain ambiguous and this study shows how the terms slip and slide through history depending on the perceptions of the writers. Pakeha-Maori is perhaps the slipperiest of these classifications, and one aim of this study is to show how various writers have attempted to pin it down.

Peter Cleave has written that: ‘Pakeha Maori are problematic. If sovereignty entails the ownership of names then they and their descendants, the people who live between the categories Maori and Pakeha are nameless.’⁵⁵ The term is contentious and raises questions of language and identity. The context of the term changes constantly, taking on shifting, multiple meanings within British colonial and Pakeha post-colonial discourse. It could be used derisively, mockingly, or as a term of admiration, sometimes in the same era. The term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ indicates something of both, but not completely of either.⁵⁶ It suggests dual perspectives and continues as a contest for meaning.

Organisation

This study is organised around analyses of how Pakeha-Maori have been represented in texts. The principal writers, texts investigated, dominant images, and eras in which they are discussed are set out in seven chapters.

Among the major texts in the first decades of colonisation (1840-1890) were histories, natural histories, and ethnological writings, though texts such as Thomson’s *Story of New Zealand*, do not fit neatly into these categories.⁵⁷ Concerned with the ‘scientific’ observation and recording of New Zealand and its inhabitants as well as constructing a first substantial history of New Zealand for British readers, Thomson’s work contained

descriptions of unusual natural and artificial ‘phenomena’ including Pakeha-Maori. Reflecting evolutionary theory, Romanticism, Enlightenment, Anglocentric, and imperialist perspectives, Thomson’s representations of Pakeha-Maori are examined in Chapter One which argues that this text is central to any European history of Pakeha-Maori because it was influential in shaping subsequent images of Pakeha-Maori.

A market for locally written and published memoirs developed during the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s.⁵⁸ This flood of material by missionaries, soldiers and settlers included authors or narrators like Maning, and (later) Marshall and Marmon, who had lived as, and were regarded as, Pakeha-Maori, but were very selective in what they revealed about their Pakeha-Maori experiences. Reflecting colonial anxiety about identity, their lively reminiscences and hair raising anecdotes found a ready audience among settler males.⁵⁹ In accounts written many years after their return to settler society, the authors reconstructed themselves as superior Europeans who triumphed over ‘savage’ Maori. Blending other writing styles with his recollections, Maning’s constructions of a Pakeha-Maori self in *Old New Zealand*, are the subject of Chapter Two, which asserts that many of the images historians developed about them come, at least in some measure, from Pakeha-Maori themselves.

Chapter Three, ‘White Savages and Culture-Crossing Pioneers’, examines how the Tainui Pakeha-Maori Charles Marshall represented himself in texts during the second half of the nineteenth century. It explores contrasting textual images of Pakeha-Maori as renegades and white savages from the aftermath of the New Zealand Wars as Pakeha redefined themselves in terms of their differences from Maori, to their reconstruction as Europeanised agents of progress in the late nineteenth century as Pakeha began redefining themselves in terms of their differences from Britons. Representations of Pakeha-Maori in the histories of George Rusden, E. M. Bourke, Frederick Moss, and R. A. Sherrin and J. H. Wallace are examined here. This chapter examines why, in the aftermath of war, Pakeha-Maori were frequently constructed as agents of British progress and why they were later reconstructed as respectable New Zealand settlers. The chapter considers reasons for the popularity of Pakeha-Maori narratives and the reappearance of

the ‘savage’ Pakeha-Maori in the late nineteenth century. It also considers who made these judgements, whose views were influenced, and whose were repeated.

Chapter Four, ‘Pakeha-Maori and National Identity’, examines the last productions and representations of Pakeha-Maori during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when the first generation of New Zealanders was attempting to come to grips with issues of national identity. It argues that Pember Reeves, Robert McNab, Lindsay Buick, T. M. Hocken, Guy Scholefield, John Bell Condcliffe, Arnold Shrimpton and Alan Mulgan appropriated Pakeha-Maori to endorse their agenda of creating a national past longer than the history of colonisation. Pakeha-Maori were precursors of settlement in many New Zealand locations and local histories, a generic term encompassing accounts of provincial, regional, district and parish pasts, have also been surveyed for their representations.⁶⁰ Often explicitly commemorative, and usually exhortatory, these works celebrate the virtues of a multitude of early founding fathers, including some who have been described elsewhere as Pakeha-Maori.⁶¹ Two early local histories by Lindsay Buick, *Old Marlborough* (1900) and *Old Manawatu* (1903) are considered in Chapter Four together with *Murihiku* (1907), an account of early Southland contacts by Robert McNab and a local history, *Historic Poverty Bay* (1907), by Joseph Mackay.

Chapter Five, ‘Manipulating Symbols’, explores the motivations and publications of Cowan, who wrote extensively on Pakeha-Maori and gives attention to Cowan’s colourful frontier yarns, a male-focused colonial adventure genre, distinguished by overlays of romanticism and nostalgia and published in numerous anthologies. It discusses how Cowan linked Pakeha-Maori to their counterparts on the American frontier and transformed them into colourful symbols of New Zealand’s colonial heritage, Chapter Five also compares his Pakeha-Maori biographies *The Adventures of Kimble Bent* (1911) and *A Trader in Cannibal Land* (1935), and argues that Cowan harnessed Pakeha-Maori to entertain, inform, and to inspire patriotism and national pride.

The proliferation of scholarly biographical studies of culture-crossing Europeans

following the Second World War are examined in Chapter Six, beginning with Randal Burdon, the first writer to explore biography in a consistent way.⁶² His *New Zealand Notables* (series three, 1948), combined criticism, exposé and psychological jargon to detail the merits and deficiencies of the trader Maning, and the missionary Kendall.⁶³ Binney's study of Kendall and Eric McCormick's scholarly editions of writings by the gentleman rover Edward Markham and the artist Augustus Earle are also considered here. Chapter Six additionally considers representations in scholarly texts by Ormond Wilson, Edwin Tapp, and Harrison Wright which re-examined New Zealand's pre-annexation past and new general interpretations of New Zealand history produced by W. H. Oliver and by Keith Sinclair. (The latter popularized the view that New Zealand enjoyed better 'race relations' than other Anglo settler colonies.)⁶⁴

More recently, Maori have brought to the forefront of New Zealand affairs major questions about national identity, equality, and justice.⁶⁵ From the mid 1980s, vigorous debates about 'race relations' and increasingly critical attitudes towards inequities generated by the activities of colonists find a place in histories which celebrate or anticipate a more satisfyingly bicultural society.⁶⁶ Employing Pakeha-Maori to promote and reflect their views of an intertwined Maori-Pakeha past, works by Belich and Salmond are discussed in Chapter Seven, together with a brief consideration of Maurice Shadbolt's novel *Monday's Warriors* and Jane Campion's film *The Piano*.

'Concluding Remarks' offers a summation of the main issues and images examined in the research. It draws conclusions from the data while acknowledging that there will be further study of textual and non-textual representations of Pakeha-Maori. 'Pakeha-Maori' itself remains a contested and problematical term.

¹ Alex Calder, *The Writing of New Zealand: Inventions and Identities* (Auckland: Reed, 1999), p. 9.

² David Lowenthal *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 213. See also Senka Bozic Vrbancic, 'Maori and Tararas: Colonial Representations of Maori and Croatians on the Gumfields, 1880-1940' (MA dissertation in Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1998), p. 9.

³ Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum, eds, *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), p. 9.

⁴ Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney, eds, *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Past* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006), p. 10.

⁵ This paragraph is informed by William Schafer, *Mapping The Godzone: A Primer on New Zealand Literature and Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), pp. ix-xvii.

⁶ Barbara Johnson, *The Critical Difference*, 1980, p.5. Cited in M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College, 1985), p. 229.

⁷ Terry Sturm, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English* 2nd edition, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991, 1998), pp. 45-46.

⁸ John Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand Including a Description of the Country, and Incidental Remarks on the Manners, Customs and Political Opinions of the Natives* (London: James Black and Son, 1817), vol. I, pp. 181, 250.

⁹ Ormond Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke: A Quarter Century of Upheaval* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1985), p. 84.

¹⁰ Ibid; 86-87.

¹¹ Joel Polack, *New Zealand: Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures During a Residence in that Country Between the Years 1831 and 1837*, vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley 1838; Christchurch: Capper Press, 1974), p. 269.

¹² Mason Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self Determination* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 53.

¹³ Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815* (Auckland: Viking, 1997), p. 22.

¹⁴ Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke*, pp. 89-90.

¹⁵ L. M. Rogers, ed, *The Early Journals of Henry Williams 1826–1840* (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1961), p. 268.

¹⁶ Frederick Edward Maning, *Old New Zealand: A Tale of the Good Old Times by a Pakeha Maori* (Auckland: Creighton and Scales, 1863), p. 5.

¹⁷ Richard Taylor, Alexander Turnbull Library typescript 2,200, cited in *The Dictionary of New Zealand English: A Dictionary of New Zealandisms on Historical Principles*, edited by H. W. Orsman (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 569.

¹⁸ George Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand: Being an Artist's Impression on Countries and People at the Antipodes*, vol 2 (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1969), p. 43.

¹⁹ See Henry T. Kemp, *Korero Maori: First Lessons in Maori Conversation by a Pakeha-Maori* (Auckland: G. T. Chapman, 1882).

²⁰ See James Cowan, *Hero Stories of New Zealand* (Wellington: Harry H. Tombs Ltd, 1935), pp. 221-230.

²¹ Harry Orsman, ed, *The Dictionary of New Zealand English*, p. 569.

²² Peter Gibbons, 'Some thoughts on the pre-1840 Pakeha-Maori', term paper in History, Massey University, 1969, p. 17.

²³ Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 92.

²⁴ Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1977), p. 24.

²⁵ Campbell, 'Gone Native' in *Polynesia: Captivity Narratives and Experiences from the South Pacific* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1998), p. 4.

²⁶ Ibid; p. 4.

²⁷ James Cowan, *Settlers and Pioneers* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), p. 29.

²⁸ Campbell, *Gone Native in Polynesia*, p. 4.

²⁹ See Trevor Bentley, *Captured by Maori: White Female Captives, Sex and Racism on the Nineteenth Century New Zealand Frontier* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003), pp. 25–42, 104–121, 212–36.

³⁰ Ibid; pp. 146–47.

³¹ Ann Laura Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies', *Journal of American History*, vol 88, no. 3. (December 2001), p. 836.

³² Ibid; p. 844.

³³ See Barnet Burns, *A Brief Narrative of a New Zealand Chief* (Belfast: R. and D. Read, 1844); Maning, *Old New Zealand*; Charles Marshall, 'Forty Years in the Waikato', in John St John, *Pakeha Rambles Through Maori Lands* (Wellington: Robert Burrett, 1873); *Journal of a Rambler: The Journal of John Boulton*, edited by June Starke (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1986).

³⁴ See George Bruce, 'The Life of a Greenwich Pensioner', Micro MS. 533, ATL; John Rutherford, quoted in G. L. Craik, *The New Zealanders* (London: Charles Knight, 1830); James Caddell, cited in J. H. Jones, *Stewart Island Explored* (Invercargill, NZ: Craig Printing, c. 1994); Ronald McLean, 'Dicky Barrett: Trader, Whaler, Interpreter', (MA thesis in Social Sciences, University of Auckland, 1996); Roger Wigglesworth, 'The Myth and the Reality: A Study of the Adaptation of John Marmon (1800?-1880) with Comments on his Three Newspaper Autobiographies,' (Research essay in History, Massey University, 1974).

³⁵ Janet Frame, 'Departures and Returns', in *Writers in East-West Encounter: New Cultural Bearings*, edited by Guy Amirthanayagam (London: Macmillan, 1982), page 91.

³⁶ James Cowan, *Settlers and Pioneers*, (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), p. 29.

³⁷ *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* (London: Longman, 1979), p. 230.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary*, edited by E. M. Kirkpatrick (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1983), p. 536.

⁴⁰ *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English*, 4th edition, edited by A. P. Cowie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), http://www.oup.com/oald-bin/we3b_getald7indexla.pl

⁴¹ Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke*, pp. 73–88; J. M. R. Owens, ‘New Zealand Before Annexation’, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, edited by W.H. Oliver and B.R. Williams, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 47. The shore whalers’ informal marriages to Maori women were also termed ‘jumping the broomstick’. See James Herries Beattie, *The Story of T. B. Kennard: The First White Boy in Otago* (Christchurch: Candonsbury Publications: 1998), p. 25.

⁴² Paul Moon, ‘The Historiography of the Motua Gardens Occupation’, in *The Changing Field*, edited by Peter Cleave, (Palmerston North: Campus Press, 1998), pp. 47–48.

⁴³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 6.

⁴⁴ James Clifford, ‘Introduction: Partial Truths’ in *Writing Culture: The Politics of Ethnography*, edited by J. Clifford and G. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 7.

⁴⁵ Cited in Peter Childs and R. J. Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Postcolonial Theory* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1997), p. 105.

⁴⁶ Michael Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London: Tavistock, 1970); *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1997); Edward Said, *Orientalism*. Cited in Vrbancic, ‘Maori and Tararas’, p. 105. Critical interest in colonial representation in New Zealand is a relatively recent phenomenon and in the Introduction and some chapters I have drawn on the ideas of Edward Said and David Lowenthal.

Art historians have been the most active scholars in analyzing representations and examining changes in

styles of painting, sculpture and iconography. Bernard Smith's *European Vision in the South Pacific* (1960), has been immensely influential in Australasia, sensitizing researchers to the impact of artistic and cultural conventions upon the ethnographic, botanical and topographical illustrations made by artists on voyages of exploration. For New Zealand, Leonard Bell's *The Maori in European Art* (1980) was an instructive survey of the different ways Maori have been depicted in paintings and drawings, followed by a more detailed study of the nineteenth century in *Colonial Constructs* (1992). Martin Blythe's *Naming the Other: Images of Maori in New Zealand Film and Television* (1994) examined representations of Maori and their relationship with Pakeha in film.

⁴⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

⁴⁸ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 97.

⁴⁹ *Exploration and Exchange: A South Seas Anthology 1680-1900*, edited by Jonathan Lamb, Vanessa Smith and Nicholas Thomas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. xiii.

⁵⁰ These sentences are informed by G. Rafan and R. Mohanram, eds, *Post-colonial Discourse and Changing Contexts: Theory and Criticism* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1995), pp. 2-5.

⁵¹ Orsman, *Dictionary of New Zealand English*, pp. 569-70.

⁵² *Ibid*; p. 569-70.

⁵³ See Gordan McLauchlan, ed, *Bateman New Zealand Encyclopedia*, 4th ed, (Auckland: David Bateman, 1995, p. 436; Alex Calder, ed., *The Writing of New Zealand: Inventions and Identities* (Auckland: Reed, 1993), p. 11; Peter Cleave, *From the Depot Takirua: Some Essays on Film and Theatre in Aotearoa-New*

Zealand (Palmerston North: Campus Press, 1998), p. 63; Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2002), pp. 117-18; W.H. Oliver, ed., *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, 1769-1869 (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, Department of Internal affairs, 1990), pp. 27, 64-65.

⁵⁴ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1959), p. 23.

⁵⁵ Peter Cleave, *From the Depot- Takirua*, p. 63.

⁵⁶ Hamish Bremner, 'Masking Identities in Geyserland: Homi Bhabha and Frantz Fanon Guide Alfred Warbrick Through the Hot Lakes District', MA thesis in New Zealand Studies, University of Auckland, 1984, p. 17.

⁵⁷ Gibbons, 'Non-fiction,' in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, p. 43.

⁵⁸ Ibid; p. 44.

⁵⁹ This idea is informed by Eric McCormick, *New Zealand Literature: A Survey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 55-58.

⁶⁰ Gibbons, 'Non fiction', p. 66.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid; pp. 82-83.

⁶³ Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie, eds, *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.79.

⁶⁴ Ballantyne, *Disputed Histories*, p 10.

⁶⁵ Ibid; pp. 10-12.

⁶⁶ Ibid; pp. 11-13.

Chapter One

Negotiating and Constructing Pakeha-Maori in A. S. Thomson's *The Story of New Zealand*

In constructing the first major general history for New Zealand – *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present – Savage and Civilized* (1859) – Arthur Saunders Thomson (1817?–1860) provided the first substantial discussion of Pakeha-Maori published after British annexation. Thomson devoted eight pages of a 32-page chapter, ‘Pioneers of Civilization’, to Pakeha-Maori, whom he termed a ‘class’ of early settler in this two-volume history.¹ A scientist and a doctor, Thomson wrote before the New Zealand Wars, was an apologist for the missionaries and settlers, and took an optimistic view of Pakeha-Maori, emphasising their civilising influences on Maori and positive role in early interactions between Europeans and Maori.

Before Thomson's history, Pakeha-Maori (the Maori term for Pakeha living among Maori as Maori) had come into being in specific textual representations by missionaries, colonial officials, visitors and travellers. However, the various individual units were first conceived as a separate ‘class’ or group of early settler in *The Story of New Zealand*. In the process of ‘inventing’ a collective Pakeha-Maori identity, Thomson became the first historian to make regular use of the term. By including and representing Pakeha-Maori in his narrative and becoming entangled in the production of their complex identity, he allowed them to flourish in print.

In examining the place Thomson gave to Pakeha-Maori, this chapter provides a biographical outline and discusses his use of the term and the contexts for its use. It examines what was available textually and how his representations were shaped by a variety of influences including Victorian evolutionary theory and Romanticism. The second portion of the chapter assesses Thomson's historical methods and how Pakeha-Maori are made to fit into his whole vision of New Zealand history. It concludes with a discussion of theoretical issues of representation and the impact and influence of his images on later writers.

Of Scottish descent, Thomson studied at the University of Edinburgh and was stationed with the British Army in India from 1838–1846. Appointed Surgeon to the 58th Regiment in New Zealand between 1847–1858, he was free to travel, observe and write. This was a period of relative peace between Maori and Pakeha, and as a soldier Thomson remained largely detached from settler concerns. He regularly sent medical papers to British medical journals which reflected his interest in statistics, climatology and disease. *The Story of New Zealand* was partly written before his return to England. Promoted to Surgeon Major, he was transferred to China where he died in 1860.²

Thomson's text was one of two New Zealand histories published in 1859. William Swainson's *New Zealand and Its Colonisation* also focused on the European invasion and its impact on Maori but gives no space to Pakeha-Maori.³ During the 1850s, several other histories of New Zealand were published which did attempt to textualise these people, though none were as comprehensive as Thomson's work.⁴ Following annexation in 1840, a number of Europeans were active in search of the exotic and the unusual and *The Story of New Zealand* was part of a distinctive nineteenth century genre; the Victorian travel text. Britain had a broad colonial interest in New Zealand, and men who 'went native' remained subjects of specific topical interest to the reading public. In endeavouring to fill what he termed a 'literary gap' in the knowledge of Europeans about New Zealand, Thomson was one of many sojourners who attempted a detailed description of the country and its inhabitants. His 'scientific' record of natural and artificial curiosities included Pakeha-Maori.

In New Zealand, Thomson called on the assistance of some government officials, including Donald McLean, Andrew Sinclair and Walter Mantell, for information on Maori and interviewed many of the people who appear in the text.⁵ In constructing his whole narrative and images of Pakeha-Maori, Thomson also surveyed and synthesised much of the existing written material on the colony available in New Zealand and England. He relied on this extensive reading, personal interviews and his own bold interpretations to arrive at his own conclusions. By 1859 there was a considerable accumulation of printed information on Pakeha-Maori which was accessed by Thomson while preparing his history of New Zealand. The bibliography of *The Story of New Zealand* details some 500 items from the existing voluminous literature on New Zealand and was the first New Zealand bibliography to be compiled. This bibliography cites, among other writers, J. Savage, J. Nicholas, E. Dieffenbach, J. Bidwell, G. Angus, R. Taylor and G. Craik, whose texts also contained encounters with and/or descriptions of Pakeha-Maori.⁶ In describing the idealised existence of Pakeha-Maori, Thomson additionally reveals his familiarity with the classics of ancient Greece and Rome, the works of Herman Melville, and the history of North American settlement.⁷

The Story of New Zealand is essentially a narrative of British achievement whose author was motivated to write as he 'could find no book containing a general history of the colony'. Thomson undertook therefore a comprehensive survey of New Zealand history to 1859 which attempted to 'sketch the natural history of the country, [and] to narrate the story of its people'.⁸ The essence of colonialism has been described as the control of distant lands from a centre. The main battle of imperialism is always over land and the Victorian world map was charted according to centres of colonial interest.⁹ As an account of British achievement in New Zealand, *The Story of New Zealand* accordingly reflected Victorian imperial attitudes, 'which also impelled the entire concept and practice of colonialism, in holding that Anglos were superior racially, culturally, spiritually, technologically to indigenous people'.¹⁰

Anthropology at this time rationalised the colonial project and evolutionary beliefs by developing classifications of human history and living peoples. By the time Thomson's history was published there were several versions of evolutionary thought in contention. One of the more prominent viewed human history as a single

evolutionary development through a series of levels, often referred to as savagery, barbarism, and civilisation.¹¹ Appearing in the same year as Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, the text of *The Story of New Zealand* thus contains many assumptions about social change and evolution.

Thomson believed that the rise of civilisation (like the rise and decline of Pakeha-Maori) could be transformed into mathematical tables that demonstrated the falling away of the indicators of barbarism, as warfare, infanticide and Maori communalism gave way to capitalism and the related habits and practices of civilisation.¹² Belief in evolutionary processes dominates his narrative, revealing the attitude which shapes his writing, and is implicit in the running heads of the narrative: 'At first useless / Became valuable / Decline in influence / Number of Pakeha Maoris / Specimen of Pakeha Maori / Civilising effect of Pakeha Maoris'.¹³

It is likely that Thomson believed that his chapter would be a vital contribution to the definition and broader narrativisation of Pakeha-Maori, thereby enhancing his self-perception as a 'civilized' man who had crossed cultures in the pursuit of knowledge. In attempting to contribute to the literary record on Pakeha-Maori, he chose therefore to represent them constructively rather than negatively. His central argument is stated in the opening sentence to his narrative on early settlers: 'True progressive civilization was planted by the crews of the early ships and by the sealers, whalers and Pakeha Maoris.'¹⁴ Implicit in the chapter title itself, 'Pioneers of Civilization', are the positive attitudes that shape the author's approach both to history and Pakeha-Maori.

As we shall see, while Thomson also observed Pakeha-Maori with an imperial eye, they have diverse manifestations and he writes with greater recognition of their complexity than many later historians. Consequently, his images include an uneasy amalgam of pioneers of progress, romantic white savages, an exotic 'class' of Anglo settler, historical anachronisms, and harbingers of a bicultural future.

Unlike later writers, Thomson does not italicize or hyphenate the term 'Pakeha Maori.' He viewed it as a Maori term that, for him, translated as 'strangers turned into natives'¹⁵ and considered them similar to culture-crossing whalers, beachcombers and sawyers who also had Maori wives and kin, but special because of their fluency in

Maori and their geographical isolation.¹⁶ They were, in the words of scientific classification, a distinct ‘class’ of early settler, comprising mainly runaway sailors and convicts, with some men ‘of obscure origin with the education and manners of gentlemen’.¹⁷ Thomson also saw them as close to, but separate from, Maori, superior beings who preferred ‘ruling savages to serving white men’.¹⁸ This popular belief allowed Europeans to be more ‘rational’ than ‘natural’ savages and sanctioned the most degenerate European to influence Maori positively and rise through the tribal social structure to eventually ‘rule them’.¹⁹

Thomson traced Pakeha-Maori history from the first arrivals after 1800 to what he calls their ‘golden age’ in the 1820s and 1830s, and their elevation from slaves to chiefs as tribes recognised their potential as trading intermediaries.²⁰ Following the annexation of New Zealand in 1840 and the beginnings of organised settlement, he saw them as anachronisms and argued that as Maori traded directly with Pakeha, Pakeha-Maori returned to their parent society.

The following return from *The Story of New Zealand* will convey some definite idea of the number of ‘Pakeha Maoris’ Thomson considered resident in New Zealand, with their periods of prosperity and decay:²¹

Before 1814 there were in New Zealand 6 Pakeha Maoris.

In 1827	”	”	15	”
1830	”	”	50	”
1835	”	”	100	”
1840	”	”	150	”
1845	”	”	50	”
1850	”	”	15	”
1853	”	”	10	”

Surviving traces of Pakeha-Maori are selected with an eye to a complimentary judgement. Indeed, Thomson represents nearly all people positively. He defends them as a ‘class’ who ‘under the haze of pious exaggeration were denominated devil’s missionaries’, noting that ‘[m]any creditable actions of Pakeha Maoris have come to my knowledge’.²²

The good the Pakeha Maoris did, far outbalanced their misdeeds; they taught the natives to trust white men, and encouraged industry, the promoter of peace and civilisation, by opening up a steady market for flax

and potatoes; their half-caste children were hostages for good behaviour, and stepping-stones to health and progress.²³

Thomson saw 'class' as a collection or division of people based on economic position.²⁴ His Pakeha-Maori, 'strangers turned into natives', were principally a lower class of civilised men turned into savages – typically convicts, former convicts and runaway sailors without capital, education or 'mental occupation'.

An understanding of Victorian Anthropology provides a context for Thomson's representations of Pakeha-Maori as a 'class'.²⁵ Evolutionary theory had become influential in Britain long before Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859) was published, and Thomson's story was subsequently read by Britons at home and in New Zealand who were familiar with Darwinian ideas. The Victorian concern with establishing hierarchies of status confined to distinctions of class and behaviour saw residential areas of British cities differentiated along these lines. The Great Exhibition of 1851 in the Crystal Palace, the 'first world fair', served to emphasise the gulf between civilised and native races and helped mould national attitudes in this regard.²⁶ The simple artefacts of primitive cultures seemed to Victorian visitors a pathetic contrast to the gleaming, functioning machines of the British Industrial Revolution.²⁷ The classification of people into racial and class groupings also helped Victorians make sense of human diversity and was legitimised by the development of a body of scientific knowledge which further confirmed arguments about social and cultural difference. Notions of the primitive corresponded with widely held beliefs about 'others' abroad and those lower in the social hierarchy at home, including women and the working class.²⁸

Common sailors at this time were considered the basic element in Pakeha-Maori and beachcomber populations. The Australian missionary John Williams, in a letter to the *Sydney Gazette* in 1827, observed: 'It is the common sailors and the lower order of them, the very vilest of the whole, who will leave their ship and go to live amongst the savages, and take with them all their low habits and all their vices.'²⁹ The Victorian identification of the lower order as savages may help explain why 'survival cannibalism' among shipwrecked sailors received a 'nearly complete tolerance'.³⁰ One internal memorandum circulated within the Board of Trade described sailors by nature

as superstitious, barbarous, depraved and degenerate. 'Given the equation between cannibalism and the basest savagery in the popular mind, sailors' habits served to confirm this characterisation.'³¹

Unsurprisingly, Thomson had a typically Anglo-centric vision about how a cosmopolitan group like Pakeha-Maori should be represented, defining New Zealand as a space for British achievement. His text thus sets out 'to show how a few Anglo-Saxons planted and managed a colony in the midst of cannibals'.³² Because from the late eighteenth century evolutionary ranking was a central device for both the imperial classification of exotic peoples and for adjudications about their treatment, Thomson's writing suggests a racial hierarchy of Pakeha-Maori, though this may not have been necessarily founded on evolutionary ranking. Many Frenchmen, Pacific Islanders, Negroes and Lascar seamen from the Indian subcontinent assimilated as Maori, but according to Thomson: 'A few were Frenchmen, but the majority were Englishmen and Americans.'³³ Colonising discourses are frequently split between assimilationist and segregated ways of dealing with exotics, but he steadfastly excludes non-European Pakeha-Maori from his narrative.

Pakeha-Maori of British origins, including Dicky Barrett, Frederick Maning and Captain John Harris, were considered akin to folk heroes by early nineteenth-century visitors to New Zealand, including Thomson, some new settlers, and by some later writers.³⁴ These images of culture-crossing 'old settlers' faded into that of the pioneering frontiersmen who became builders of new communities.³⁵ Thomson's Pakeha-Maori traders were eventually to merge with a settler society that increasingly sought to legitimise itself as truly indigenous by deliberately appropriating elements of Maori culture as a means of acquiring identity. This theme is explored further in Chapters Three and Four.

Ethnocentrism is not totally incompatible with a lively respect for other ethnic groups and lifeways and it might well be the basis for that respect.³⁶ A former Indian army officer, Thomson was familiar with 'white baboos' and 'nabobs', army officers and merchants and officials who became 'Indianised' or 'nabobised' during their long sojourns in the subcontinent. In the view of Britons at home, loneliness in isolated outposts sometimes bred eccentricity, causing Europeans to 'go native'. 'Gone Fantee'

was the picturesque phrase.³⁷ Nineteenth-century Indianisation was generally superficial however, confined chiefly to the adoption of Indian clothing and food, not a radical transformation of ideas or values. In remoter stations, however, some eighteenth-century practices persisted, including zenana (keeping an Indian wife or mistress), the nautch (Indian singing and dancing), smoking the hookah pipe, and chewing betel nut.³⁸ We do not know to what extent Thomson himself became Indianised but he was not unlike his pre-annexation military predecessors, the travellers and observers Major Richard Cruise and Ensign Abel Best, who were attracted to and fascinated with indigenous lifeways and spent considerable time living among and interacting with Maori and Pakeha-Maori during their respective sojourns in New Zealand.³⁹

Thomson also viewed Pakeha-Maori as a species. Indeed, he represents one 'specimen' he encountered near Taupo as the bearer of particular characteristics or dispositions, and considers their evolutionary history, rise and decline to be typified in this specimen. 'In 1852, when travelling to Taupo with Major Hume and Captain Cooper of the 58th, we encountered a good specimen of this almost extinct class,' he wrote.⁴⁰ A former man-o'-wars' man and castaway, this individual rose to prominence by conducting the tribe's 'foreign trade'. during the inter-tribal musket wars. The Taupo Pakeha-Maori lived in a peach orchard beside a beautiful river with his Maori wife and children. Thomson believed that commerce, not Christianity, was civilising Maori, and his Utopian images evoke not only the Romantic world of the Enlightenment but its fragmentation due to the advance of civilisation. Thomson notes that: 'Soon after the foundation of Auckland [1842], his [the Taupo Pakeha-Maori's] power and influence ceased, and he was obliged to cultivate food with his own hands for the support of his family . . . He now lived by purchasing flax, rearing pigs, and curing bacon, which his son took to the Auckland market.'⁴¹

In order for Thomson to distinguish Pakeha-Maori as a class, it was first necessary to analyse the characteristics by which this class was recognised and by which they were distinguished.⁴² Since Linnaeus first defined a hierarchical system of racial classification based on skin colour, scholars of race had used such a typification scale to measure and assess their subjects. How then did Thomson measure and assess Pakeha-Maori? The practice of typification originated in the descriptive vocabulary

emerging in the second half of the eighteenth century and was originally concerned with animals rather than humans, as in Buffon's *Natural History*.⁴³ Typification proceeded most powerfully through specific characteristics. What Thomson's Taupo specimen has is similar to what an animal may have, a nature that could be recognised through behaviour and disposition.⁴⁴ The Taupo specimen is typified as the pathetic remnant of a vanishing class. Such typifications took on an ideological significance, helping to confirm the legitimacy (in the eyes of the dominant group) of the position of the subordinate group. Typification allowed Thomson's discourse to proceed through confident assertions, providing his representations with considerable force and authority. Implicit support of his friend Major Hume's depiction of the Taupo 'specimen' invites the reader to concur with his classification of Pakeha-Maori on the Victorian evolutionary scale.

Next day we left the old man's house, and gladdened his wife's heart by giving each child a present. As our canoe was paddled up the river, the Pakeha Maori stood staring at us, and Major Hume said, when a bend of the river shut him out from our view, it was a painful thing to see a civilized man turned into a savage.⁴⁵

The question of describing and classifying Pakeha-Maori is one which missionaries, visitors and colonial officials had struggled with for many years. Many Victorians assumed that the phenotype or group of physical characteristics was an appropriate way of classifying people into social groupings. For Thomson, differences in phenotype were synonymous with variations in intellect and abilities. Europeans were held to be superior, and the remaining races were ranked according to how they fared in comparison with Europeans.⁴⁶ On this basis, it was possible for Thomson's companion, Major Hume, to describe the Taupo Pakeha-Maori as a savage. Having slid back down the scale of civilisation, the Taupo specimen was deemed to have acquired the character of Maori.

Accordingly, Thomson's interactions with the Taupo Pakeha-Maori reconfirmed his view of culture-crossers and bolstered the views of his British readers. The main feature of his portrayal is that he, as a European, was always in a position of strength or domination.⁴⁷ The established relationship is one between a strong and a weak

partner. Thomson's host is a Pakeha-Maori and he uses judgemental terms to these differentiating characteristics.

It is clear from Thomson's Eurocentric descriptions that the 'savage' Pakeha-Maori was still a recognisable entity during the 1850s, this savagery consisting, in his own words, of real cultural features (Maori language and kinship) and a (free) mentality. He expresses familiarity with the stories of the tattooed men George Bruce and John Rutherford but does not attempt more than a superficial discussion of their assimilations as 'savages', perhaps finding their practices objectionable or unfathomable.⁴⁸

Thomson's representations shed light on the climate of Enlightenment in which Victorian texts featuring people who 'went native' were produced. European readers assumed sexual freedom to be part of the indigenous world, and Thomson's Pakeha-Maori were represented as prime potential for intermarriage and the assimilation of Maori. They were part of the fantasy regarding seamen living a primitive life of sexual freedom in the South Seas untouched by the complexities of Western societies.

Although new forms of realism were arising during the 1840s and 1850s, Thomson lived at a time when the Romantic movement still influenced English letters. The poems of Wordsworth and Byron and the novels of Scott and his contemporaries were his background, though there is no evidence of direct influence by any of these writers in particular. Accordingly, Thomson romanticises Pakeha-Maori as escapees from civilisation as opposed to physically and psychologically vulnerable refugees grappling with an alien culture. The Taupo 'specimen' lived like a European in a whaler's hut beyond the pa or kainga with his Maori wife and half-caste children.⁴⁹ Thomson compares such Pakeha-Maori traders with the 'savages' of the Scottish highlands romanticised in nineteenth-century British literature: 'Surrounded by numerous retainers, they felt like Highland Chiefs in the midst of their clans, and laughed at the whimsical freaks of fortune which had elevated them to be kings among savages.'⁵⁰ Home and family in Victorian society were characterised by peace, unity, harmony and tenderness, and Thomson's narrative sanctifies the Taupo Pakeha-Maori's family relations.

In *The Story of New Zealand*, Thomson employs the language of exploration and scientific collection, ranging widely through geography, natural history, climate, and settlement. The tone of the narrative is generally one of detachment but Thomson enjoys the occasional dramatic phrase and verbal flourish, depicting Pakeha-Maori as adventurous spirits who celebrate nature in a romantic realm of self-discovery and freedom. *The Story of New Zealand* reveals the ambivalent oppositions around which Enlightenment critique turned, that Simon During describes as being ‘continually oriented towards, and grounded on, the differences and conflicts between the “civilized” and the “savage”.’⁵¹

Wakefield’s Enlightenment experiment had proposed that the colonists would transport European values into the South Seas and introduce their civilised culture to Maori.⁵² Such visions were, however, undermined by Europeans like the Taupo Pakeha-Maori who had supposedly slipped back down the scale of civilisation. Wakefield’s scheme for selling land at a ‘sufficient price’ was mainly intended to preclude this kind of lapse by preserving ‘civilized concentrations’ rather than thinly dispersed settlements.⁵³ The prospect of Europeans becoming one with Maori had terrified promoters of civilisation and colonisation. According to Wakefieldian/British views: ‘Society commonly falls back into the primitive state, to that backward stage when everyone, or nearly everyone, is a cultivator on his own account.’⁵⁴

Thomson’s idealisation of the ‘savage man’ had its origins in Enlightenment theory, particularly as defined by Rousseau and Diderot. During observes how these eighteenth-century theorists ‘provide nineteenth-century exoticism [for which we can read “primitivism”] with much of its conceptual apparatus’.⁵⁵ Ideas of ‘loss’ and ‘degeneration’ are associated with Rousseau and his resistance to the denaturalising effects of urbanisation and artificiality, while Diderot ‘described settlers who went native in terms analogous to those in which he conceived of transgressive geniuses’.⁵⁶

In the late nineteenth century one wing of social science was to formulate as a law the supposed tendency of colonial settlers to ‘degenerate’ into the savages they had displaced.⁵⁷ While settler becoming Other never gained ‘widespread metropolitan or colonial approval at the level of public culture’, it did remain attractive to literate and independent-minded individuals. Earle, Angus, and Thomson crossed cultures in

pursuit of knowledge, while Boulton, Maning and Markham voluntarily joined Maori communities and engaged in what During calls 'self othering', namely 'constructing or finding a self as another or by identification with others'.⁵⁸

Thomson's designation of Pakeha-Maori as picturesque anachronisms in decline could be used to promote the cause of European colonialism. His Pakeha-Maori were depicted as poverty-stricken and powerless, their demise conveniently following annexation in 1840, entrepreneurial capitalism and organised immigration. *The Story of New Zealand* was part of the process of colonialism, helping justify the European presence in New Zealand as normative and the decline of Maori and Pakeha-Maori as inevitable.

Images of vanishing Maori and Pakeha-Maori legitimised the status of colonisers over indigenes. '[D]egraded' Maori who hung about the towns were said by other writers to have little of the appearance or the character of 'true' Maori.⁵⁹ The Taupo Pakeha-Maori is a degraded European, a 'sorry specimen' with little of the appearance or character of the 'true' European. Thomson's ethnographic certainties were also supported by the census of 1858 which revealed just 56,049 Maori from an estimated population of around 100,000 Maori in the period 1800–1840.⁶⁰ The number of Europeans meanwhile had increased from an estimated population of 2000 in 1840 to 71,593 in 1859. One contemporary observer expressed the popular view: 'The unfortunate race has declined rapidly since British settlers' arrival and it is now running headlong towards extinction.'⁶¹

Waiting for the last of the Tasmanians, Maori and Pakeha-Maori to expire was essentialised as the outcome of the savage character, incapable of withstanding the onslaught of modernity. Salvage was as important a trope as discovery and, like many nineteenth-century travellers and observers, Arthur Thomson celebrates the thrill of discovering the Pakeha-Maori 'specimen' at Taupo.⁶² Thomson employs the rhetoric of disappearing knowledge, collecting, recording and preserving the experiences of Pakeha-Maori as a vanishing genus of culture-crossing settler, a sentiment shared by later ethnologists like Elsdon Best, who were still collecting and recording Maori in the early twentieth century.⁶³

Thomson found in the last of the Pakeha-Maori an ideal metaphor for emphasising the inevitability of industrial progress. In an era of evolutionism and technological progress, the triumph of the civilised over the uncivilised was considered to be part of the universal struggle for existence. The principle of the 'survival of the fittest' thus complemented the law of inevitable extinction.⁶⁴ The Taupo Pakeha-Maori has no curiosity and no mental occupation, he succumbs easily to alcohol but, more significantly, he does no regular work.

Daniel Defoe's widely read novel *Robinson Crusoe*, first published in 1719, describes how, after shipwreck cast him on an uninhabited island, Crusoe laboriously reconstructs the life he had in Europe, a life regulated by disciplined labour, the clock and the calendar.⁶⁵ Thomson's Pakeha-Maori, by contrast, live in a world unregulated by ambition, time and regular labour. In Thomson's words, the Taupo 'specimen': 'had no wish to change his life, as the savage world had treated him better than the civilised. Like many Pakeha Maoris, he had no curiosity in passing events, was indifferent about the future, and the sensual employments of eating and sleeping had obtained that ascendancy they invariably do over those who have no mental occupation.'⁶⁶

A huge number of tales emerged from the Robinson Crusoe myth. Kevin Carpenter, in his text *Desert Isles and Pirate Islands* (1984), lists some 500 desert island stories published between 1788 and 1910 in England alone, including *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1818) by Johann Wyss, and J. M. Ballantyne's *Coral Island* (1858).⁶⁷ Narratives by, or about, beachcombers and Pakeha-Maori were part of this phenomenon and there are indirect allusions to Crusoe recurrent in Thomson's writing on Pakeha-Maori. These men leave textual relics of their passing that reflect their civilising influences on Maori, but Thomson abstracts such books into sources of mystical power that enhanced the mana of the strangers as they entered Maori communities. Thomson recalled:

High up the Wanganui river a copy of Shakespear, a classical dictionary, and a stone for grinding maize were shown to me by a chief, as the property of his former Pakeha Maori. On the banks of the Mokau river I stood upon the grave of one of these men, was shown a tattered English

Prayer-book, the only property he left, and a half-caste girl gambolling in the river, the poor man's only child.⁶⁸

Such images reinforced in the minds of Thomson's British readers, and many subsequent New Zealand writers, the whole canon of stereotypes about Pakeha-Maori – that they were not only immoral but inherently lazy, ignorant, unwilling to change and again therefore doomed to extinction. Thomson's certainties in this respect lay in science and mathematics. He noted how Maori heads were smaller than English heads and how 'New Zealanders' were consequently inferior to the English in mental capacity, and how mental indolence lessened the size of brains.⁶⁹ More specifically, Thomson's certainties were grounded in his implicit faith in evolutionism and the classification and hierarchy of races. His use of the terms 'specimen' and 'extinct' was part and parcel of scientific collection, an important trope in the history of colonisation, one which allowed travellers and observers to collect specimens, either physically, or in notebooks. Thomson commodifies Pakeha-Maori for consumption, exhibiting the Taupo Pakeha-Maori in text for readers, just as the tattooed Pakeha-Maori John Rutherford and Barnet Burns had once been exhibited non-scientifically in British sideshows where British audiences responded to their appearances and performances as savages.⁷⁰

Thomson was also aware of the value of personal memory over archives in creating 'authentic' and 'readable' history: 'During eleven years residence; I saw much of the country, held intercourse with representative men; [and] sojourned for months among the aborigines in the interior.'⁷¹ He considered Pakeha-Maori, like the one he encountered near Taupo, both a relic and a useful source of information. No Pakeha-Maori would have felt easy if he were being observed and questioned by someone humourlessly determined to understand them, and Thomson was not above using alcohol with effect during his field researches: 'When night closed in, we all sat around the fire, and the Pakeha Maori grew talkative under the influence of a glass of grog we had given him.'⁷² Thomson's extensive use of interviews places him among New Zealand's first colonial practitioners of oral history. His comprehensive research and lively style have ensured a posthumous reputation that continues to fare well and his text remains highly readable.

In grappling with issues of producing a first New Zealand history, Thomson attempted an inclusive narrative. In so doing, Pakeha-Maori appeared as a distinct 'class' whose general character and history were presented to the world for the first time. While a champion of Pakeha-Maori, his images are nevertheless idealised and, as 'Pioneers of Civilization', Thomson's Pakeha-Maori have found a place in many subsequent unofficial and officially sanctioned accounts of New Zealand's past that are examined in the following chapters.

By including Pakeha-Maori in a chapter titled 'Pioneers of Civilization' and ranking them alongside other culture-crossing Europeans (whalers, beachcombers, sealers and sawyers), however, Thomson converts them into a past of lesser importance than that of organised colonists. They are additionally rendered inferior as they are translated into the historian's language and the Eurocentric world he inhabits. Yet Thomson undermines his own image of Pakeha-Maori as white savage, simultaneously empowering Europe and Europeans, by symbolically reclaiming Pakeha-Maori as agents of Western civilisation while including the history of an exotic minority to extend the understanding of his readers.

It was through A. S. Thomson's history that Pakeha-Maori became recognisable symbols of New Zealand's pre-annexation past. His *Story* has achieved canonical status and exercised a notable influence on many later histories including my own work *Pakeha Maori* (1999), which explores his chronology of Pakeha-Maori roles as pets, slaves, trading intermediaries and white chiefs.⁷³ (Details and references to these categories are provided in later chapters.) However, Thomson overrates the civilising influence of Pakeha-Maori on Maori, for the majority were transient men. Archives, interviews and dubious mathematics are the building blocks by which he negotiates and constructs interpretations of Pakeha-Maori that are favourable to colonial processes.

It was genuinely believed by the nineteenth-century writers that 'the world out there' could be documented 'objectively'. Thomson's *Story* has a scientific and didactic component and he was concerned with accuracy and detail. He draws on a wide variety of sources, making authoritative and often unsubstantiated generalisations

about Pakeha-Maori in his attempt to classify them, and employs dubious statistics to plot their rise and fall.

As has been said, Thomson's 'collecting' was part of the great project of Linnaean taxonomy and his research and understanding of Pakeha-Maori formed part of this general discourse in which the strange and exotic was studied, interviewed, recorded and classified. His researches attempted to show British readers how people, things and events really were in New Zealand. Thomson's *Story of New Zealand* is part of what has been called 'The Literature of Invasion', books written by people educated in the 'old world' for audiences beyond New Zealand.⁷⁴ Such literature concentrated on three interrelated subjects – 'the indigenous inhabitants, the natural phenomena and resources of New Zealand, and accounts of European settler experiences'.⁷⁵

Establishing his own basic set of judgements about Pakeha-Maori, Thomson contests writings by those who encountered them in the pre-annexation era. Missionaries, temporary visitors, early 'respectable' settlers and colonial officials frequently represented them as white savages, degenerates, renegades and obstacles to progress.⁷⁶ Thomson's main focus, however, was not on the assimilations made by Pakeha-Maori and their identities as Other, but on the ways in which Pakeha-Maori and the processes of colonisation intersected. Colonial New Zealand discourses often dehumanised Europeans who went 'native'. The images of the white renegades in particular made their different treatment by writers more intelligible and appropriate to British and/or Pakeha readers. While Thomson defined his Pakeha-Maori as 'strangers turned into natives', his white savages were never dehumanised. He appropriates them instead for his own purposes, plundering elements of their experience and ranking them alongside whalers and sealers in his chapter 'Pioneers of Civilization', a history of European endeavour.

Pakeha-Maori generally lived in communal co-operation and Thomson came to know his subjects well during his travels from Auckland to Taupo, Rotorua and the Mokau River. In noting, in the jargon of the British military, that 'many creditable actions' of 'Pakeha Maoris' had come to his notice, Thomson may have been tempted to find in them the virtues that were missing in the new society of the colonists with its emphasis on competitiveness and the individual acquisition of money and property. Whatever

elements of 'truth' (in terms of describing the Pakeha-Maori contribution to civilising processes) there may have been in his narrative, it amounted to a grossly overbalanced view of their achievements all the same.

Because of the received myths about European technical and racial superiority and the notion that Pakeha-Maori were vanishing, Thomson attempted to preserve a record of this class in the course of 'sketching the natural history of the country, and narrating the story of its people'. He considered his project part of his 'scientific' researches, collecting tales by speaking to the 'last Pakeha Maori'. Thomson viewed Pakeha-Maori as a unique episode in New Zealand history and this factor helps explain his textualisation of their past. In this regard he was a precursor to Maning and Cowan who were also concerned with the collection and preservation of Pakeha-Maori images.

Thomson's system of measuring the rise and decline of Pakeha-Maori was inaccurate, and his data and conclusions discredited by their persistent presence in Maori communities after 1859. His writings were part of a larger, conscious effort to 'disappear' Pakeha-Maori in printed text during the 1850s. In 1853, *The Australian and New Zealand Gazette* had reported: 'Since the foundation of the colony, the natives have become acquainted with a different class of people and the Pakeha-Maori has gradually sunk in their estimation and has not only ceased to be appreciated, but treated with contempt. They are however, almost extinct – and at the present time there is not more than one specimen in the whole Waikato district.'⁷⁷

European settlement and change certainly reduced Pakeha-Maori numbers and radically disrupted their indigenous lifeways, but did not thereby doom them to extinction. The tribes continued to give refuge to Europeans seeking sanctuary long after they had ceased to be of any use to their hosts. During the post-annexation decades Europeans continued to cross into Maori culture, their numbers reinforced by the twelve imperial and colonial soldiers who deserted their units to live among Maori during the New Zealand Wars.⁷⁸

Pakeha-Maori serve as a litmus test for the state of race relations during the 1850s. As long as Europeans enjoyed a peaceful mercantile relationship with Maori, culture-

crossing Europeans such as the Taupo ‘specimen’ could be viewed romantically as harmless and exotic anachronisms. After Thomson’s confident predictions of an almost effortless amalgamation of European and Maori were shattered by the New Zealand Wars, however, they were to be portrayed as a grave threat to the society the colonists wished to establish and were to be often accused of fostering anti-European resistance among Maori.⁷⁹ Thomson held an optimistic view of humankind, which included his vision for Pakeha-Maori and New Zealand. Thus, despite growing Maori concerns about the flood of European immigrants and increasing resistance to the sale of land to Europeans during the 1850s, Thomson envisioned an easy amalgamation of the races.

Today, as in Thomson’s day, species were defined as a group of objects or individuals sharing common attributes that form subdivisions of a genus, capable of interbreeding. Eugenics was the nineteenth-century notion that populations could be improved by using knowledge about genetics.⁸⁰ Thomson believed that Maori could survive, be ‘improved’, and progress within New Zealand’s changing political, economic and social environment by intermarrying with Pakeha. He saw Pakeha-Maori as a first step in this process of ‘amalgamation’ (assimilation),⁸¹ opining: ‘the features of the Maori race will disappear from among the half-castes’, but that ‘ [p]hysically they are noble and beautiful and only require education to develop the force and power of their minds.’⁸²

In 1859, Arthur Thomson never conceived of the possibility of a large-scale war between Maori and Pakeha, firmly believing that a benevolent colonial regime could assist Maori towards equality and advancement.⁸³ He departed New Zealand in 1858, at a time when Maori constituted 48.6% of the total population, carried arms, and dominated the provisions trade and coastal shipping.⁸⁴ Maori-Pakeha relations received much attention from the governors and their officials, and Pakeha and Maori were not yet insulated from one another geographically, culturally, and socially.⁸⁵

Thomson’s image of the half-caste offspring of Pakeha-Maori as ‘stepping stones to health and progress’, however, cannot be sustained. Sealers and whalers also left half-caste children whose numbers were never large. Thomson’s own figures calculate just 2000 half-castes in 1858.⁸⁶ His assessment of Pakeha-Maori roles in racial admixture

had much more to do with his own optimistic visions for New Zealand, which helped Pakeha-Maori to enter his narrative as a force in their own right. *The Story of New Zealand*, like the texts produced by later Pakeha-Maori image-makers discussed in the following chapters, was subject to what has been called a ‘historically situated set of determinants [with] its own ideological component’.⁸⁷ Such early colonial narratives provided what appeared to be an empirical foundation for stereotypes of Pakeha-Maori that later solidified in European culture generally.

The first concern of Thomson’s narrative on Pakeha-Maori was representation, a term that has been defined as ‘the processes of representation made by Europeans for Europeans’ in which audience response was fundamental to any consideration of meaning.⁸⁸ Representations of Pakeha-Maori are never unproblematic, faithful records of the physical, social and psychological activities of Pakeha-Maori existence, however much Thomson and later historians wrote about or used them as if they were or could be.⁸⁹ What Thomson does is to conceive and judge his Pakeha-Maori in terms of values approved by his own (colonial) outlook. By confining their adaptations and activities to marriage, language and trade, they become predictable and acceptable agents of progress and racial ‘improvement’ for his British readers, picturesque and exotic agents of change who preferred ‘savage independence to the artificial restraints of civilised society’.⁹⁰

The Story of New Zealand is enriched by the inclusion of Pakeha-Maori but renders them as ciphers by presenting them through an array of selective attributes. Their language and geographical isolation distinguish them from culture-crossing sealers, whalers, beachcombers and sawyers. While Pakeha-Maori had previously appeared as recurrent representations or persistent subjects in the writings of missionaries, colonial officials and temporary visitors, it was through Thomson’s *Story* that many British and New Zealand readers came to ‘know’ Pakeha-Maori. Representing Pakeha-Maori was often a way of controlling them, and Thomson’s subject was not so much the Pakeha-Maori themselves but the Pakeha-Maori made known and therefore less fearsome but at the same time more exotic for British readers.

In considering the processes of representation, it has been argued that ‘the discursive confinement of a character is supposed at best to let one apprehend a generic type

without difficulty or ambiguity.’ Therefore such images represent or stand for ‘a very large entity, otherwise impossibly diffuse, which they enable one to grasp or see.’⁹¹ Thomson’s *Story of New Zealand* was among the most influential early texts by which Pakeha-Maori were made familiar, enabling readers to ‘grasp or see’ them. The *Story* helped diminish their reputation for violence and debauchery in many pre-annexation reports on New Zealand, their strangeness, and in some cases their hostility to new European arrivals. The strangeness of Pakeha-Maori was reduced when transformed into Thomson’s exemplars. Given a genealogy and an explanation, these men ceased to roam the borders of the Maori and Pakeha worlds as threatening, masterless men, becoming familiar to British readers. They are thereby transformed into the antithesis of James Busby’s lawless characters and the runaway convicts and sailors described in Maning’s *Old New Zealand* (1863) as ‘being greater savages by far than the natives themselves’.⁹²

Art in Western culture often implies a symbolic possession of the depicted object by the artist and the audience, ‘particularly the owner, for whose use the image was intended – “an avid and ambitious desire to take possession”’.⁹³ Like the racialised typifications of Maori employed by gentlemen travellers elsewhere in New Zealand, Thomson constitutes Pakeha-Maori as a definite entity that could be ‘known’ and symbolically possessed by European writers and readers. Knowing Pakeha-Maori enabled Thomson to control in text men who lived outside European society and who were notoriously uncontrollable and unpredictable.

Thomson included in his *Story of New Zealand* the past of a hybrid group in a chapter that, for its time, allowed in its definitions of Pakeha-Maori an unusual degree of decentring. The pasts of marginalised groups have been considered ‘stubborn knots that break up the otherwise evenly woven surface of dominant histories.’⁹⁴ Thomson’s Pakeha-Maori narrative demonstrates the problems encountered by colonial historians in translating a history of marginal men into a colonial text. For Thomson, the question of representing culture-crossing Europeans turned out to be a much more complex problem than simply interviewing personalities or reading archival material about men who had crossed cultural boundaries, and adding the results to the existing collective wisdom of historiography.

In fact, Thomson was confronted with two problems: how to construct a narrative about men who had left few written sources, and how to represent these boundary men in a way that would be comprehensible to his readers. He met the first condition by creative and enterprising research so that his history was founded on evidence; he met the second by constructing images of Pakeha-Maori to suit his discourse.

The objective of colonial discourse has been described as an attempt to ‘construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types . . . in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction’.⁹⁵ Thomson’s discourse, like the process of colonialism itself, was based on the idea that European society in New Zealand contained the important norms to which ‘degenerate’ Maori and Pakeha-Maori should aspire. Images of renegade Pakeha-Maori and those who lived as Maori within the pa or kainga were suppressed by Thomson as such hybrids complicated matters by creating boundary problems between ‘civilized’ European and ‘savage’ Maori.

The epistemological conventions of Thomson’s narrative form, The Victorian travel text, therefore shaped the content of his story. Colonial authority requires that it has an essence that is ‘natural’ and not allowed to be ‘distorted’ or ‘disturbed’.⁹⁶ It also requires an identity asserted through the repetition of discriminatory effects, through the construction of a differentiated identity that is the object of the exercise of authority. The hybrid in this situation ‘breaks down the symmetry and duality of self/other, inside/outside’.⁹⁷ Consequently, minority views or dissenting interpretations may be left out of histories that privilege a majority perspective.⁹⁸ Minority histories are potentially oppositional. By including Pakeha-Maori in *The Story of New Zealand* Thomson helped forestall incompatible histories of race relations founded on the intertwining of Maori and Pakeha and the mixed-race communities. Thomson’s images of Pakeha-Maori suppress any notion that there might be two sides to the story of Pakeha-Maori in New Zealand, a narrative of interculturalism and anti-colonial resistance that would contest his overriding narrative of British accomplishment.⁹⁹

The determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise collective body of texts has been described as ‘a discursive formation.’¹⁰⁰ Thomson’s *The Story of New Zealand* is central to any history of European representations of Pakeha-Maori not because it was the first major book to include them but because it was the first general history of the country. It helped shape the ways in which contemporary readers and many subsequent historians perceived New Zealand history, including the early twentieth-century bibliographer Thomas Hocken who described the text as ‘fascinating’ and one of the best written histories to date.¹⁰¹

The collecting, translating and commenting upon ‘Orientals’ that has been described as Orientalism required searches by historiographers for foundational texts. The search for foundational texts in New Zealand received impetus from the need for colonial administrators to understand Maori and Pakeha-Maori. *The Story of New Zealand* provided a convenient source of knowledge. By virtue of being first, Thomson became the ipso facto authority on matters Pakeha-Maori, and his text labelled, classified, enumerated and judged, and it has been cited in subsequent New Zealand histories from Rusden to Belich. When written, Thomson’s *Story* was part of the ongoing colonial discourse in New Zealand. The text like many others in this genre was not simply a sign of colonisation but an actual ‘site’ of colonisation.¹⁰² Within the text, the colonial presence is seen as natural and normative, while the Maori/Pakeha-Maori presence is viewed as marginal and problematic. Writing and printing practices have been described as ‘a sharp instrument of colonisation’ that have important roles in a standardisation of knowledge in which the Other is made an object by reduction to words and pictures on printed pages.¹⁰³ Thomson’s reduction of Pakeha-Maori in his *Story* is precisely such a ‘sharp instrument’.

Thomson’s excursion in ‘Pioneers of Civilization’ was the first effort by a writer to construct a brief history of Pakeha-Maori and their place in New Zealand history. His writing on Pakeha-Maori contributed to modern understandings of this minority group and constitutes a ‘cultural event’ as they were allocated an important place in the pre-annexation past and his imagining and creation of images have been written into many succeeding histories. *The Story of New Zealand* is essentially an inclusive history that endeavours to make the subject matter of his text, including Pakeha Maori, reflect the harmonious and interdependent New Zealand society he knew

during the 1850s, but the smooth assimilation of Pakeha-Maori into his narrative would ultimately not prove possible. Thomson attempts good history but his subjects are never represented as subversive characters. He crafts his history so that Pakeha-Maori who were antagonistic toward missionary and official intervention have no space within the parameters of his narrative. By exoticising and making them 'foreign' in print, Thomson helped to turn a semi-indigenous landowning class into strangers in their own land. Pakeha-Maori became either positionally central or marginal as writers like Thomson mapped and classified the new land and its inhabitants.¹⁰⁴

Thomson's *Story* illuminates the extent to which cultural and ideological contexts are crucial in the writing and assessment of history. Some of the cultural situations that influence his historical narrative are readily identifiable and these in turn shaped the author's interpretation of his subject. Thomson was able to construct alternative images of Pakeha-Maori, formerly denigrated in much of the pre-annexation literature, by interviewing subjects and scrutinising archival material. As an evolutionist, surgeon and soldier, the inclusion and classification of Pakeha-Maori in *The Story of New Zealand* undoubtedly appealed to his inherent sense of order.

¹ Arthur Saunders Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present – Savage and Civilized*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1859; Christchurch: Capper Reprint, Caxton Press, 1974), pp.297-304.

² This biography is informed by R. E. Wright St. Clair, 'Medical Practitioners in Early Auckland', *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal*, 41 (1982), pp. 10–13. See also Michael Belgrave, 'Arthur Saunders Thomson, 1817–1860', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. I, 1990, pp. 534-536.

³ William Swainson, *New Zealand and Its Colonisation* (London: Smith Elder, 1859), p. 28. Swainson states that before British rule was established in New Zealand there was 'a white population, made up of runaway seamen, escaped convicts, travelling traders, land speculators, and adventurers'. These residents are not portrayed as having crossed cultures.

⁴ Other 'general histories' of the 1850s were: Thomas Cholmondeley, *Ultima Thule or Thoughts Suggested by a Residence in New Zealand* (London: J. Chapman, 1854); Richard Taylor, *Te Ika Maui or New Zealand and its Inhabitants* (London: Wortheim and McIntosh, 1854); Charles Hursthouse, *New Zealand or Zealandia, The Britain of the South* (London: Edward Stafford, 1861). James Belich points out that all the general histories of the 1850s enthusiastically advocated emigration to New Zealand to a British audience: *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), p. 283; cited in Fiona Hamilton, 'Founding Histories: Some Pakeha Constructions of a New Zealand Past in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', (unpublished MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1999), p. 153.

⁵ Belgrave, *DNZB*, vol. I, p. 535.

⁶ See John Savage, *Some Account of New Zealand* (1807), (Dunedin: Hocken Library, 1966), pp. 91–92; John Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, vol.1 (London: J. Black, 1817), pp. 79, 206, 219; Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, vol.1 (London: John Murray, 1843), p. 41; John Carne Bidwell, *Rambles in New Zealand* (London: Pegasus Press, 1847), pp. 82, 119; Richard Taylor,

Te Ika a Maui, pp. 165–67; George Craik, *The New Zealanders* (Boston: Charles Knight, 1830), pp. 99–121.

⁷ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, pp. 290, 303.

⁸ According to Gibbons:

The colonial scientists saw their function as adding to the general scientific knowledge of the world by collecting species or specimens, and detailing their properties - science was organized at the centre, which was Europe, and in the outposts of the empire the workers in the field supplied materials for the taxonomic and theoretical engines.

See Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, second edition, edited by Terry Sturm (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 40, 51.

⁹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993); cited in Senka Bozic Vrbancic, 'Maori and Tararas: Colonial Representations of Maori and Croatians on the Gumfields, 1880–1940' (unpublished MA dissertation in Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1998), p. 2. Nicholas Thomas has described colonialism as 'a process of cultural difference' and 'the romantic, the sentimental and exotic, the most potent ideologies of colonialism' are also inherent components in Thomson's imaginings of Pakeha-Maori. See Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 2.

¹⁰ Juniper Ellis, 'Race, Historiography, and the Colonial New Zealand Wars', *Span*, 16 (1994), p. 89.

¹¹ George W. Stocking, *Race Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 14; cited in Vrbancic 'Maori and Tararas', p. 20.

¹² Belgrave, *DNZB*, 1990, p. 535. This idea is also informed by Edward Said, *Orientalism*: p. 66. Thomson saw his role as gathering knowledge to contribute to 'modern' learning. He treated Pakeha-Maori as an area of specialisation, tabulating, indexing and recording them, in the words of Said, 'to

make out every observable detail, a generalization, an invisible law about temperament, mentality, custom or type, and, above all, to transmute living reality into the stuff of texts.’

¹³ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, p. 289. Thomson grossly underestimates Pakeha-Maori numbers. *The Missionary Register*, 1825, estimated some 100 runaway Europeans entering New Zealand annually. The Rev. William Wade in 1836 estimated 100–200 runaways each year. William Wade, *A Journey in the North Island of New Zealand* (1842), (Christchurch: Capper Reprint, 1997), p. 182.

¹⁴ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, p. 289.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 298–301.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *The Collins Paperback English Dictionary*, edited by William McLeod (London: Collins, 1999), p. 155.

²⁵ George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 97–123. See also Anne Maxwell, ‘Theorising Settler Identities: Images of Racial and Cultural Difference in the Colonial Exhibitions and Photographic Tourism’, in *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities, Ethnicities, Nationalities*, edited by Suvendrini Perera (Melbourne: Meridian, 1995), pp. 195–96.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Paul Spoonley and Steve Maharey, eds. *Racism and Ethnicity: Critical Issues in New Zealand Society*, 2nd edition (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 2.

²⁹ H. E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 164.

³⁰ Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology 1885–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 103.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, p. vi.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

³⁴ Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand from 1839–1864*, vol. 1, (Wellington: Reed, 1968), p. 115; George William Rusden, *History of New Zealand* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1993),

pp. 119, 374; A. Hood, *Dicky Barrett, With his Ancient Mariners and Much More Ancient Cannon at the Siege of Moturoa* (New Plymouth: Taranaki Herald Office, 1890); James Cowan, *A Trader in Cannibal land: The Life and Adventures of Captain Tapsell* (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1935).

³⁵ Ian Campbell, *Gone Native in Polynesia: Captivity Narratives and Experiences from the South Pacific* (London: Greenwood Press, 1988), p. 4.

³⁶ Andrew Sharp, review of *Proud to Be White: A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand* by Angela Ballara (Auckland: Heinemann, 1986), *New Zealand Journal of History*, [NZJH], 22, 2 (October 1988), pp. 180-181.

³⁷ Barbara Harlow and Mia Carter, *Imperialism and Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook* (Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1999), p. 50.

³⁸ Percival Spear, *Nabobs: a study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 22.

³⁹ See Richard Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Browne and Green, 1824); Nancy M. Taylor, ed; *The Journal of Ensign Best 1837–1843* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1966).

⁴⁰ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, p. 301.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁴² This sentence is informed by Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, *Primitive Classification*, trans. Rodney Needham (London: Cohen and West, 1903), pp. 87-88.

⁴³ Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*, pp. 81–83.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 91.

⁴⁵ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, p. 303. The radical change in fortune experienced by Thomson's Taupo Pakeha-Maori can also be read as a typical Victorian morality tale.

⁴⁶ This idea derives from Karen Kilcup, *Native American Womens' Writing, c. 1800–1924: An Anthology* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2000), p. 1.

⁴⁷ According to Said, a certain freedom of intercourse was always the 'Westerners's' privilege, 'because his was the stronger culture, he could penetrate, he could wrestle with, he could give shape and meaning'. Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 44.

⁴⁸ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, p. 298.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 301.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 300. Thomson's Romantic representations of Pakeha-Maori may have also been in part the product of his own happy cross-cultural encounters before the Indian Mutiny of 1857 which undermined the Romantic view of 'the noble savage as the compliant and peaceful child of nature'. See Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), p. xi.

⁵¹ Simon During, 'Rousseau's patrimony: primitivism, romance and becoming other', in *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory*, edited by Francis Baker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iverson (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 50.

⁵² This sentence is informed by Giselle M. Byrnes, 'Savages and Scholars: Some Pakeha Perceptions of the Maori, 1890s–1920s', (unpublished MA thesis in History, University of Waikato, 1990), p. 60.

⁵³ Wakefield had Pakeha-Maori in mind when he wrote:

There are men, whose character is more degraded and fatal in its contagion than that of even the convict men who are flying from the gaze of society, whose moral feelings they have so outraged as to be no longer endurable, men who, for the sake of freely indulging the most brutal appetites, and content to meet the savages halfway to live as they do, to go to war with them, to marry with them, to practice all the impurities they practice, and to become one with them.'

Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *The British Colonisation of New Zealand* (London: J.W. Parker, 1837), p. 70; cited in Pat Malony, 'Savagery and Civilization: Early Victorian Notions', *NZJH*, 35, 2 (2001), p. 171.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Bongie, 1991, p.14. Cited in During, *Colonial Discourse, Postcolonial Theory*, p. 47.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 64.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Edward Tregear, *The Aryan Maori* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1885), p. 103.

⁶⁰ Cited in Dom Felipe Vaggioli, *History of New Zealand and its Inhabitants* (1896), trans. John Crockett (Otago: University of Otago Press, 2000), p. 174.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² 'Introduction: Locating the Colonial Subjects of Anthropology' in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*, edited by Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), p. 33.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Byrnes, 'Savages and Scholars', p. 37.

⁶⁵ Kuklick, *The Savage Within*, p. 34.

⁶⁶ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, p. 302-303.

⁶⁷ *Robinson Crusoe: Myths and Metamorphoses*, edited by Lieve Spaas and Brian Stimpson (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 2.

⁶⁸ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, p. 301.

⁶⁹ Thomson's views on Maori were influential and were incorporated into Herbert Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology* which tabulated and classified races into three divisions: Uncivilised Societies which included 'Negritto' and 'Malayo Polynesian Races'; Civilized Societies – Extinct or Decayed; and Civilized Societies still flourishing. Spencer ranked 'New Zealanders' as types of the 'lowest races' and below Tahitians, Tongans and Samoans. 'Dr Thomson pronounces them [Maori] inferior in mental qualities, deficient in imagination, reason and judgement. They have the minds of children and the passions of men. They are quick, vindictive, vain, overcautious, jealous, ungrateful and without moral courage.' See Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1873–1875), p. 22.

⁷⁰ On the subject of Pakeha-Maori showmen see Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*: pp. 183, 184.

⁷¹ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, Preface, p. [iii].

⁷² Ibid; p.302. Many Pakeha-Maori adopted Maori practices of welcoming and hosting strangers. Dicky Barrett, John Cowell Jnr and Thomas McDonald for instance, were renowned for their generous hospitality. The image of Pakeha-Maori as generous hosts who provided succour to travelling Europeans originated in the decades before annexation and persisted thereafter. See John Nicholas,

Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand, vol. 2, p. 312; John Carne Bidwill, *Rambles in New Zealand*, p. 36; Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. II, pp. 86, 119.

⁷³ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, pp. 297-301.

⁷⁴ Peter Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', pp. 38-55.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷⁶ John Liddiard Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, (London: J. Black, 1817), vol 2, p. 206; Thomas Kendall, cited in *Marsden's Lieutenants*, ed. J. R. Elder (Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie, 1934), p. 133; Samuel Marsden, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765-1838*, ed. J. R. Elder (Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie, 1932), pp. 53, 108, 524; James Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1878), p. 27. Edward Markham, *New Zealand or Recollections of It*, ed. E. H. McCormick (Wellington: Government Printer, 1963), p. 32; Eric Ramsden, *Busby of Waitangi* (Wellington: A.H. and A. W. Reed, 1942), pp. 36, 62, 98.

⁷⁷ *The Australian and New Zealand Gazette*, 19 February 1853; cited in Orsman, *The Dictionary of New Zealand English* p. 569. Thomson was a statistician at a time when that calling was unusual; the statistical methods he employed had flourished among the British statistical societies from the 1830s. According to Belgrave: 'The counting and comparing . . . inspired confidence that the previously unknowable would be revealed by thorough, systematic quantitative investigation . . . Once the statistics had revealed their patterns the relationships were, to Thomson, obvious.' See Belgrave, *DNZB*, vol. I, p. 535.

⁷⁸ Maurice Shadbolt, *Monday's Warriors* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990), p. 305.

⁷⁹ In 1863 for instance, Colonel J. E. Alexander of the 65th regiment complained: 'It was said that certain white men (there are many runaways up the Waikato) first suggested the Maori King idea,' and that 'the rumours of hostile intentions of the Europeans towards the Waikatos etc were to be traced to

the mischievous boastings of “Pakeha Maores” or Europeans of low caste who have lived among the natives and bragged and swaggered in a vaunting and offensive manner whenever they had an opportunity.’ James Alexander, *Incidents of the Maori War: New Zealand in 1860–61* (1863), (Christchurch: Capper Press, 1976), pp. 137, 138.

⁸⁰ Spoonley, *Racism and Ethnicity*, p. 2. See also Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, pp. 18–19; cited in Byrnes, ‘Savages and Scholars’, p. 31.

⁸¹ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. II, pp. 295–98.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 306.

⁸³ Belgrave, *DNZB*. vol. I, p. 536.

⁸⁴ Juniper Ellis, ‘Race, Historiography, and the Colonial New Zealand Wars’, p. 89.

⁸⁵ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), pp. 213–217.

⁸⁶ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 305.

⁸⁷ Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1992), p. 8.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, pp. 289–290.

⁹¹ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 66. In his pioneering history Thomson imagined a collective Pakeha-Maori identity. Benedict Anderson notes how communities are distinguished by the style in which they are imagined. Thomson approached Pakeha-Maori systematically, as a topic of learning and discovery, codifying and tabulating them as an exotic species. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), p. 15.

⁹² Eric Ramsden, *Busby of Waitangi* (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1942), pp. 36, 62, 98.; Frederick Maning, *Old New Zealand. A Tale of the Good Old Times by a Pakeha Maori* (1863), (Auckland: Golden Press, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1973), p. 5.

⁹³ Cited in Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, p. 143.

⁹⁴ Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Minority Histories, Subaltern Pasts', in *Humanities Research*, 14 (1997), p. 26.

⁹⁵ Cited in Peter Childs and Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Postcolonial Theory* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1997), p. 123.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Cited in Ellis, 'Race, Historiography, and the Colonial New Zealand Wars', p. 89.

⁹⁹ Pakeha-Maori at the Bay of Islands, Kaitaia and the Hokianga agitated against British influence and control in 1840 and advised their chiefs against signing Hobson's treaty document. Most chiefs listened to the counsel of their Pakeha-Maori and signed regardless. See Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, pp. 132, 134.

¹⁰⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 23.

¹⁰¹ T. M. Hocken, *A Bibliography of the Literature Relating to New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1909), p. 198.

¹⁰² This paragraph draws on Peter Gibbons, 'A Note on Writing, Identity and Colonisation in Aotearoa', *Sites*, 13 (Spring 1986), pp. 32–35.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁴ Said, of this practice, said: 'There is nothing especially controversial or reprehensible about such domestications of the exotic; they take place between all cultures, certainly, and between all men . . . But what is more important still is the limited vocabulary and imagery that impose themselves as a consequence.' See *Orientalism*, p. 60.

Chapter Two

Constructing a Pakeha-Maori Self in

F. E. Maning's *Old New Zealand*

One influential writer to use the term Pakeha-Maori after Thomson was Frederick Edward Maning (1811–1883), who arrived in New Zealand from Tasmania in 1833 and spent thirty years living among and trading with Maori at the Hokianga. Maning is best remembered for his book *Old New Zealand* (1863), in which he constructed a powerful and enduring image of Pakeha-Maori partly through the narrativisation of his self. Employing his considerable literary skills, Maning wrote himself into an official post in the colonial government and into New Zealand history. Customarily read as a semi-biographical adventure story and authentic ‘inside’ account of Maori life before colonisation, *Old New Zealand* has been reprinted many times and has acquired the status of a colonial classic. The text is still used by some writers as a primary source in studies of early contact while others consider it unreliable as a source of biography, anthropology and history.¹ A number of modern scholars have read the text as an anti-Maori propaganda narrative and a Pakeha call to arms, written when Maning was in the process of recrossing cultures.²

The cross-cultural adventures of Pakeha-Maori such as George Bruce, James Caddell, James Burns, John Rutherford, and Barnet Burns had been published in texts, handbills or newspapers long before the publication of *Old New Zealand* and Maning's text is discussed here as a Pakeha-Maori narrative a distinctive early genre.³ This chapter argues that it was Maning's hybrid identity which enabled him to empathise with and satirise both cultures, creating in the process one of New Zealand's most enduring and studied texts. While *Old New Zealand* reflects Maning's growing racism, his alienation from Maori and desire to obtain social recognition and influence in the colonial world,

this chapter maintains that his personality and text were shaped by his interactions with Maori and colonial officials during his Pakeha-Maori years. Maning, it is argued, in 1863 still retained the psychology and faculty of the autonomous Pakeha-Maori who could empathise with and criticise both cultures. Like Simon During, Alex Calder and David Colquhoun I have read the text as a cross cultural dialogue of conflicting values and perspectives and that dialogue is the subject of this chapter.

Commencing with an autobiographical outline, this chapter examines Maning's motives for recrossing cultures and considers the ways in which *Old New Zealand* was read by colonists during the New Zealand Wars. It discusses Maning's use of the term 'Pakeha-Maori' and how his culture-crossing protagonist reflects his view of old New Zealand and self. Specific elements of this Pakeha-Maori self are considered: the culture-crossing entrepreneur, the ethnographer, the 'official' Pakeha-Maori, the tribal man, and the showman. Like Calder, I suggest that Maning is an enigmatic trickster figure and that his writing reveals an intense ambivalence towards both Maori and colonial authority that was not always a deliberate ploy. The chapter concludes with an assessment of Maning's self constructions on subsequent textualisations of Pakeha-Maori.

Of Irish descent, Maning emigrated at age twelve to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) with his family in 1823 where he eventually became a farm manager. Yearning for a life of action and adventure free from what he later called 'the straps and strings of civilisation', he arrived at the Hokianga in 1833, where he established himself as a trader. Maning fitted easily into the role of Pakeha-Maori, marrying Horokai, a local woman, with a later marriage to Moengaroa, of Hikutu. This latter marriage produced four children and established influential Maori kinship ties.⁴ As noted in the Introduction, in 1840, Maning opposed Hobson at the Hokianga Treaty debates, but his motives were materialistic not idealistic. In 1841, Hobson turned down Maning's application for a position in government. Maning managed to rehabilitate his situation somewhat during the Northern War of 1845 by supporting the government's native allies. During the 1850s he prospered as a gum and kauri trader but by the early 1860s was experiencing financial difficulties.⁵

By the beginning of the 1860s Hokianga had become an economic backwater. Maning was increasingly exasperated by his inability to recover old debts from Maori and the lack of compatible European company. The Taranaki War and the refusal of Taranaki and Waikato Maori to part with their lands increased the anxiety of settlers, and Maning in particular, with both calling for military solutions to the impasse. Pakeha-Maori were under suspicion and scrutiny by civil and military authorities at this time and, like many of his Pakeha-Maori peers, Maning felt obliged to choose sides. His *History of the War in the North by an old chief of the Ngapuhi tribe faithfully translated by a Pakeha-Maori* was published in 1862. He drew further on his Pakeha-Maori experiences to write *Old New Zealand: A Tale of the Good Old Times by a Pakeha-Maori* (1863), a colourful tale of life in the Hokianga as a trader in which he sardonically laments the passing of 'the good old times'.⁶

In 1865, Maning successfully lobbied Governor Grey for a post in the new Native Land Court, and subsequently conducted hearings as far afield as Hawke's Bay and Taupo. As he grew older, Maning fell out with his children and became increasingly alienated from Maori. He resented the way Maori questioned his court decisions and was critical of the Kotahitanga, their northern parliamentary protest movement. During the 1880s he became paranoid and, believing that his children were trying to kill him, shifted to Auckland. Travelling to England for an operation on an injured jaw, Maning died there in 1883.⁷

So how was *Old New Zealand* read by audiences in 1863? Several Pakeha-Maori narrators had reported on Maori lifeways before European officials and travellers such as Thomson conducted more systematic enquiries. *Old New Zealand* was promoted by the publishers, and read, as a valuable 'inside' account of the old-time Maori.⁸ The text authenticated Maning's exotic identity and his descriptions of muru, utu, tapu and makutu, as he wrote from actual experience, which impressed his readers.⁹ Many of Pakeha-Maori were illiterate, and until the publication of *Old New Zealand*, the Pakeha-Maori narratives of George Bruce, John Rutherford, and Barnet Burns were mediated oral products, dictated to listeners who translated them into print. This convention was justified by their perceived illiteracy and the social unsuitability of Pakeha-Maori for authorship, since their absorption into Maori society which rendered them ciphers also

left them as inappropriate authors. Being men who had crossed cultures, they could no longer be trusted, for their narratives had for Western audiences the threatening status of potential forgeries or fabrications requiring extraneous authorisation.¹⁰

Bruce, Rutherford and Burns returned to England where books and pamphlets about their culture-crossing adventures provided them and their publishers a ready source of income. Maning, however, remained in New Zealand, and as a kauri trader was not solely dependent on publishing his experiences for income. At the end of the 1850s he was trying to sell his business in the hope of either standing for Parliament or obtaining a position in the colonial administration. However, by 1860, Maning despaired of ever obtaining a government appointment, complaining: 'there is no chance at all of me getting anything under government, though many men without half my ability are to be useful, indeed every one of whom anything at all can be made in dealings with natives are enlisted by the Government and receive high salaries.'¹¹

Maning, then, had a great deal at stake in writing *Old New Zealand*. In the early 1860s, New Zealand was being transformed in ways that he could hardly have predicted or imagined in 1833. Replying to a congratulatory note from the Governor, Sir George Grey, in February 1863, he claimed that *Old New Zealand* 'was merely written to pass some very wet days last winter'.¹² Some ideas for *Old New Zealand*, however, took shape in Maning's desire to obtain a government post that recognised his expertise in Maori affairs. Other ideas were shaped by events leading to the invasion of the Waikato, a time when some Pakeha-Maori felt compelled to declare their allegiances, while others attempted to maintain a strict neutrality.

In colonial history, the privilege of the interpreting and inscribing of events is reserved for the dominant or for conquerors.¹³ Pakeha-Maori narratives were as much instruments of colonisation as the texts and ordinances of missionaries and colonial officials, and *Old New Zealand* was the product of colonisation. Narratives of culture-crossing were part of the imperialist dimension of travel writing and Pakeha-Maori narrators like Bruce, Rutherford, Burns, and Maning, on their return to European society, reconstructed themselves as cross-cultural travellers and observers.¹⁴ Despite extensive contact with, and the textualisation of, Maori and Pakeha-Maori by

missionaries and visitors, colonial governors (with the possible exception of George Grey) and their officials remained basically ignorant of them, and what they purported to know was often based more on speculation than on fact.

What makes *Old New Zealand* interesting was Maning's extensive use of Maori language and his self-construction as a cross-cultural observer. Frantz Fanon has asserted that: 'A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language... Mastery of language affords remarkable power.'¹⁵ There was a continual concern by British officials with 'knowing the native mind', and mastery of the Maori language conferred a degree of authority on Pakeha-Maori. In 1862, Maning worked as a de facto colonial ethnographer, creating an administratively useful text that was readily available to colonial officials. He employed more than one hundred Maori terms in *Old New Zealand* and many of them are carefully defined in his text and 'Glossary of Terms'.¹⁶

There were a number of contemporary texts available that enabled colonial officials to 'know' and 'control' Maori, and it is likely that Maning's utterances on the conventions of mana, tapu, utu and makutu particularly, were also recontextualised in the administrative reports and records of officials just as they were in the writings of many later historians.¹⁷ Maning's textualisations of Maori concepts were strategically important as they decisively shaped subsequent European understandings of Maori society with lasting consequences for the anthropological and historical imagining of Maori.

Old New Zealand's appeal during the 1860s also lay in its basic plot of a man discontented with civilisation and progress, who successfully crossed cultural boundaries to live among Maori. The text appears deliberately haphazard, but it allowed settler readers close emotional identification with a daring frontier character. Readers found pleasure in Maning's tale of adventure, British courage and daring.¹⁸ Maning masterfully wove the virtues of his Pakeha-Maori protagonist into the narrative and into public consciousness, while simultaneously pressing into service the ideological myth of European superiority and Maori inferiority. As a gentleman adventurer, he never capitulated to Maori, but was respectful of rangatira and tohunga. As an entrepreneurial

frontiersman, he was prepared to compromise, observing specific Maori customs and conventions in the interests of personal security and to achieve his commercial goals. Yet as a 'superior' European, Maning claimed he could also outwrestle any Maori warrior and was their intellectual and moral superior.

The appeal of the text lay additionally in its highly digressive nature and attractive prose style which was both racy and witty. Maning had supplemented a good basic education with copious reading, and *Old New Zealand* is flavoured with allusions that include Achilles, Brutus, Falstaff, Mr Pickwick and Adam Smith among others.¹⁹ Maning assumes the persona of a semi-literate Pakeha-Maori who seems unable to control the order of his narrative, a device inspired in part by his reading of Lawrence Sterne's eighteenth-century classic *Tristram Shandy*.²⁰

Yet for all its exuberance and criticism of contemporary Maori and colonial authority, *Old New Zealand* was also read as affirming European values and perceptions about race and class. Thus its public appeal in 1863 lay partly in its literary excellence, but also in its application of Western judgements about Maori and naturalised Pakeha-Maori as savages. Maning's presentations of the past were heavily coloured and shaped by contemporary values, assumptions, prejudices and preoccupations. His books were completed and published during the period of the New Zealand Wars, and political messages also colour his presentation of Maori in both works. In his biographical study of Maning, Colquhoun (1990) argues that: 'A *History of the War in the North* was partly intended as a warning to European New Zealand that Maori would never willingly accept European domination. The theme of incompatibility between the Maori world and the European one are also implicit in *Old New Zealand*.'²¹

As a culture-crossing trader, Maning represented a relationship between savagery and civilisation. Maning's narrative, like Charles Marshall's 'Forty Years in the Waikato' (1870), became a means by which a colonial population that disapproved of culture-crossing Europeans could satisfy its curiosity about them.²² Such narratives reflected the drama of Pakeha settlers on the New Zealand frontier during the turbulent 1860s and 1870s. They evoked a fear of loss of civilisation, an apprehension that the primeval forest and the savagery of Maori might make them savages.²³ *Old New Zealand*, like the

narratives of Bruce, Rutherford, Burns, and (later) Marshall, was representative of civilisation and ‘Homo economicus’ triumphing over savagery and natural man.

Following annexation, some Pakeha-Maori began performing to an ‘official model’, a strategy commonly adopted by minority groups threatened with extinction from newly emerging communities.²⁴ Maning was one of the last traders to conform to the ‘official model’ of Pakeha-Maori as intermediary between tribe and government. While the administrative culture of the British empire did allow places to culture-crossing Europeans, in 1841 it was easy for new colonial administrators in New Zealand to conclude that some Pakeha-Maori, like Maning, who had opposed the Treaty in 1840, could not be trusted and were unfit for higher office.

Following New Zealand’s annexation by Britain in 1840 and an influx of organised settlers, Maori and Pakeha became increasingly insulated from each other geographically, socially, and culturally. Still armed and in control of large areas of the North Island, Maori were regarded by many colonial officials and settlers as a threat to European settlement and progress. Power-wielders in any society struggle to enhance their base.²⁵ British colonialism had innumerable localised manifestations, and to achieve stable patterns of Maori-Pakeha interaction the governors were ultimately obliged to separate some Pakeha-Maori from their tribal base rewarding them at regional level with appointments as interpreters, ships’ pilots, magistrates and land court judges.²⁶

As we have seen, Pakeha-Maori occupied a space beyond European colonial society and subsequently became subject to official scrutiny. This surveillance, arising from the power-knowledge relationship, saw Maning himself accused of selling gunpowder to Maori.²⁷ From 1860, Pakeha-Maori who remained with their tribes were increasingly targeted by civil Acts and military Ordinances for arrest, judgement and discipline despite attempting to keep a strict neutrality.

Homi Bhabha argues that there is a ‘process by which the look of surveillance returns as the displacing gaze of the disciplined, where the observer becomes the observed and “partial” representation rearticulates the whole notion of *identity*’.²⁸ By assisting the

colonisers to understand Maori and Pakeha-Maori (and later serving as a judge of the Native Land Court), the gaze of surveillance is reversed as Maning assists the colonisers to perform successfully as colonisers.²⁹ Maning was unusual among his peers as he was able to employ a redefined Pakeha-Maori identity to advantage long after he had recrossed cultures. He was viewed by contemporary, and many later, Pakeha readers as having acquired a profound knowledge of Maori language, lore and character, which added weight to his decisions as a judge of the Native Land Court.³⁰

During the 1850s many Pakeha-Maori became impoverished and their influence and numbers declined. Nevertheless, Pakeha-Maori remained a recognisable entity in New Zealand into the early twentieth century. The traveller H. R. Richmond, on his journey through the Waikato in 1851, described a Pakeha-Maori as a 'squatter', a European resident in a native village 'in contradistinction from "Pakeha Rangatira" or gentleman foreigner'.³¹ James Cowan who interviewed several elderly Pakeha-Maori from the late nineteenth century described the former military deserters and runaway criminals among them as former 'outlanders'.³² As we have seen in the previous chapter, for A. S. Thomson (1859) Pakeha-Maori were mainly runaway sailors and convicts. He emphasised their poor education and lack of 'mental occupation'.³³

As a trader, Maning's position was ambivalent. While he lived inland beyond the beach and the contact zone, his commercial activities saw him remain in regular contact with Europeans.³⁴ Although he was considered the property of his chief, Maning was permitted to live in a European house outside the kainga. Unlike other traders, he did not 'go native' to the extent of wearing Maori dress (Marshall), painting himself with ochre (Tapsell), or becoming tattooed (Burns), but was obliged to respect Maori protocols and was entirely dependent on the tribe for land, protection and trade.

The anthropologist Victor Turner has written about the journey between times, statuses and places as a meaning-creating experience.³⁵ In 1862, Maning was on another cross-cultural journey that requires interpretation. Annexation opened up new possibilities for hybrid cultural identities like Maning. In 1862 he was again in the process of revising and shifting his identity and *Old New Zealand* may also be read as a text of identity-bound anxiety. Beneath the satire was a man at war with himself. Frustrated by the lack

of economic progress at the Hokianga and the decline of his own influence and prosperity, he sought to employ a Pakeha-Maori identity to acquire another position of importance, this time in the new world of the Pakeha colonists.

Maning considered himself a gentleman, kept Maori servants and corresponded regularly with other literate European residents. He may have been familiar with the writings of Hursthouse and Thomson, but would not have seen himself fully fitting their description as a cast-off of society. He did, however, claim for himself the term 'Pakeha-Maori' as a means of giving his writing on things Maori credibility.³⁶ As we have seen in the previous chapter, Maning was a product of a time when social hierarchies of race and class characterised the thoughts and ideologies of Anglo-Saxons.³⁷ In *Old New Zealand* he confines the term 'Pakeha-Maori' to himself and McClean, a trader contemporary. The conflict over land and sovereignty during the 1860s led Maning to represent his less respectable Pakeha-Maori peers, the runaway convicts and sailors who constituted the majority of these men as 'greater savages by far than the natives themselves'. As a literate and 'rational' being, Maning's representations of his lower-class Pakeha-Maori contemporaries embodied the antithesis of these qualities and little else. 'A British subject, a slave' he encountered on the West Coast, the white savages at the Bay of Islands, and the Hokianga Pakeha-Maori he met who believed in the powers of the Maori tohunga are pathetic and degenerate men whose lives were dependent on Maori or 'the forces and powers of nature', which meant they were, in the words of Bill Pearson, stereotypes who, like Maori, 'are governed by impulse and instinct and are frequently the victims of their own passions'.³⁸

In the conclusion to Chapter One of *Old New Zealand*, Maning noted the distinction between Pakeha rangatira and rangatira Pakeha.³⁹ He later defined himself as a Pakeha rangatira (a trader, ship's captain or European visitor of importance) but he gives no space in the text to the rangatira Pakeha. The Jewish trader Joel Polack who toured the Hokianga during Maning's residency had described rangatira Pakeha as foreigners who lived as indigenous chiefs 'by virtue of their tattooing and plurality of wives'.⁴⁰ Regardless, Maning still hoped to be considered a great savage. He claims to have helped defend his tribe against a marauding Rarawa expedition and professed to be half convinced of the psychic powers of Maori tohunga. Unlike Jacky Marmon, who lived a

completely Maori existence for extended periods and was considered by the Hokianga chiefs to be 'one of us', Maning was never considered by Ngapuhi to be more than their whangai or adopted Pakeha, a useful source of muskets and general trade goods.⁴¹ In the book's conclusion, Maning's dying chief tells his people: 'Listen to the words of my Pakeha, he will unfold the designs of his tribe.'⁴²

Nevertheless, Maning was never merely a detached sideline observer and reporter of Maori life. *Old New Zealand* reveals his integration into Maori life at the Hokianga with the language he adopts, his friendships, and his accommodation to Maori custom and convention. His life among Ngapuhi gave him a new Pakeha-Maori self and an important status among both Maori and colonists. The problem for Maning in 1862 was how to prevent that durable Pakeha-Maori identity from impeding his ambitions. He addressed this concern by delivering the Pakeha-Maori his readers wanted to see, selecting anecdotes and background information that predisposed British readers to identify closely with his Pakeha-Maori protagonist.

Thomson's Taupo Pakeha-Maori 'specimen' also had attractive and familiar attributes (he lived in a whaler's cottage in a peach orchard with his Maori wife and children) but he was described by Thomson and his travelling companion as 'a savage', vaguely menacing, with undefined and disorderly defects. In *Old New Zealand*, Maning's Pakeha-Maori by contrast is an eloquent and witty commentator, a persona that seems to have served many European observers well as they circulated among indigenous people. Consequently, on the opening pages, Maning boldly stands as a Pakeha-Maori who is ready to lament the death of the King of the 'rebel' Waikato tribes: 'Success to you, O King of Waikato . . . but should *I* see you fall, at least one Pakeha-Maori shall raise the *tangi*.'⁴³

Maning deliberately chose to represent a Pakeha-Maori who was comprehensible to his readership, employing his expert knowledge of the Maori world to nourish the imagination of his readers and authenticate his exotic identity. Anxious to present himself as what he calls in *Old New Zealand* a 'well conducted and well conditioned Pakeha-Maori', Maning describes how he became tapu by inadvertently touching the head of a deceased chief. Maning subsequently co-operated with a tohunga to remove

the spell, though the process involved the destruction of some of his own property.⁴⁴ Exploiting the ‘mystery’ of Maori rites, he played on his readers’ sense of awe, fearlessly challenging the credibility of a tohunga during a séance.⁴⁵

Maning constructed his Pakeha-Maori identity by narrativisation of the self for specific purposes, manipulating his readers just as he manipulated his real-life contemporaries. Maning continued to challenge the benefits of the British civilising mission but his interest in writing was also motivated by the inexorable advance of civilisation and Christianity and the need to re-establish a position of importance in new New Zealand. *Old New Zealand*, then, had immediate personal as well as ideological functions: to warn settlers of the dangers Maori posed, to obtain employment in the colonial administration, to regain a position of mana, and to rehabilitate himself and a reputation tarnished by his anti-colonial outburst in 1840. Consequently, he seems to have escaped the censure that accompanied many Pakeha-Maori who recrossed cultures.

While *Old New Zealand* purports to reveal the colour and drama of Maori and Pakeha-Maori life, it does much more than just reveal. It also actively explains and interprets the way in which Maning perceived and understood his world in 1862. In colonial New Zealand, access to books was limited to an educated audience, thus what *Old New Zealand* tells us about early New Zealand has to be interpreted in terms of the audience and viewpoint for which the text was intended.

Books are written to serve specific functions and to achieve certain effects, although authors are not always able to guarantee these outcomes. Maning’s Pakeha-Maori observer in *Old New Zealand* offered European readers first-hand, though distorted, information, projecting stereotypes that conveniently supported British colonial aims. As already observed, it was in Maning’s own interests to construct a ‘respectable’ and literate Pakeha-Maori who appealed to the dominant class in New Zealand that controlled material practices such as the production and circulation of literature. Thus Maning wrote *Old New Zealand* to suit the agenda of literate readers, particularly those in positions of influence in the colonial administration, and in 1865 Governor Grey appointed him a Judge of the Native Land Court.⁴⁶

Old New Zealand carries many traces of Maning's marginality and the difficulties arising from his self-fashioning as a Pakeha-Maori. In 1862, Maning was a man at odds with his inner self as well as with his outer environment, the rapidly changing Maori and settler society. 'I am a loyal subject to Queen Victoria, but I am also a member of a Maori tribe',⁴⁷ is how he expressed the dichotomy. In essence, Maning was a character searching for meaning, values and identity and, beneath the satire, these anxieties dominate his text:

I must not trust myself to write on these matters. I get so confused, I feel just as if I was two different persons at the same time. Sometimes I find myself thinking on the Maori side, and then just afterwards wondering if 'we' can lick the Maori. . . . I belong to both parties, and I don't care a straw which wins; but I am sure we shall have fighting.⁴⁸

Inga Clendinnen has written '[c]olonial situations breed confusion' and 'spawn multiple realities'.⁴⁹ Michelle Burnham describes 'going native' as an occasion for the simultaneous invention and destruction of self.⁵⁰ And according to Richard White:

Contact put feelings and emotions on exaggerated display, and, in doing so, it promoted an increased awareness of self. Both the variety of selves on display in the colonial world and the possibilities of transformation embodied in these selves opened up self and person to reflection and possible revision.⁵¹

Maning was one of many European arrivals who fashioned new identities for themselves in early New Zealand. He willingly entered the world of Maori, and in the process acquired a new name, language and kinspeople, new status and a new country.⁵² In order to succeed and gain acceptance, he needed in a real sense to change himself. His move to the Hokianga in 1833 was partly a response to the inadequacy or incompleteness of his former identity as a farm manager in Hobart and his dissatisfaction with European life.

In regard to the crossings and recrossing of cultural borders, Irihapeti Ramsden maintains that it is difficult for people from minority cultures to find a niche or a reference point in a society dominated by another culture:

Identity is a constant series of borders, of crossing and recrossings . . . One world or the other may provide a safe and comfortable refuge. For others there are reluctant and unhappy crossings, often without their consent. Yet other people in this colonised land find themselves dwelling in the worlds of neither

one nor the other. Neither fully comfortable in the tight world of the Pakeha nor in te ao Maori.⁵³

In *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (1998), Jill Lepore notes how several American frontier historians have argued that '[b]oundary setting is the very essence of frontier life'.⁵⁴ *Old New Zealand* is a book about boundaries. It constantly registers an awareness of cultural boundaries while simultaneously blurring the borders between the Maori and European worlds. For thirty years Maning had lived by crossing and recrossing cultural borders as he negotiated the zones of contact. Alex Calder has written: 'We know, we *think* that we know, where an "us" stops and a "them" starts'.⁵⁵ Maning, however, appears at times uncertain exactly where he starts and ends.

The paradoxes presented by Maning's constantly shifting authorial position are never satisfactorily resolved. *Old New Zealand* illustrates how, having crossed cultures, Pakeha-Maori like Maning could not be reintegrated with European society socially and emotionally without great difficulty, if ever at all. It is his inherent duality, at once a loyal Briton and a tribal man, that sends conflicting signals as to the purpose of the text. In order to instruct, warn and impress his readers, Maning fashioned a character out of two well-known contemporary figures – the simple, semi-literate European who had 'gone native', and the calculating entrepreneurial trader. Although Maning represents his culture-crossing trader as very British and civilised, he cannot entirely erase all of his Pakeha-Maori identity nor stifle the echoes of a Maori world he had found welcoming, stimulating and inclusive. He embodies the experience of facing the Other and finding the familiar in the Other.⁵⁶

Stuart Hall argues that identities are never unified and are often fragmented and fractured; they are 'never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation.'⁵⁷ According to Hall, the old identities which had long stabilised the social world were, 'in decline giving rise to new identities and fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject':⁵⁸

Images of a '*third space*' (as in Bhabha) see subaltern identities as unique third terms literally defining an 'in-between' place inhabited by the subaltern. Images of '*liminality*' collapse the geography of the third space into the border itself; the subaltern lives, as it were, on the border. In both of these variants of hybridity, the subaltern is neither one nor the other but is defined by its location in a unique spatial condition which constitutes it as different from either alternative.⁵⁹

Today, Maning is viewed by writers like Calder, Carr and Denning as the prototypical modern New Zealander, his identity paradigmatic of late twentieth-century bicultural sensibility.⁶⁰

However, what is most apparent in any analysis of *Old New Zealand* is the slippery way in which Maning deals with history and his Pakeha-Maori protagonist. Marriage was central in the pre-annexation Pakeha-Maori narratives of Bruce, Rutherford, and Burns. Their wives were invariably superior Maori, the daughters of chiefs, implying that Europeans were conferring a benefit on Maori through marriage. Maning consciously turned his back on settler society, its sexual constraints and obsessions with time and materialism. His second wife Moengaroa bore him four children yet *Old New Zealand* is a strangely puritanical text. Victorian values of home and family were threatened by Pakeha-Maori who cohabited with Maori women. In 1840, for instance, Hobson noted that Maning was 'not of a degraded class' but considered that 'such persons do not like to be restrained in their licentiousness'.⁶¹ This 'licentiousness' was a recurring image in nineteenth-century literature, which reinforced and ascribed a European view of Maori as savages. The addition of 'degenerate' Pakeha-Maori into the mix reinforced the notion that Maori were in a degraded condition.

Victorian morality, then, was influential in the way Pakeha-Maori have been represented and in the way Maning represents himself. Thus, in constructing a Pakeha-Maori self, acceptable to literate settlers and the colonial government alike, Maning suppresses his cross-cultural marriage, one of the more significant ingredients of Pakeha-Maori identity. There are no marital or extramarital relations between Maori females and Maning, or between Maori females and the Pakeha-Maori contemporaries he introduces briefly in the text. Home and family were ideologically important in Victorian Britain. Domestic life was characterised by peace, unity, harmony and tenderness, but Maning conveys a

solitary existence which did not reflect the truth of his life. In *Old New Zealand* he is a man alone.

One of the most frequently encountered characters in New Zealand literature has been a bachelor, a man alone. *Man Alone* is the title of a seminal novel by John Mulgan from 1950, and the 'man alone' figure first appears in the Pakeha-Maori narratives, where protagonists like Bruce and Rutherford established their solitary characters far from Europe and against the background of an alien culture.⁶² Their narratives are not accounts of camaraderie but of outsiders and misfits, for whom tribe rather than nation became important as they fashioned a new world for themselves.⁶³ The culture-crossing traders, Burns, Maning, and Marshall, for example, did not romanticise their primitive state of existence, but their narratives do convey something of the enthusiasm with which they abandoned European customs and embraced Maori ones. At odds with European society, they are close relatives of the 'masterless men' in American literature who left European society in order to become masterless.⁶⁴

Bilingualism is a defining component of Maning's Pakeha-Maori identity and identity has been described as an entirely cultural and entirely linguistic construction.⁶⁵ In *Old New Zealand*, Maning establishes his Pakeha-Maori identity by incorporating Maori language. These translated and untranslated words and phrases are markers of his bicultural hybridity, and his selfhood is founded in this bilingualism. It is important to consider *Old New Zealand* in terms of this biculturalism, recognising that Maning had been deeply affected by his long-term residence among Maori. Maning had been obliged to acquire a new language to manoeuvre successfully in a pre-colonial environment in which Maori dominated. Language was critical to his sense of identity and, in demonstrating his fluency in both Maori and English, Maning further reinforces his self-construction as 'a well conducted and conditioned Pakeha-Maori'.⁶⁶

Maning's detailed treatment of the Maori conventions of tapu, muru, utu and mana serve didactic functions. He attempts to represent important Maori conventions to British/Pakeha readers. By writing *Old New Zealand* in the dominant language of the coloniser, however, he imposes European interpretations on Maori cultural concepts. Writing allowed Maning to manipulate European audiences in New Zealand and in

Britain. By making Europeans aware of the threat Maori represented to European settlement, Maning established his value with the colonial administration as one who ‘understood’ Maori. Maning’s Pakeha-Maori predecessors, George Bruce, John Rutherford, and Barnet Burns, had also described Maori customs and tentatively introduced Maori words into their narratives. But the regular use of Maori words and phrases in *Old New Zealand* upgraded this descriptive realism. Radically extending the use of Maori language by incorporating Maori terms throughout the text, it challenged the authority of the dominant English language and helped to move knowledge about Pakeha-Maori from the margins to the centre, an unanticipated consequence of his process of authentication. *Old New Zealand* emphasised a space of enunciation in which Maning’s fashioning of a hybrid identity engendered a new act of speech. According to Bakhtin:

The . . . hybrid is not only double-voiced and double-accented . . . but is also double-langued; for in it there are not only (and not even so much) two individual consciousnesses, two voices, two accents, as there are [doubling of] socio-linguistic consciousnesses, two epochs . . . that come together and consciously fight it out on the territory of the utterance . . . It is the collision between differing points of view on the world that are embedded in these forms . . . such unconscious hybrids have been at the same time profoundly productive historically: they are pregnant with potential for new world views, with new ‘internal forms’ for perceiving the world in words.⁶⁷

In *Old New Zealand*, Maning’s persona, the entrepreneurial culture-crossing adventurer, may have been part affectation, but it was also founded on his actual experiences among Maori as a trader. The Maori world had offered him, a man at odds with colonial society, commercial opportunities as well as refuge. Maning the protagonist in *Old New Zealand* had a European home and kinsfolk but left them for the classic reason of ‘Homo economicus’. He first rejected then rejoined European society to advance his economic condition, an original sin that Nicholas Thomas considers ‘the dynamic tendency of capitalism itself, whose aim is never merely to maintain the status quo, but to transform it incessantly’.⁶⁸

Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe has been described as a prophetic figure: ‘a prefiguration of colonial self-righteousness a hundred years in advance of the reality’. Crusoe the hero, can ‘be seen as the type of new economic man, an implacable individualist, all the more

ruthless towards others because of his belief that Providence supports him.’⁶⁹ While the Crusoe myth provided an ‘authorised’ version of the Western colonialist, Pakeha-Maori were only mimic Crusoes, unauthorised representatives who were outcasts from their own society or voluntary exiles. Unlike Crusoe, they crossed cultures and, unlike the Church Missionary Society evangelists, who transmitted biblical and technical instruction to Maori, Pakeha-Maori were typically keen to abscond from, rather than perpetuate, the positions defined for them by their home societies. Maning, however, always sought to improve his commercial position.

Maning’s capacity to inhabit both European and Maori cultures simultaneously saw him subject to the constraints of both, this duality provoking an intense ambivalence and combativeness towards both Maori and Pakeha. In *Old New Zealand*, Maning the ‘implacable individualist’ openly challenged Maori tohunga during séances, yet in 1840 he publicly opposed Hobson at the Hokianga Treaty discussions, arguing that British rule would degrade Maori. In 1834, Maning the tireless entrepreneur had responded to European threats to his economic position by thwarting the efforts of the English gentleman rover Edward Markham to buy land at Onoke, and during the 1840s and 1850s he remained an outspoken and unrepentant critic of colonial governors and their economic policies which he believed would restrict his commercial activities.⁷⁰

Maning wrote *Old New Zealand* in 1862, when he was beginning to live more in the colonial than the Maori world. *Old New Zealand*’s images of Maori ‘savagery’ and European superiority allowed it to exist as an unproblematic text and successful ‘European’ narrative for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but today we can see that the text is inflected by a residual liminality as well as by the colonial culture from which Maning had once sought to escape.⁷¹ When Pakeha-Maori narratives such as *Old New Zealand* are read carefully and interpreted within a larger framework, ambivalences about Maori and Europeans emerge. These ambivalences reflect that, whether their manifest objective was to vilify or valourise Maori culture, Pakeha-Maori narrators were fundamentally uncertain about their responses to both Maori and Europeans.⁷²

Thus, *Old New Zealand* is a text of paradoxes and contradictions, and Maning himself is a paradox. He constructs a version of Maori life and customs that is both aggressively biased as well as sensitive to the complexities of cross-cultural encounter.⁷³ Though his political messages and speech reflect the colonial world in 1862, elements of Maning's writing still correspond to his old Pakeha-Maori self. Maning represents himself as a superior, rational being, but glories in his marginality. He claims loyalty to the Crown, while wishing every success to the 'King of the Waikatos'. He deals with Maori as equals while perpetuating their image as savage Other. His Pakeha-Maori are obstacles to the civilising mission and pioneers of civilisation in equal measure. *Old New Zealand* contains political messages for British and New Zealand readers, yet remains a genuine lament for 'the good old times'. Finally, *Old New Zealand* resists the imposition of 'fixed meanings'. There is the absence of any clear cultural position, making it difficult for the general reader not to accept the text at face value and conclude that Maning identifies equally with Maori *and* Pakeha.

In 1862, Maning was still living in obscurity at Onoke, a predominantly Maori settlement on the Hokianga River. When he wrote *Old New Zealand*, the daily demands and challenges that Maori culture posed were receding. He nevertheless retained strong emotional and spiritual links to Onoke, where his children were born and where his Maori wife Moengaroa and brother-in-law Hauraki were buried. While Maning became bitterly anti-Maori in old age, in 1862 he had not yet fallen out with his Maori children and continued to participate in traditional rituals which took place on local marae. These marae were centres of tradition and cultural conservatism, places where ceremonies which had evolved over hundreds of years took place.⁷⁴

For thirty years, Maning had participated in these 'rituals of encounter' that constituted roots, origins and identity. The myths, traditions and spiritual connections evoked on the marae were available to newcomers like Maning, who wished to refashion identities as tribal men that were not merely impoverished versions of Maoriness. His three decades among Hokianga Maori left permanent traces upon his psyche and in 1862 the marae remained a powerful factor in his life. As a consequence of his long sojourn among Maori, Maning had yet to fully lose his Pakeha-Maori identity.

While *Old New Zealand* reflects colonial stereotypes of Maori it is also a book about belonging. Its many descriptions of the ways in which Maning belonged to the Maori world challenge settler legitimacy and colonising discourses. His welfare is inextricably linked with tribal fortunes, enemy threats, plundering raids, food shortages, and the death of his chief, so that at many points the text becomes a tribal history. Words and phrases relating to identity, status, friendship and kinship recur throughout the narrative: 'my rangatira', 'my friend the Relation Eater', 'our chief'. In 1862, Maning still claims to be 'a member of a Maori tribe'.⁷⁵ While covertly anti-Maori, Maning frequently reveals positive images of Maori that undercut the prevailing racist imagery. Thus, in 1862, at least, Maning still indicates a certain respect, if not liking, for Maori. He comprehends and sympathises with Maori and their bewilderment at the incomprehensible ways of Europeans and European misconceptions of Maori.⁷⁶

In *Old New Zealand*, Maning's rites of passage are laid bare for all to see as he encountered the Maori conventions of mana, utu, muru and tapu. He is assimilated into a culture presented as Other, and becomes a tribal man whose rank, obligations, responsibilities, property rights and mana are constantly open to negotiation.⁷⁷ Maning's friendship and affection for his old chief and his loyalty and service to the tribe helped to disseminate alternative images of Maori, revealing them as human.

Maning had 'gone native' and later 'gone civilised', taking up the active task of representing Maori and Pakeha-Maori to Western readers.⁷⁸ *Old New Zealand* contains a counter-discourse in which a marginal man is equally critical of the 'new' Maori of the 1860s and of colonists. As we have seen, information is encoded in the text that contradicts or at least calls into question the validity of the views of some recent writers that Maning wished to depict Maori as wholly threatening.

Nevertheless, *Old New Zealand* remains an ambivalent text that oscillates between Maori, European, and Pakeha-Maori subjectivities and frequently teeters on the edge of telling an entirely different story about Maori altogether. Self-revelations about Maori and his Pakeha-Maori self indicate conflicting values and emotions, suggesting that, in 1862, Maning was capable of appreciating, though never openly admitting, that Maori possessed a culture with an integrity of its own.

Intercultural encounters are often framed as dramas by which Westerners have visualised Eastern and Arab cultures ‘[t]he Orient functions as a theater, a stage on which a performance is repeated, to be seen from a privileged standpoint’, conferring on the Other an exotic identity while providing the observer with a standpoint from which to be seen without being seen.⁷⁹ *Old New Zealand* possesses strong comic and satirical dimensions and marks a high point in a long tradition of Pakeha-Maori theatre.⁸⁰ Maning’s cross-cultural encounters are often framed as dramas. *Old New Zealand* could almost have been written for the stage, with characters entering and exiting in a precise ballet: a chief, a crowd of warriors, an old sailor, a tohunga. The text also abounds in humour and frequently lapses into gross caricature and melodrama.⁸¹

Indeed, Pakeha-Maori had long proven ideal subjects for dramatic and melodramatic theatre. *Old New Zealand* was yet another staged representation of Pakeha-Maori common at this time. *Moko Wairua*, a play about a shipwrecked sailor captured and tattooed by Maori, had delighted audiences in London during the 1820s.⁸² In 1859, A. S. Thomson described ‘[o]ne unemployed tattooed Pakeha-Maori [who] visited England and acted the part of a New Zealand savage in several provincial theatres’.⁸³ These theatrical performances would have been seen by a wider range of people than any other representation of Maori and Pakeha-Maori to the British public. Maning’s predecessors included the Pakeha-Maori George Bruce, who had successfully acted the part of a New Zealand chief in Sydney and India; John Rutherford, who exhibited his tattoos in a British travelling circus; and Barnet Burns, who toured England and Continental Europe lecturing on his experiences among Maori.

A. S. Thomson’s dominant images of Pakeha-Maori as agents of vice and virtue are shadowed by a third image that sometimes coalesces in comic or semi-comic representations. Just as some Pakeha-Maori returning to British colonial society were appropriated as circus entertainers and showmen to create stereotypical images of Maori, others who remained in New Zealand, like Maning and Barrett, were caricatured by some of their contemporaries as entertaining comic figures, just as some later writers viewed the naturalised Pakeha-Maori Marmon and Bent as interesting characters but pathetic and simple-minded. These comic images invert what Bill Pearson describes as

‘a rationalisation of Pakeha superiority, to laugh at any Maori attempts at adaptation to the Pakeha lifestyle’.⁸⁴

Pakeha-Maori were expected to ‘perform’ for their tribe and for European audiences, alternately explaining the worlds of Europe or Aotearoa to spellbound listeners. Furthermore, few Pakeha-Maori appear inarticulate or subarticulate. James Caddell of Ngai Tahu was described as ‘very conversive’.⁸⁵ Jerningham Wakefield described Dicky Barrett of Te Ati Awa as ‘mystifying a whole audience of gaping immigrants by a high- flown relation of a whaling adventure, or of some part of his *Maori* campaigns’.⁸⁶ And according to James Cowan, the Ngati Ruanui Pakeha-Maori Kimble Bent was always ready to relate his wild adventures to reporters.⁸⁷

For Pakeha-Maori, their narratives became the drama of their lives and were theatres for their descriptions of self in early New Zealand. Maning also ‘performed’ and ‘in conversation and on paper would unblushingly exaggerate and distort’.⁸⁸ There are many hints in his narrative that he had an eye to a very wide audience and was fully aware of the content and literary conventions the market demanded. When the tattooed Pakeha-Maori Joshua Newborne was arrested for drunkenness in London in 1842, the *Illustrated London News* made much of his ‘war-dance’ and ‘screeching’.⁸⁹ Pearson (1992) noted a similar performance in *Old New Zealand*:

When Maning’s Pakeha-Maori protagonist inadvertently gets himself ‘tapu’d’, he becomes infected with a kind of vaudeville native wildness picked up from the skull of the dead chief. Maning illustrated what he takes to be the contagious properties of tapu, but he is also suggesting that violence and lawlessness are ingrained traits in the Maori.⁹⁰

Contaminated as he was thought to be by this unpredictable ‘native wildness’, Maning was never really fully trusted or accepted by his contemporaries. During the 1840s, Maning sought the friendship of men like the Hokianga trader John Webster and John Logan Campbell of Auckland. They regarded Maning as a contradiction, a gentleman like themselves, but also ‘an entertaining wild man of the woods’.⁹¹

Pakeha-Maori seem to have constituted definite entities that could be textualised and ‘known’. The appeal of wild white men like Maning lay in their display as objects of

curiosity who were illustrative of the varieties of mankind. Maning's text became a stage on which appeared a Pakeha-Maori protagonist whose role it was to represent Pakeha-Maori. Maning was one of many Pakeha-Maori raconteurs and *Old New Zealand* was the theatre of his self. Like his predecessors who sought mass audiences, financial reward and recognition, Maning was all too willing to exploit the popular taste for the exotic and the bizarre. The Maori as savage Other is conspicuous in Maning's representations, and Maori warfare, superstition, headhunting and cannibalism are primary themes in the text.⁹²

While they had been able to fabricate status at the periphery of cultures, Pakeha-Maori were forced to resume the role of Other within their own societies on their return. Demands by Britons at home and new settlers in New Zealand that Pakeha-Maori 'perform' indicates the extent to which their status as outsiders was recognised within their original culture. When Western audiences read Pakeha-Maori narratives, they encountered familiar Western subjects. When meeting Pakeha-Maori in the flesh they encountered Western Others, men psychologically and sometimes physically marked by their culture-crossing experiences.⁹³

Greg Denning talks of the disdain civilized societies had for those going native on islands throughout the Pacific, describing how '[t]hey stood awkwardly on the beaches, neither "us" or "them", and were a scandal'.⁹⁴ Ian Campbell argues that: 'Frontier situations were frequently hostile, and a man who crossed the line was a man who could not be trusted. He was a man of potentially divided loyalties, or reversed loyalties.'⁹⁵ In 1834, Maning had been described by the English gentleman rover Edward Markham as 'a double-faced sneaking thief', one who 'would have done honour to the backwoods of America'.⁹⁶

Pakeha-Maori were the enemies and confirmers of boundaries, but in attempting to escape the constrictions of colonial society Maning found equally onerous standards of conformity among Maori. Maning had witnessed the dominance of his adopted people's affairs by a 'foreign' state and this prompted critical reflections on colonial processes. He also understood the techniques of power and their expansion through language. Pakeha-Maori frequently sought revenge on European society. Like their counterparts,

the American frontiersmen or ‘squaw men’, Pakeha-Maori such as Barrett and Marmon goaded greenhorns or new settlers often with embellished tales. Similarly, Maning’s subtle and sophisticated resistance to European conventions continued to be manifested in his tendency to exaggerate in conversation and in writing when interacting with Pakeha after 1863.⁹⁷

Maning is the archetypal trickster figure with the power to constantly transform and rejuvenate himself, and his Pakeha-Maori experiences allowed him to make fun of and to criticise both cultures. *Old New Zealand* contains displays of dissidence and Maning is indeed ‘double-faced’, alternately criticising colonial governors, new settlers and the ‘civilized’ Maori of the 1860s whom he considers but a pale reflection of the old-time Maori. In American Indian and black American folklore the trickster figure is important,⁹⁸ and *Old New Zealand* embraces Maning’s own trickery, couched within a thinly veiled impatience with, and revolt against, Maori and Pakeha in print – the only effective medium available to him. In evaluating the importance of the trickster figure in American literature, Mary Dearborn asserts:

The trickster/author can rebel without seeming to, writing for instance, within a genteel literary tradition and with the express purpose of mediating between [his/]her culture and the dominant one, but maintaining a posture of rebellion by weaving subversion into [his/]her text.⁹⁹

One of the seductions of speaking in the first person and in one’s own voice, is that storytelling or narrative shaping, gives an illusion of some power and control over one’s life.¹⁰⁰ For Maning in 1862, *Old New Zealand* was a means by which a psychic relief from arbitrary Maori and Pakeha authority could be secured, a symbolic war of resistance could be waged, and important lessons about Maori and Pakeha imparted to like-minded ‘old settlers’ and new colonists.¹⁰¹ Maning’s Pakeha-Maori persona in *Old New Zealand* was not merely fictitious and it was a persona that he still retained in 1862. According to During: ‘Being a Maori Pakeha is impossible, for it demands that one speak in two voices that cancel each other.’¹⁰² The Pakeha-Maori narratives of Bruce, Rutherford, and Burns conclude with their return to Europe but Maning’s text culminates with an unresolved paradox about his own position and a disturbing perception of the inherent violence of Maori and Pakeha:

So hurrah again for the Maori! We shall drive the *pakeha* into the sea, and send the law after them! If we can do it, we are right; and if the *pakeha* beat us, *they* will be right too. God save the Queen! So now my Maori tribe, and also my *pakeha* countrymen, I shall conclude this book with good advice; and be sure to take notice; it is given to *both parties* . . . “Be brave, that you may *live*”.¹⁰³

It is partly because of its problematic central character that *Old New Zealand* has remained one of New Zealand’s central texts for more than 140 years. Historians spend as much time in trying to label Maning as they do in trying to understand him. R. M. Burdon described his seemingly erratic and contradictory behaviour as a personality disorder.¹⁰⁴ That Maning befuddles scholars is not surprising. Like many men who crossed cultural boundaries, Maning became unintelligible to some historians and biographers who have struggled to understand his porous and contested self. Maning has fascinated New Zealand writers since the 1860s and excerpts from *Old New Zealand* appeared in many anthologies by editors promoting a distinctive New Zealand literature and identity. The text continues to be discussed by academics investigating issues of identity, early race relations and acculturation. Some recent writers are still at a loss for what to say about him and limit themselves to sketching his colourful Pakeha-Maori years and his work as a judge in the Native Land Courts.¹⁰⁵

The texts of Thomson and Maning gave enigmatic Pakeha-Maori a new concreteness but they represent Pakeha-Maori differently, using differing formats and different routines in producing the ‘truth’ about them. Specific accounts like *Old New Zealand* can provide useful insights into more general articulations about Pakeha-Maori in written histories like Thomson’s *The Story of New Zealand*. Thomson’s detailed writings on Pakeha-Maori as a ‘class’ enabled British readers to acquire a broad knowledge about them. Maning’s self-representation saw that knowledge became more confined and complex. In 1859, Thomson ‘invented’ Pakeha-Maori, but Maning reinvented them. Thomson commenced to open large vistas on Pakeha-Maori but in 1863 Maning closed them down.

Before Maning’s *Old New Zealand*, Pakeha-Maori had been stereotyped by missionaries, colonial officials and some visitors as indolent and shiftless men who obstructed progress, and what settlers typically felt about them was quite negative. Writers depicted them as close to Maori, unpleasant figures, untrustworthy, lazy and

degenerate. Such imagery depicted Pakeha-Maori as part of the white man's burden. They were despised in many parts of the country, where they were remembered chiefly as former convicts, cannibals or renegades.¹⁰⁶

Maning's was the most influential early text by which Pakeha-Maori were brought closer to European audiences, enabling readers to grasp or see them with greater focus. The text helped alter or at least subdue their reputation for violence and debauchery, their strangeness, and in some cases their hostility to new European arrivals. *Old New Zealand* was the first self-representation by a Pakeha-Maori to be read widely both in New Zealand and abroad. Maning subsequently became an indelible image, a blueprint, creating an enduring model for Pakeha-Maori that few of his contemporaries or successors could qualify for. His Hokianga trader became the master-type for this class in many subsequent texts including anthologies of early New Zealand writing by editors concerned with promoting national pride, and a distinctive heritage embodying idealised settler qualities of courage adaptability and hard work. Additionally, the text was largely responsible for the way in which generations of New Zealanders have responded historically and culturally to the phenomenon of Pakeha-Maori.

Maning's *Old New Zealand* was one of several Pakeha-Maori narratives published during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These narratives formed part of a popular European and North American genre, catering for interest in culture-crossing Europeans. *Old New Zealand* was published in Britain and there were four New Zealand editions in 1863. There are some twenty known editions, but it was by no means the only culture-crossing bestseller. G. L. Craik's *The New Zealanders* (1830), a book written around the adventures of John Rutherford, was also a very popular work in its period, running to two editions and two reissues in English, with one edition in German.¹⁰⁷ Smaller publications like the pamphlets Barnet Burns wrote and published to promote his lectures in England and Europe during the 1840s and 1850s went to 17 editions.¹⁰⁸

Narratives of cultural domination can be displaced to reveal 'a third space' and it is in this third space that the most creative forms of cultural identity are produced, on borders, in-between spaces and across categories of class, race, gender, generation,

institutional location and geographical locale.¹⁰⁹ Maning, in successfully fashioning himself as someone who lived in the interstices between Maori and colonists, offers a sense of the possibilities open to people who would inhabit the space between the cultures in twenty-first century New Zealand.

Maning's *Old New Zealand* prompted revisions of existing histories like Thomson's *Story of New Zealand* by supplying new perspectives on Pakeha-Maori but, in recreating a Pakeha-Maori identity, Maning perforce suppressed his low status Pakeha-Maori peers whom he had come to view by the wars of the 1860s, like Maori, as a threat to progress. *Old New Zealand*, however, for all its ambivalence, allowed hitherto silenced, muted or mediated voices of Pakeha-Maori to be heard for the first time. As their hidden histories were textualised, Pakeha-Maori became more likely to be perceived as a 'natural' or 'normal' phenomenon in New Zealand although they were to remain historically bound to the pre-annexation period until the writings of James Cowan.

Before the publication of *Old New Zealand*, Pakeha-Maori narratives were mediated by editors, perhaps because, like formula fiction today, distinctive styles could be commercially risky. Maning's was a full-length narrative founded on his own views as a culture-crossing participant and commentator.¹¹⁰ Maning was the first literate trader at the Hokianga and his experiences afforded him a unique opportunity to create and script Pakeha-Maori in ways that gratified European curiosity and allayed European fears about them. *Old New Zealand* was by no means the first autobiography by a Pakeha-Maori, nor the most reliable, but it was so superior to what had been previously offered that it has become an enduring component of New Zealand history.

¹ Jonathan Lamb, 'Metamorphosis and Settlement', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 20 (2002), p. 45; David Colquhoun, '“Pakeha Maori” – Writing About Frederick Edward Maning', *Archifacts*, 2 (June 1986), p. 51; James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), p. 185.

² This sentence is informed by David Colquhoun, 'Pakeha-Maori: The Early Life and Times of Frederick Maning', (unpublished MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1984). See also Peter Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, p. 43. See also, *Old New Zealand and Other Writings*, edited by Alex Calder (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), pp. 1-12.

³ See George Bruce, 'The Life of a Greenwich Pensioner', Micro MS. 533, Alexander Turnbull Library; John Rutherford, in G. L. Craik's *The New Zealanders* (London: Charles Knight, 1836); Barnet Burns, *A Brief Narrative of a New Zealand Chief* (Belfast: R and D Read, 1844).

⁴ This paragraph is informed by David Colquhoun, 'Frederick Edward Maning', in *DNZB*, vol. I, 1990, p. 265. See also Norton Watson, 'Frederick Maning', *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal*, 22 (1973), p. 7; R. M. Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, Series Three (London: The Caxton Press, 1950), pp. 64-71.

⁵ Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, Series Three, pp. 94-96.

⁶ Frederick Edward Maning, *History of the War in the North by an old chief of the Ngapuhi tribe faithfully translated by a Pakeha Maori* (Auckland: George T. Chapman, 1862); Frederick Edward Maning, *Old New Zealand: A Tale of the Good Old Times by a Pakeha Maori* (London: Smith Elder, 1863).

⁷ Colquhoun, 'Frederick Edward Maning', *DNZB*, vol 1, p. 266.

⁸ This idea is informed by *Exploration and Exchange: A South Seas Anthology 1680–1900*, edited by Jonathan Lamb, Vanessa Smith and Nicholas Thomas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p.

⁹ This sentence is informed by Alan Mulgan, *Great Days in New Zealand Writing* (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1962), p. 18.

¹⁰ The above paragraph is informed by Vanessa Smith, 'Crusoe in the South Seas: Beachcombers, Missionaries and the Myth of the Castaway', in *Robinson Crusoe: Myths and Metamorphoses*, edited by Lieve Spaas and Brian Stimpson (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 70–71.

¹¹ Cited in Nell Hartley, *Colonial Outcasts: A Search for the Remittance Men* (Morrinsville: Arrow, 1993), p. 89.

¹² Ibid., p. 97.

¹³ Michelle Keown, 'Taku Iwi, Taku Whenua, Taku Reo; The Construction of Maori Identity in the Novels of Witi Ihimaera' (unpublished MA thesis in English, University of Waikato, 1996), p. 178.

¹⁴ Pakeha-Maori performed as transculturators, transporting to Europe knowledges Maori in origin, producing European knowledge infiltrated by non-European knowledge. See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 6.

¹⁵ See Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Markmann, (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1968), p. 18.

¹⁶ Maning, *Old New Zealand*, pp. 117–55, 235–39.

¹⁷ Informed by Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), p. 119. *Old New Zealand* had been preceded by several publications textualising Maori. See for instance Edward Shortland, *The Southern*

Districts of New Zealand (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1851); George Grey, *Mythology and Traditions of the New Zealanders* (London: George Willis, 1854); Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui or New Zealand and its Inhabitants* (London: William McIntosh, 1855).

¹⁸ Mulgan, *Great Days in New Zealand Writing*, p. 17.

¹⁹ This passage is informed by Mulgan, *ibid.*, p. 16. See also Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', pp. 42-43. Citing Hamlet's melancholy (I.ii.133), Maning notes how pigs and potatoes have degenerated and everything seems 'flat, stale and unprofitable'. The title page of *Old New Zealand* revises Othello (I.iii.144), 'Of Anthropophagi, and men whose heads do grow between their shoulders'. See Noel Waite, 'Shakespeare in New Zealand', in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, edited by Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 489.

²⁰ Joan Fitzgerald *JCL*, vol. 23, cited in John Thomson, 'Bibliography', *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, edited by Terry Sturm, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 680.

²¹ See David Colquhoun, 'Frederick Edward Maning', in *DNZB*, vol. I, 1990, p. 266.

²² Charles Marshall, 'Forty Years In the Waikato' in John St John, *Pakeha Rambles Through Maori Lands* (Wellington: Robert Burrett, 1873), pp. 1-66.

²³ Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), p. 47.

²⁴ A. H. Hepburn, *Minorities in History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1978), pp. 36-41.

²⁵ James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 107-111.

²⁶ Following annexation in 1840, colonial officials in New Zealand recognised the fluidity of Pakeha-Maori identity and the impossibility of imposing conventional methods of administration on Maori. On the basis of practicality, officials appointed a number of Pakeha-Maori to posts as intermediaries, aware that Maori had never been organised centrally prior to the imposition of British rule. Pakeha-Maori appointed to official posts following the British annexation of New Zealand included John Williams Harris, appointed by the Native Secretary, Donald McLean, arbitrator in disputes between Maori and Pakeha at Poverty Bay during the 1850s; see Philip Whyte, 'John Williams Harris, 1808–1872', in *DNZB*, vol. I, p. 177. Following the New Zealand Wars, Gilbert Mair was appointed interpreter for the House of Representatives, Native Resident Magistrate at Opotiki and government guide for important visitors; see Paula Savage, 'Gilbert Mair, 1843–1923', in *DNZB*, vol. I, pp. 260–61. David MacNish worked as a government interpreter in Auckland in 1844; see Jeff Downs, 'David MacNish, 1807?–1863', in *DNZB*, vol. I, p. 259. Lewis Acker, James Heberley and Richard Driver were gazetted respectively as pilots for Foveaux Strait, Wellington Harbour and Otago Harbour during the 1840s. Charles Marshall worked as a court interpreter during the 1850s and Waikato River pilot during the early 1860s. George Taylor was employed as a court interpreter in Auckland in 1851; see Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*: pp. 94, 216–17, 222. Following the New Zealand Wars, the kupapa Pakeha-Maori G. A. Preece was appointed a resident magistrate while Thomas Porter served as a Native Land Court judge; see Chris Hilliard, 'Island Stories: The Writing of New Zealand History 1920–1940' (unpublished MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1997), p. 45. The colonial officers who became Pakeha-Maori during the New Zealand Wars warrant a separate study.

²⁷ This idea is informed by Senka Bozic Vrbancic, 'Maori and Tararar: Colonial Representations of Maori and Croatians on the Gumfields, 1880–1940' (unpublished MA dissertation in Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1998), p. 8.

²⁸ See Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 89.

²⁹ This idea is informed by Hamish Bremner, 'Masking Identities in Geyserland: Homi Bhabha and Frantz Fanon Guide Alfred Warbrick Through the Hot Lakes District' (unpublished MA thesis in New Zealand

Studies, University of Auckland, 1999), p. 4.

³⁰ Norton Watson, 'Judge Maning and his Family,' p. 7.

³¹ H. R. Richmond to C. W. Richmond, Taranaki, 3 April 1851, in *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers*, vol.1, edited by Guy H. Scholefield (Wellington: Government Printer, 1960), vol. p. 85.

³² James Cowan, *Tales of The Maori Border* (Dunedin; A.H. and A.W. Reed. 1934), p. 11.

³³ Arthur Saunders Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present – Savage and Civilized*, vol. 1, (London: John Murray, 1859; Christchurch: Capper Reprint, Caxton Press, 1974), pp. 302-303.

³⁴ This sentence is informed by *Exploration and Exchange*, edited by Lamb, Smith and Thomas, pp. xix-xxii.

³⁵ This sentence is based on my reading of Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).

³⁶ Colquhoun, 'Writing About Frederick Edward Maning', p. 51.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 52.

³⁸ See Bill Pearson, *Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays* (Auckland: Heinemann, 1974), p. 58.

³⁹ Maning, *Old New Zealand*, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Joel Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, vol.1 (London; James madden and Co,1834. Capper Press Christchurch,1976), p. 41.

⁴¹ James Busby ‘Despatches’ no. 17, 17 June, 1833. Cited in Ormond Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke: A Quarter Century of Upheaval* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1985), pp. 81–82.

⁴² Maning, *Old New Zealand*, p. 218.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 142–46.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160–64.

⁴⁶ This paragraph is informed by Peter Gibbons, ‘A Note on Writing, Identity and Colonisation in Aotearoa’, in *Sites*, p. 34; Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), p. 65; Kathryn Derounian Stadola and James Levernier, *The Indian Captivity Narrative 1500–1900* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), p. 177.

⁴⁷ Maning, *Old New Zealand*, p. 230.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 230–231.

⁴⁹ Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard at Yucatan 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 127; cited in Richard White, ‘Although I Am dead, I Am not Entirely Dead. I have left a Second of Myself: Constructing Self and Persons on the Middle Ground of Early America’, in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, edited by Ronald Hoffman, Méchal Sobel and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 405.

⁵⁰ Michelle Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature 1682–1861* (Dartmouth College: University of New England Press, 1998), p. 54.

⁵¹ White, 'Although I Am Dead, I Am Not Entirely Dead', p. 417.

⁵² Ibid., p. 418.

⁵³ Irihapeti Ramsden, 'Borders and Frontiers', *The Writing of New Zealand: Inventions and Identities*, edited by Alex Calder (Auckland: Reed, 1993), p. 237.

⁵⁴ Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1988), p. xiii.

⁵⁵ Calder, *The Writing of New Zealand*, p. 11.

⁵⁶ This paragraph is informed by Samar Attar, 'Serving God or Mammon? Echoes from Hayy Ibn Yaasan and Sinbad the Sailor in Robinson Crusoe', in *Robinson Crusoe: Myths and Metamorphoses*, edited by Lieve Spaas and Brian Stimpson, (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 91–92.

⁵⁷ Stuart Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage, 1996), p. 4.

⁵⁸ Stuart Hall, 'The question of cultural identity', *Modernity and its Futures*, edited by S.Hall, D. Held and A. McGrew (London: Polity Press, 1992), p. 274.

⁵⁹ Lawrence Grossberg, 'Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is?' *Questions of Cultural Identity*, p. 91.

⁶⁰ This sentence is informed by Ivan Kerbel, 'Notorious: A History of Kororareka and the New Zealand Frontier, c. 1800–1850' (unpublished MA thesis in Literature, University of Auckland, 1998), p. 18.

⁶¹ *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers*, 1841 (311), p. 11; cited in Colquhoun, 'Pakeha-Maori', p. 107.

⁶² John Mulgan, *Man Alone* (Hamilton, NZ: Paul's Book Arcade, 1950).

⁶³ H. Winston Rhodes, *Studies in New Zealand Literature* (Wellington: Price Milburn, 1969), p. 34.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Grossberg, 'Identity and Cultural Studies'.

⁶⁶ Maning, *Old New Zealand*, p. 66. Since organised colonisation commenced, Maori have had to embrace what Pakeha consider to be ambiguities and contradictions and 'walk in two worlds'. The ability of Maori to survive (and even thrive) in the aftermath of colonisation is partly due to the ability to sustain apparent contradictions (allegiance to the Kingitanga and to the Queen and to maintain traditional practices alongside European practices). Is it possible Maning was reflecting this?

⁶⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination*, edited by Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 360; cited in Homi Bhabha, 'Cultures In Between', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, p. 58.

⁶⁸ Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*, p. 5.:

⁶⁹ See Frank Lestringant, *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne*, trans. Rosemary Morris (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 142.

⁷⁰ Maning was critical of all Governors but Grey in particular. See Colquhoun, 'Writing About Frederick Edward Maning', pp. 46–52.

⁷¹ These sentences are informed by Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment*, p. 24.

⁷² These sentences are informed by Stadola and Levernier, *Indian Captivity Narrative*, p. 85.

⁷³ This sentence is informed by Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and Other Writings*, Introduction.

⁷⁴ Ranginui Walker has written:

The bastion of cultural conservatism is the marae, where all inter-tribal ceremonies are regulated by the basic dichotomy between *tangata whenua* (hosts) and *manuhiri* (guests). There, the mythology, traditions and spiritual connections between the land, the living and the dead are reiterated and unified time and again in the rituals of encounter . . . These marae are the focus for not only rituals of encounter but also the *rites de passage* of birth, death and marriage.

Ranginui Walker, 'Maori Identity', in *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, edited by David Novitz and Bill Willmott (Wellington: G.P. Books, 1989), pp. 46–47.

⁷⁵ Maning, *Old New Zealand*, p. 230.

⁷⁶ *New Zealand Literature: A Survey*, edited by E. H. McCormick (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 58-59.

⁷⁷ Marshall Sahlins, *Tribesmen* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1968), p. 15.

⁷⁸ Rey Chow, 'Where Have all the Natives Gone? The Inauthentic Native', in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*, edited by Anyelika Bamner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 131.

⁷⁹ This paragraph is informed by Michael Goldsmith, 'Who's Hoaxing Whom? Spectral Figures in Anthropological Discourse', in *The Changing Field*, edited by Peter Cleave (Palmerston North: Campus Press, 1998), p. 8; James Clifford, Introduction to 'Partial Truths', in James Clifford and George E.

Marcus eds, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 12.

⁸⁰ R. M. Burdon, Maning's first biographer, recognised this theatricism when he wrote:

When Maning's presence on the stage is required as the central figure in some scene illustrative of Maori custom he duly makes his appearance, and then retires into the wings when the play is over. We do not see him without the costume and make-up which he dons only for the purpose of recounting selected experiences.

See R. M. Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, Series Three, p. 71.

⁸¹ Michael Goldsmith, 'Who's Hoaxing Whom?' *The Changing Field*, p. 9. See also Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, Series Three, (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1950), p. 71.

⁸² A. G. Bagnall, ed., *New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960*, vol.1 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1980), p. 670.

⁸³ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, vol. I, p. 300.

⁸⁴ Keown, 'Taku Iwi, Taku Whenua, Taku Reo', p. 2.

⁸⁵ Basil Howard, *Rakiura: A History of Stewart Island New Zealand* (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed and the Stewart Island Centennial Committee, 1940), p. 363.

⁸⁶ Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand from 1839 to 1844*, vol 2, (Wellington: Reed, 1968), vol. I, p. 278.

⁸⁷ James Cowan, *The Adventures of Kimble Bent* (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1911), p. 332.

⁸⁸ 'Maning, Frederick Edward', in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol 2, edited by A. H. McLintock

(Wellington: Government Printer, 1966), p. 401.

⁸⁹ *The London Illustrated News*, 21.5.1842; cited in 'Joshua Newborn-A Tatooned Pakeha.' Whakatane and District Historical Society *Historical Review*, 29, 1 (1981), pp. 54-55.

⁹⁰ Alex Calder, ed. *The Writing of New Zealand: Inventions and Identities* (Auckland: Reed, 1993), p. 11.

⁹¹ Colquhoun, 'Frederick Edward Maning', *DNZB*, vol. I, 1990, p. 265.

⁹² Maning, *Old New Zealand*, pp. 19, 59-65, 148-156,

⁹³ This paragraph is informed by Smith, 'Crusoe in the South Seas', pp. 74-75.

⁹⁴ Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land. Marquesas 1774-1880* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980), p. 138.

⁹⁵ Ian Campbell, 'Gone Native' in *Polynesia*, p. 5.

⁹⁶ Edward Markham, *New Zealand or Recollections of It*, edited by E. H. McCormick (Wellington: Government Printer, 1962), p. 32.

⁹⁷ 'Maning, Frederick Edward', McIntock, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. II, p. 402.

⁹⁸ Mary Dearborn, *Pocohontas's Daughter: Gender and Ethnicity in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 28.

⁹⁹ These ideas are informed by Lawrence Sterne, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folklore From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 26-77.

¹⁰⁰ Sneja Gunew, 'Migrant Women Writers. Who's on Whose Margins?', in *The Temperament of Generations: Fifty Years of Writing in Meanjin*, edited by Jenny Lee, Phillip Mead and Gerald Murnane (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1990), p. 304.

¹⁰¹ Maning's *Old New Zealand* serves here as an autoethnographic text addressing both metropolitan audiences and the speaker's own community. According to Pratt 'Often such texts constitute a group's point of entry into metropolitan literate culture.' See Mary Louise Pratt. *Imperial Eyes*, p. 7.

¹⁰² Simon During, 'What was the West?' *Meanjin*, 48, 4 (1989), p. 773

¹⁰³ Maning, *Old New Zealand*, p. 232.

¹⁰⁴ Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, Series Three, pp. 7-8.

¹⁰⁵ Celia and Cecil Manson, 'Giant on the Bench', *Listener*, 24 Dec. 1954, p. 32; Norton Watson, 'Judge Maning and His Family', pp. 37-52.

¹⁰⁶ W. K. Howitt, *A Pioneer Looks Back* (Auckland: Oswald Sealey, 1945), p. 86, 119; Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁷ A. G. Bagnall, ed., *New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960*, vol.1, (Wellington: Government Printer, 1980), part 1, pp.262-263.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-43.

¹⁰⁹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 1-2, 4-5. Bhabha's 'third space' was provocative when it was articulated in the early 1990s, but it does have some problems. Most notably, it implies fixed and definite identities. There is an assumption in this theory that individuals must be one or the other (or the alternative 'third' hybrid identity) when in reality identity is always fluid. Nevertheless, hybridity remains

relevant and can be linked with processes of globalisation, which have, paradoxically, highlighted individual as well as group, local and even 'tribal' identities.

¹¹⁰ These ideas are informed by Stadola and Levernier, *Indian Captivity Narrative*, p. 106.

Chapter Three

White Savages and Culture-Crossing Pioneers

This chapter discusses the large body of written material on the New Zealand Wars and New Zealand history published between the early 1870s and the end of the century that included substantial representations of Pakeha-Maori. These representations developed in several directions. One development was the representation of Pakeha-Maori in general histories of New Zealand by British born and educated writers. Prominent among these publications were E. M. Bourke's *Little History of New Zealand* (1882), George Rusden's *History of New Zealand* (1885), and *A School History of New Zealand* (1889) by Frederick Moss. Sherrin and Wallace's influential text *The Early History of New Zealand* (1890) is also examined.¹ J. C. Firth's *Nation Making* (1890) and Alfred Saunders' *History of New Zealand* (1890), which did not include/discuss Pakeha-Maori, are also considered as part of a 'control group' of texts.²

A further development in writing was the way in which representations of Pakeha-Maori became the preserve of authors and editors who produced and reproduced autobiographies and biographies to titillate and entertain their readerships. In 1873, J. H. H. St John published the reminiscences of the trader Pakeha-Maori Charles Marshall, as part of his book *Pakeha Rambles Through Maori Lands*.³ The London publisher Richard Bentley and Son brought out two new editions and two second impressions of Frederick Maning's *Old New Zealand* in 1876, 1884, 1887 and 1893. The life of John (Jacky) Marmon, a Ngapuhi Pakeha-Maori, was first brought to public attention in the *New Zealand Herald* in 1880, only a month after his

death.⁴ In 1890 there appeared a book by Archibald Hood, describing the adventures of Dicky Barrett, the Taranaki-based Pakeha-Maori.⁵

As part of the general interest in ‘frontier’ and captivity narratives, readers in Britain and New Zealand seemed to crave the new and the novel as well as the old classic Pakeha-Maori tales. Pakeha-Maori narratives were read by European readers and plagiarised by fiction writers such as George H. Wilson, Antoinette Drahajowska and Rolf Boldrewood.⁶ This genre had widespread local appeal at a time when the Maori population was in rapid decline. No longer perceived as a threat and seemingly doomed to extinction, Maori and Pakeha-Maori (particularly naturalised or ‘savage’ Pakeha-Maori) now attracted enormous interest.

Between the end of the New Zealand Wars in 1872 and the fifty year anniversary of the Treaty in 1890, Pakeha-Maori generally entered history each time the story of New Zealand was told and retold. As the writers revisited the same records, each of their accounts became a reading or a reconstruction of that story. These progressively reworked representations of Pakeha-Maori present a complex picture, reflecting the values, concerns and anxieties of the times, as well as the agendas of individual writers. This section examines the dominant images of Pakeha-Maori which were presented and who made these judgements. It examines whose views are influential and whose views are merely repeated and the central argument of this chapter is that by the end of the century Pakeha-Maori had become a metaphor for Pakeha New Zealanders’

Maning had few literate Pakeha-Maori imitators but, following the New Zealand Wars, the interest in Maori and Pakeha-Maori generated by writers and readers saw the publication of the reminiscences of another trader Pakeha-Maori. Charles Marshall was the only trader to leave a written account of early days on the Waikato and Waipa rivers. He kept a diary and his reminiscences were published anonymously (pages 5–64) in part one of J. H. H. St John’s *Pakeha Rambles Through Maori Lands* (1873), under the heading ‘Forty Years in the Waikato’.⁷ St John, a soldier who had participated in the East Coast campaigns and in the pursuit of Te Kooti, wrote part two (pages 65–212) giving his own discursive impressions of journeys and selected war experiences in the central and East Coast regions of the North Island.⁸

Marshall's narrative describes in clear and immediate language a journey that commenced with his arrival from Australia at the mouth of the Waikato River in 1830, to the upper Waipa River where he encountered the first missionary-explorers in 1834. He described his trading activities, together with Maori customs and conventions, inter-tribal warfare and his own capture by and escape from hostile Maori. Marshall's introduction echoes Maning's *Old New Zealand*: '[in] those days *pakehas* were no small beer and were looked upon more in the light of Celestials, or, as the natives would term it *Atuas*.' Again, like Maning, Marshall describes how he stood beside his hosts against approaching enemy tribesmen soon after his arrival.⁹

Many Europeans chose to become Pakeha-Maori but Marshall did so out of necessity. Losing all his trade goods during the Ngapuhi invasion of the lower Waikato in 1832, a destitute Marshall became utterly dependent on his tribe, writing of this transition: 'I remained with them nearly four years after this period, during which I acquired a thorough knowledge of the language.'¹⁰ Marshall appears to have made a deeper assimilation than Maning, living in whare within the kainga, adopting the blanket for everyday wear, and taking two Maori wives who bore him eight children.

A good deal has been written about John Rutherford and Frederick Maning but Charles Marshall awaits fuller historical investigation. A voluntary exile from Australia, Marshall's description of life within the kainga displays an awareness of the liberation of spirit and a sense of belonging in a culture he had originally regarded as alien. In contrast to Maning's exuberant account, Marshall's is a more conventional narrative but it develops into something else – a spiritual journey that takes him deep into the heart of the Maori world where he finds peace and meaning. Marshall's is a journey back to the essence of Maoridom, to a purer and more simple time, to the abode of the real Maori.¹¹

Marshall's reminiscences initially reflect the Maori cosmos through European eyes but he increasingly offers a Pakeha-Maori perspective. Whereas Maning transcends or remains detached from his Maori experiences, Marshall is more at ease with the alien events and social structures that impact upon him. Marshall defined a kind of Pakeha-Maori outer boundary, a personal and social being who dressed, spoke, saw, tasted and felt as a Maori:

We do a great deal of sleeping in the day time, consequently we talk constantly the whole night through . . . When we go to bed we make up a big fire in the whare, roll

ourselves up, close every possible aperture, and grunt or smoke ourselves to sleep . . . We work very hard – men, women and children – in sowing and reaping seasons: but once passed, we have a holy repugnance to anything like labour. We like talking, we like sleeping, we like sitting down gazing into vacancy.¹²

Marshall was an observant and insightful recorder and his narrative is a simple yet powerful document that fixes the immediacy of many of his experiences. Simple accounts chronicling the mundane features of Maori and Pakeha-Maori life are rare. Instead, Marshall enlarges on the beauty, humour, and adventure of Pakeha-Maori existence, as well as its tedium and ugliness. His descriptions of Maori customs are instructive, perceptive, and substantiated by later accounts. Less flamboyant than Maning, Marshall avoids digression and exaggeration for effect, nevertheless bringing together a wealth of information on the everyday life of a Pakeha-Maori within the kainga. Maning and Marshall tellingly repress the facts of their miscegenation. Their silence on the Pakeha-Maori practice of taking Maori wives suggests contemporary European concerns about racial ‘contamination’. Despite settler disapproval of such illicit relationships the practice was continued by culture-crossing Europeans into the early twentieth century.¹³

There is too, an element of role-play in all human behaviour and in *Old New Zealand*, Maning had outlined seven essential rules and roles for the successful Pakeha-Maori, articulating what culture-crossing Europeans had known in New Zealand since the 1790s: that to be a Pakeha-Maori, was at a certain level – in the words of Richard White (1994) – ‘to inhabit a role, to assume it, occupy it and reshape it according to time, place and circumstances’.¹⁴ On the frontier, a premium is placed on the ability to adjust quickly to new people and Pakeha-Maori were masters of improvisation adjusting rapidly to new situations.¹⁵ There are strong elements of performance in Maning and Marshall’s writing, a process which according to Richard Poirier is an exercise of power ‘that presumes to compete with reality itself for control of the mind exposed to it’.¹⁶

There is too, a sense of performance intrinsic in all identities of self and as Pakeha-Maori, the identities of Marshall and Maning were ‘performative’. This concept is explored by Judith Butler in *Gender Trouble* (1990) and *Bodies That Matter* (1993).¹⁷ In this context, to be a Pakeha-Maori was not something that one was, but rather a condition that one repeatedly enacted. Their Pakeha-Maori selves were produced, in the words of Butler, by ‘the regulation of attributes along culturally established lines of coherence . . . a set of repeated acts within a

highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being'.¹⁸ It was in this way that the substance of their Pakeha-Maori identity proved to be performative; that is, constituting the identity it was purported to be.

Unlike Maning, Marshall did not claim a Pakeha-Maori identity in his narrative. Marshall's biographers state that from the early 1840s he lived in a European-style house at Tuakau where he raised wheat and cattle. For much of the 1850s he ran a hotel for travellers under a bush licence but, like Maning, felt obliged to choose sides with the commencement of the New Zealand Wars. Marshall piloted the British gunboat *Avon* on the Waikato River and his house and outbuildings were subsequently burned by 'rebel' Maori. In 1864 he was appointed clerk and interpreter for the Native Office of Waikato.¹⁹

In the aftermath of the New Zealand Wars, 'Pakeha-Maori' again became a pejorative term. In his text Marshall distances himself from his Pakeha-Maori peers, perceiving no advantages to be gained from publicising his experience of having gone native. While Maning loudly proclaimed his Pakeha-Maori status, Marshall always avoided the label, preferring to apply it to others: 'I could not bring myself to eat parsons birds though Pakeha-Maoris aver them to be delicious.' Marshall later gave his manuscript to St John with the proviso that, in case of publication, his name should not appear. St John wrote: 'I had to respect his wish and I have consequently assumed a degree of authorship to which I am not entitled, reserving for myself the right of confession.'²⁰

The narratives of both Maning and Marshall performed a variety of cultural purposes, serving simultaneously as instructional texts, anti-Maori tracts, and cross-culture adventure stories. Perhaps appealing to colonists as pioneering and authoritative (inside) accounts, their highly concentrated collections of ethnological 'facts' permitted their readers to 'know' and control the concepts/conceptions of Maori and Pakeha-Maori. As observers, Maning and Marshall gained authority to write about Maori. Their authority to speak came precisely from their having lived among Maori, yet they were under pressure to reproduce the ethnic and cultural stereotypes of Maori possessed by their readers. This led to the inclusion in their accounts of stories of Maori superstition and ignorance (for instance, that Maori frequently blew themselves up with gunpowder). Accordingly, Maning and Marshall represent themselves as boldly challenging the credibility of Maori *tohunga* during *séances*.²¹

Old New Zealand was published at the beginning of the third New Zealand Wars in 1863, and *Pakeha Rambles* one year after the pursuit of the prophet and guerrilla leader Te Kooti ended in 1872. The narratives provide an instructive window on settler society, revealing settler anxieties about the power and threat of 'savage' Maori. The narratives also helped Europeans to justify the process of colonisation and dispossession of Maori by subtly inverting the processes of aggressive conquest, juxtaposing images of isolated and vulnerable 'Europeans' against a sea of 'savages' and reinforcing constructions of the sharp divide separating civilised and savage peoples.²²

Unusual customs and ugliness in terms of cruel and barbaric practices were not omitted in the narratives but were instead emphasised, catering for Pakeha fascination with the 'exotic' and the savage. Maning and Marshall's narratives may have encouraged some settler readers into imaginative activities by which they were drawn to evaluate their own lives and social mores in the light of the different perspectives provided by the Pakeha-Maori narrators. Not surprisingly, most readers found their own people, society, religion and community preferable to that of Maori.²³ Nevertheless, *Old New Zealand* and *Pakeha Rambles* enabled Pakeha readers to enjoy adventures among Maori vicariously. As adventure stories, the narratives attested to the superiority of Europeans as rational beings yet permitted their readers imaginative reflections about the superiority of their own race and class.

The accounts of both Maning and Marshall suggest that it was European technological superiority combined with Maori naivety and credulity that led Maori to treat them as atua and rangatira Pakeha. Although they became involved in dangerous escapades and narrow escapes, as observers Maning and Marshall (in the first section of his narrative) could represent themselves as morally distant and superior to Maori. Having conformed to a new mode of existence in the interests of self-preservation, they could admit to participating in inter-tribal battles while at the same time retaining a cool and detached perspective. By omitting all reference to their Maori wives and children, they offered male readers an opportunity to bond with their male protagonists in a world free from the constraints of civilisation. In line with dichotomous colonial stereotypes of vulnerable or omnipotent Pakeha-Maori, Marshall eventually became a captive and victim of Maori aggression and cruelty,²⁴ whereas Maning claimed that his superior strength and intelligence permitted him to outwrestle and outwit any Maori.²⁵

However, it would be erroneous to assume that the trader narratives served mainly as didactic texts conveying and perpetuating stereotypes about Maori. There was an enduring interest during the nineteenth century in how, or whether, the traits of civilisation would triumph over the 'savage'. The 'primitive' had long been a powerful Western symbolic construct and the primitive–civilised dichotomy was deployed by some Pakeha to distinguish Maori from Europeans. The presence, or accounts, of Pakeha-Maori, men who had slipped back down the scale of civilisation, challenged the validity of this distinction. Furthermore, their existence among the tribes had long been a source of vexation in colonial New Zealand, exacerbated during the New Zealand Wars by the twelve British and colonial soldiers who deserted their colours and 'went native'.

The historical reality of Pakeha-Maori raised an immediate and important set of questions that had haunted the colonial imagination. Could one fall out of one's birth culture and return to a primordial state? Was it possible to transform the self so fundamentally? Was the distinction between primitive and civilised real? Having gone native, could one ever return?²⁶ Such considerations help account for the proliferation of publications by or about Pakeha-Maori during the latter half of the nineteenth century. These publications were part of the wider fiction and non-fiction literature on culture-crossers which was not directly related to New Zealand.

Modern Maori writers have argued that Pakeha have had no real identity of their own, apart from that which exists through opposition to Maori.²⁷ While Pakeha were not claiming a distinctive identity as such at this time, *Old New Zealand* and *Pakeha Rambles* allowed first generations of New Zealand settlers to imagine culture-crossing experiences and appreciate a persona that for the authors had been a reality. Their accounts enabled their readers to journey as vicarious Pakeha-Maori beyond the boundaries of their own cultures, and to imaginatively explore the possibilities of a very different life and existence while remaining ensconced in the safety of their own parlours.

Like novelists, Maning and Marshall drew their readers into scenes in such a way that, in the act of reading, their readers came to temporarily share their positions. Written by men who had voluntarily 'gone native', the narratives offered readers in New Zealand and Europe a mix of attractive and disturbing pictures of the relationship between savage and civilised.²⁸ The authors of such works were drawn to evaluate their own lives in the light of different

perspectives arising from their experiences. Marshall challenged existing perspectives, revealing Maori and Pakeha-Maori as complex and inherently 'human'. Maning employed the authenticity gained from his Pakeha-Maori existence to criticise the purported blessings of civilisation.

Finally, the very idea of Pakeha-Maori opened up new possibilities for reimagining personal and cultural identity. The accounts of Maning and Marshall compelled an evaluation of the moral and spiritual significance of 'going native'. The reprints of *Old New Zealand* and publication of *Pakeha Rambles* were responses to a basic human fascination with the idea of changing or losing one's identity. Gary Ebersole has argued: 'In important ways, to lose one's identity and assume another is the equivalent of dying and being reborn.' In this sense, Pakeha-Maori narratives function 'as secular equivalents of myths of death and rebirth'.²⁹

Maning's text is far richer and was more influential than Marshall's. *Pakeha Rambles* was reprinted once, in the *New Zealand Herald* in September 1892, while *Old New Zealand* has appeared in some twenty editions since 1863 and become one of the greatest bestsellers in New Zealand publishing history. As long as Pakeha continued to 'go native', settlers could not read enough about culture-crossing Europeans. As has been shown, their own identities were at stake in such stories.

Nineteenth-century colonial discourses represented Pakeha-Maori in a number of ways. In the pre-annexation era, missionaries, visitors and colonial officials had frequently constructed them as unsalvageable white savages.³⁰ During the 1840s and 1850s, a period characterised by peace and co-operation between Maori and Pakeha, some culture-crossing artists, scientists, and military men set about rehabilitating the perception of Pakeha-Maori. In particular, Jerningham Wakefield, George Angas, Ernst Dieffenbach, and Arthur Thomson emphasised their roles as frontier hosts, guides and translators. These writers recognised the importance of Pakeha-Maori at a time when they were not widely understood by Europeans, and before Thomson employed the label 'Pakeha-Maori' in his text to encompass them all.³¹

During the New Zealand Wars, the oppositional image of Pakeha-Maori as white renegade reappeared in texts by military authors like John Alexander.³² Once again, Pakeha-Maori came to symbolise not only degeneracy but the dissolution of order, the chaos caused by the encounter of races on the frontier. As we have seen, culture-crossing Europeans were

subjected to a variety of social and legal pressures. As the Wars ended, some Pakeha-Maori emerged from hiding. Others, like James Coburn at Mokau, Kimble Bent in Taranaki, and Alexander Bell at Taumarunui, remained with Maori, living reclusively until interviewed by the writer James Cowan at the close of the nineteenth century.

Between the end of the Wars and the publication of Reeves' *Long White Cloud* in 1898, a number of histories of New Zealand were published. The popularity and distribution of these histories varied greatly. Yet, whether printed in London or Auckland, and regardless of the various agendas of their authors, one element was common to all – a concern with imposing structure and order on New Zealand's past and presenting it in a systematic fashion. What is remarkable about Pakeha-Maori in particular is the number of authors who wrote about them. This inclusion of Pakeha-Maori in the discourse helped to fix the category as a distinctive part of New Zealand history.

During the nineteenth century, the space Pakeha-Maori were given in texts seems directly proportionate to the fear aroused by their presence. As their numbers and influence waned in the second half of the century, Pakeha-Maori could be omitted from some texts, and J. C. Firth's *Nation Making: A Story of New Zealand* (1890) and Alfred Saunders' *History of New Zealand* (1896), for instance, excluded them. Although Firth excludes Pakeha-Maori from his history, he was familiar with the term; referring to a Pakeha Maori as 'a European with Maori training.'³³ How can we explain these silences? The idea of acknowledging a hybrid group like Pakeha-Maori will have seemed very radical indeed to some writers. The absence of Pakeha-Maori can be explained by noting how such texts focus on the hierarchical nature of colonial society, thus ignoring the diversity represented by non-conforming Pakeha-Maori, and creating a distorted picture of New Zealand's past. They may have presumed that Pakeha-Maori had no history, for they had lived in a pre-annexation historical condition of 'savagery'. Colonial Europeans additionally saw themselves as bearers of the distinctive characters of Western civilisation and viewed Pakeha-Maori as degenerates, untrue to their rational natures. The exclusion of Pakeha-Maori, like their later refashioning in texts, reflected such anxieties about culture-crossing Europeans and the ambivalent psychic accommodation of Pakeha to New Zealand.

John Bodner has argued: 'The shaping of a past worthy of public commemoration in the present is contested, and involves a struggle for supremacy between advocates of various

political ideas and sentiments.’³⁴ Following the New Zealand Wars, representations of Pakeha-Maori in text remained ambiguous. The physical struggle was replaced by a textual struggle and, as historians attempted to redefine the cultural and racial boundaries between Maori and Pakeha, Pakeha-Maori became a nexus of this contest of interpretation.

According to Patricia Nelson Limerick, in colonial situations, language is cultivated in a very particular way: ‘[t]he process of invasion, conquest and colonization was the kind of activity that provoked shiftiness in verbal behaviour. Much of that shiftiness has its roots in European ideas that can be traced to the earliest New World encounters and to questions about nature, God, and man, and about the humanity of the indigenous people of America.’³⁵ Pakeha-Maori proved elusive characters who avoided early photographers but they could be captured in words. Although historians utilised written texts to try and make sense of these men, ‘Pakeha-Maori’ remained a slippery and contentious term. Some of the tensions and contradictions surrounding this term arose from the way in which the historians employed the language of colonisation to shape and reflect Pakeha-Maori, the complexity of their nature, and the inability of such historians to agree on how to represent them. Pakeha-Maori were never considered natural entities, unlike Maori and Pakeha, but anomalies that the writers struggled to articulate and specify. Their constructions and reconstructions in the works of historians were essentially frames that permitted colonial writers to surround the detextualised bodies of Pakeha-Maori with the meanings of their choice.³⁶

During the second half of the nineteenth century, New Zealand scholarship and writing was very British, and Pakeha-Maori were filtered through Anglo-centric perspectives. British born and/or educated historians including Alexander Kennedy, E. M. Bourke, Frederick Moss and R. A. Sherrin were unfamiliar with Maori. Employing a variety of images to reconstruct selected Pakeha-Maori as early British settlers, these writers normalised or Europeanised Pakeha-Maori as part of a respectable and useable settler past. How can we account for this particular refashioning?

The presence of Pakeha-Maori among the tribes during the New Zealand Wars continued to challenge the identity of some Europeans. With the departure of the British Army, some of the colonial militia had established themselves away from the settlements and settlers and lived and fought in Maori style to subdue rebel tribes. Some Pakeha-Maori scouts with the kupapa flying columns shot prisoners and took rebel heads for bounty. Some militia officers,

including Gilbert Mair, Thomas Porter and G. A. Preece, lived with their kupapa volunteers in Maori fashion. Living with kupapa Maori on campaign and in the kainga for extended periods, these European officers were considered Pakeha rangatira by the warriors³⁷ With their fluency in Maori, native titles, tanned skins, and temporary Maori wives, these men may have been living proof to some migrants that Europeans in New Zealand had degenerated.

The term ‘frontier’ conflates two meanings – ‘of a region and of a boundary’ – and the New Zealand frontier was a natural force for cultural transformation.³⁸ Mixed-race communities based on whaling, timber, flax and provisioning enterprises continued to emerge out of local frontiers after annexation. Often distinctive linguistically, these communities constituted a mishmash of Maori and Pakeha traits that saw the customary practices of both cultures forgotten or subverted.³⁹ Arriving in New Zealand in 1860, Colonel J. E. Alexander of the British 65th Regiment commented: ‘I should have preferred to have seen the settlers and the Maories entirely apart, with well-defined limits... hills, rivers, and forests dividing them, not mere fences.’⁴⁰

Following the New Zealand Wars, the ways in which Pakeha-Maori were represented in texts suggests that the boundaries between the cultures were becoming more rigid. Jill Lepore describing Metacom’s War in seventeenth-century North America notes how ‘frontier wars cultivate language in a very particular way’, with the English colonists constructing ‘a language that proclaimed themselves to be neither cruel colonizers like the Spanish nor savage natives like the Indians’.⁴¹ The ways in which people record past events are as important in their effects on our history as the events themselves, and during the post-war years New Zealand historians portrayed Maori as obstacles to European civilisation and progress, effectively defeated and removed by British and colonial troops. Between the publication of Maning’s *Old New Zealand* in 1863 and its reprinting in 1876, tales by or about culture-crossing Europeans were conspicuously absent in publications. Images of noble, and ignoble, Pakeha-Maori had been co-present in textualisations of this group from the early nineteenth century. However, commencing with Rusden’s *History* in 1883, a new Europeanised Pakeha-Maori came to dominate general histories of New Zealand.

Represented in the texts of Rusden, Sherrin, Bourke, and Reeves as pioneering settlers who lived in Maori communities and took Maori wives for reasons of economic necessity, these refashioned Pakeha-Maori enabled such writers to help white New Zealand define itself in

relation to an Anglo-centric history of settlement. As men who had capitulated to a savage culture, descriptions of Pakeha-Maori by the first missionaries and visitors indelibly branded pre-annexation Pakeha-Maori as 'licentious', 'idle', and 'vicious'.⁴² By misrepresenting, concealing or denying the true conditions, attributes and behaviours of Pakeha-Maori, Europeanised versions became the standard stereotypes in texts from the 1870s through to the 1890s. These stereotypes took on ideological significance, helping to confirm the legitimacy of colonising Britons in New Zealand and the position of Maori as a subordinate group requiring the 'benefits' of civilisation.

Frederick Maning's *Old New Zealand* (1863) and subsequent reprints in 1876, 1884, 1887 and 1893, helped these images of superior Pakeha-Maori to enter several published general histories. Rational, and familiarly European, Maning illustrated settler ambitions, adaptability and heroism. He died in 1883, leaving behind *Old New Zealand* and a literate and respectable Pakeha-Maori character that colonial writers and readers were comfortable with. The demise of Maning and other notable Pakeha-Maori during the 1870s and 1880s removed possible models for the behaviour of other Pakeha settlers.

Settler New Zealand still had much to gain from racial stereotypes and Maning's *Old New Zealand* remained an important text by which Europeans continued to understand Maori as 'savages'. While people accepted Maning's descriptions of 'savage' Maori, settler governments systematically confiscated Maori lands and legislated for their assimilation. By 1896 the Maori population had fallen to 42,000, and to Europeans the extinction of Maori was seen as inevitable. Maori were frequently depicted in newspaper articles and letters to the editor as 'blacks' and 'niggers' who were 'lazy', 'degraded', and 'immoral'.⁴³ Historians perpetuated myths about European victories and Maori defeats, and these versions of the New Zealand past were instrumental in justifying this racism. Texts such as Maning's *Old New Zealand* helped make these attitudes and the demise of Maori more palatable to New Zealand readers, with their insistence that Maori looked best from a distance. As we shall see, the historians Rusden, Moss, and Reeves were seriously influenced by *Old New Zealand*, which was one of their primary sources of information on pre-1840 Maori and Pakeha-Maori. Their new readings of, and borrowings from, *Old New Zealand* enabled Maning's version of Pakeha-Maori to become firmly established in the myth, memory, and textual history of New Zealand.

While some modern writers view Pakeha-Maori as occupying and performing in a middle ground between the two cultures, following the New Zealand Wars they were being increasingly Europeanised in text as firmer boundaries were established between Maori and Pakeha. Because whites who chose to live as Maori were considered a threat to the European way of life, historians chose not to represent Pakeha-Maori as occupying such a middle ground. Refashioning Pakeha-Maori as European settlers helped writers to assert an Anglo-centric interpretation of New Zealand history, reclaiming the past by making it clear precisely who was Pakeha and who was Maori.

Although Pakeha-Maori were generally outside approved settler experience, reconstructed in text as dramatic and colourful, these characters could encapsulate the essence of the British settler experience. That Pakeha-Maori seemed to have disappeared as an objective presence only added to their appeal as part of a rich legacy which could be safely textualised. Just as writers such as Bourke and Moss began replacing images of wild New Zealand with images of bustling towns and cultivated plains, so Pakeha-Maori like Maning, Tapsell, Barrett, and Marshall were recast as characters who conformed to colonial norms and/or justified them.

This refashioning of Pakeha-Maori as respectable settlers was not confined solely to general histories of New Zealand, also finding cogent expression in works like Alexander Kennedy's *New Zealand* (1874). General Manager of the Bank of New Zealand, Kennedy never employed the term Pakeha-Maori in his text, which was essentially a financial history. He suppressed their adaptations, representing them instead as 'whaling, sealing and trading' men who lived under the protection of chiefs, eventually becoming the 'proprietors of the land on which they settled'.⁴⁴ In Archibald Hood's tale *Dicky Barrett: With his Ancient Mariners* (1890), Barrett and his companions are portrayed as culture-crossing 'Europeans' and 'whalemen', though Hood records their 'Pakeha-Maori War Song'.⁴⁵ Published by the *Taranaki Herald*, the main appeal of this story lay in an essentially male form of fantasy of an adventurous figure who illustrated the fortitude and heroism of early settlers.

Following the end of the New Zealand Wars, the textualisation of Pakeha-Maori as important early settlers, Frederick Maning as the archetypal Pakeha-Maori, and the enshrinement of *Old New Zealand* as an ethnographically authoritative text began in the mammoth 1700-page, three-volume *History of New Zealand* (1883) by George William Rusden (1817–1903).⁴⁶ From 1856 to 1882, Rusden was employed as Clerk of Parliament in Australia,

which also provided access to a range of official sources. These provided the basis for much of his later writing about New Zealand. In 1878 and 1882 he visited New Zealand to collect material for his text. In writing his *New Zealand History*, Rusden was determined to be as accurate as possible and not just rely on official resources. He corresponded with many of the people who appear in the text, including George Grey, William Swainson, Francis Fenton, Walter Mantell, Frederick Weld, and the governors Hercules Robinson and Arthur Gordon. When he visited New Zealand in 1882 he interviewed John Sheehan, the former Native Minister, with whom he toured Auckland, Thames, Waikato, Rotorua and Tauranga.⁴⁷

Drawing on A. S. Thomson's conclusions in *Story of New Zealand* (1859), and on written and dictated accounts by Pakeha-Maori, Rusden devoted three pages to these men in his massive text under the running head 'Pakeha-Maoris', in a chapter entitled 'The Maoris'.⁴⁸ Rusden's Pakeha-Maori often 'took and cherished Maori wives' and were drawn from 'all classes'.⁴⁹ Accessing Craik's *The New Zealanders* (1830), he employed the captive John Rutherford as an 'English eyewitness' to the battle between Ngapuhi and Ngati Whatua at Kaiwaka in 1825.⁵⁰ Rusden's text also followed and used the publication of reminiscences by the Hokianga Pakeha-Maori Jacky Marmon in the *New Zealand Herald* in 1882.⁵¹ Marmon is described as 'a convict' and 'a cannibal', while men of 'good birth' like Maning were 'Rangatira Pakeha', though they too lived under the authority of their Maori patrons.⁵² Rusden cites Thomson's estimate of 150 Pakeha-Maori resident in New Zealand by 1840 and his opinion that near-extinction of Pakeha-Maori occurred with the establishment of large European settlements at Auckland and Wellington.⁵³

In his *History of New Zealand*, Rusden continued the pattern of representation established by missionary writers and temporary visitors in which Pakeha-Maori were depicted as an enduring threat to the processes of civilising Maori. He noted that during the factional war fought between the chiefs Titore and Pomare at the Bay of Islands in 1837, 'Pakeha-Maoris . . . and a rabble of white men hung on to each force'.⁵⁴ Citing Marsden, Rusden observed 'that some civilized government must take New Zealand under its protection, or the most dreadful events will be committed by runaway sailors, convicts and publicans'.⁵⁵ Rusden's lower-status Pakeha-Maori echo Maning's white savages at Kororareka, 'runaway sailors and desperadoes of every kind'.⁵⁶ They performed 'many a daring deed' with 'the musket' and 'fowling piece' before their value was diminished by the plans of chiefs like Hongi Hika and Te Rauparaha.⁵⁷

In representing Pakeha-Maori as tribal fighting men, Rusden offered a new view, considering them from a perspective that incorporated them into tribal life and into the escalating inter-tribal gun warfare that wracked New Zealand in the early decades of the nineteenth century. He disagreed with Thomson and Maning that the value of white men was confined solely to their potential as trading intermediaries. His white warriors reveal Pakeha-Maori as more complex and more deeply assimilated than the accounts of either Thomson or Maning suggest.

Rusden viewed these men more negatively than Thomson, concluding: 'Pakeha-Maoris as a rule . . . exercised no wholesome influence on Maori.'⁵⁸ Rusden had strong Maori sympathies and was highly critical of the colonial government's handling of Maori affairs and military operations. His representations of Pakeha and Pakeha-Maori as negative influences on Maori were part of his critical interpretation of Maori-Pakeha relations. Indeed, he was described by D. B. W. Sladen, a contemporary British writer, as a 'violent . . . advocate for coloured people'.⁵⁹ His writing vilifies Pakeha and low-status Pakeha-Maori alike, while portraying Maori as the victims of European greed and aggression.

While Rusden represents lower-status Pakeha-Maori negatively and confines their influence on Maori to the pre-annexation era, Frederick Maning and *Old New Zealand* occupy a central place in his view of New Zealand history. Rusden read *Old New Zealand* as an ethnographically authentic text. He drew extensively on Maning's interpretations to explain the Maori conventions of mana, utu, muru, tapu and makutu to his readers, and to explain the mutual obligations that bound the trader Pakeha-Maori and their rangatira. Rusden cites Maning as 'the high authority' on Maori issues past and present, conferring on *Old New Zealand* canonical status as an ethnographical primer: 'It may safely be affirmed that, allowing for passages written for effect, no New Zealand story which is at variance with Mr Maning's book can be trusted.'⁶⁰ Furthermore, Rusden introduced Maning in his section on 'Pakeha-Maoris', and linked him to the 'Shakespear' and 'classical dictionary', the possessions of a deceased Pakeha-Maori shown to A. S. Thomson by a Maori chief on the Wanganui River. Rusden noted: 'The wit and wisdom which might belong to such a man were to be found in the celebrated F. E. Maning.'⁶¹

Himself a gentleman and a product of the Victorian class system, Rusden represents Maning as a 'superior' Pakeha-Maori whose impact on Maori was more wholesome than that of his peers. Maning is a rare 'white man of intelligence and education' valued by Maori as 'a channel for trade and the purveyor of luxuries'. His 'shrewdness and honour' induce Maori to treat him as a 'Rangatira Pakeha'. Rusden praises Maning, describing him as 'a man of strength and audacity which would have made him the idol of the gladiators'.⁶²

In *History of New Zealand*, Maning is revealed, not through an exhaustive chronological account of his life, but by the selective use of his actions, views or judgements to substantiate Rusden's own philo-Maori views on issues as diverse as the Waitara dispute, Maori population decline, anti-Maori legislation, and the causes and decline of racial conflict. For example:

Amongst the reports furnished to the government was one by the Pakeha Maori, F. E. Maning. He summed up the state of affairs as 'a doubtful armed truce', the result of physical exhaustion on the part of the natives, and pecuniary expenditure which the colonists found it impossible to continue. Natives alleged that acts by Europeans drove them to arms; but knowing the abounding pugnacity of his comrades of old days, Mr. Maning thought that they rushed to war under the conviction that unless Pakeha progress could be checked the tribes would be trampled under foot and robbed of their country.⁶³

Rusden received assistance and encouragement for his *History* from Maning himself and other philo-Maoris like the missionary Octavius Hadfield and the colonial official Walter Mantell who shared his sympathies on Maori issues. Maning in particular exercised a major influence on how Rusden represented Pakeha-Maori. Rusden's revised 1895 edition included two letters from Maning vindicating the latter's role in the Pakeha-Maori resistance to annexation in 1840 and casting himself as a key figure in the British clash with rebel Maori in the Northern War of 1845.⁶⁴

Rusden's *History* is essentially an unremitting narrative of Treaty of Waitangi violations.⁶⁵ He viewed nineteenth-century New Zealand history in the context of a European invasion and a struggle between individuals who strove to uphold Maori rights and unscrupulous invaders whose actions subverted them.⁶⁶ Unsurprisingly, these views did not endear Rusden to the majority of colonists and there was much quasi-official and popular support for the

Native Minister John Bryce who successfully sued him. Indeed, Rusden had accused Bryce in the text of participating in a massacre of Maori at Taranaki in 1867.⁶⁷

Having cast a critical eye over his sources, Rusden inverted Eurocentric interpretations of settlement history and the subjugation of Maori, offering his readers a counter-history that centred on broken promises, double-dealing and outright aggression by colonists. Simultaneously, his lengthy inventory of Maning's achievements and opinions enshrine an individual whom he constantly terms 'the Pakeha-Maori' as the embodiment of virtues missing among colonial settlers and officials. On one page, with the running head 'F. E. Maning's Righteous Dealings', for instance, Rusden detailed the fair price Maning paid Maori for his land at Onoke, observing: 'In toiling through musty tomes, to find such a rare account sends pleasure to the heart.'⁶⁸

Thus, Rusden offers Maning to his readers as a model for constructing an identity affirmed by both cultures. Rusden's Maning does not actively lobby for a position in the colonial government. He is instead 'persuaded by the colonial government to accept the office of Judge in a Native Land Court', where 'his knowledge of Maori laws and usages was of the utmost service while his reputation among his Maori friends served respect for his decisions'.⁶⁹

Maning was one vehicle by which Rusden affirmed the essential greed of land-hungry colonists while 'the Pakeha-Maori, Judge Maning', is presented as a wise and influential 'indigenous' character in opposition to dominant British officialdom. Maning was thus a textual device enabling Rusden to criticise settlers and their government, creating a strong 'independent' Pakeha-Maori mediator. Unencumbered by 'prejudice', Maning is portrayed as a check to the injustices that 'civilising' Europeans would continue to perpetrate on Maori.

Rusden's *History of New Zealand* signalled how Maning was to be constantly refashioned to serve ideological agendas, in effect constructing a new, post-annexation Pakeha-Maori identity within the narrative and in the imaginations of its readers. Maning becomes a rare syncretic identity attuned to the issues preoccupying both 'races' in post-war New Zealand. Yet Rusden elevates Maning to a significant mediating role at a time when Pakeha-Maori elsewhere had been politically and economically disenfranchised. His representations of Maning were part of the textual transformation of *selected* Pakeha-Maori (Marshall, Barrett,

Tapsell, and Bent) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century from a cultural no-man's-land to a position of pre-eminence in the history of New Zealand's inter-racial past. He thereby illustrates the way in which historians can manipulate both history and their readers, resurrecting and reconstituting individuals who reflect the concerns or interests of author and readers and integrating them into the textual life of the nation.

That said, Rusden attempted to read and interpret rather than repeat established colonial fictions. His strategy was to aggressively engage with historical discourse and expose the 'true' story of European settlement in New Zealand. In the process he constructed a discourse in which a Pakeha-Maori mediator continued to wield influence in the world of Maori and Pakeha well after annexation and the beginning of organised settlement. Similarly, while Rusden perpetuated depictions by Thomson and Maning of low-status Pakeha-Maori as unsavoury characters, he was one among several writers who, after the New Zealand Wars, challenged and modified the view implied by William Swainson and in subsequent texts by Firth and Saunders that Pakeha-Maori were not worthy of a place in New Zealand histories. Rusden additionally raised consciousness about Pakeha-Maori, *Old New Zealand* and Frederick Maning by the fact of their inscription in his text.

While he may have overrated the threat Pakeha-Maori posed to Maori and Pakeha progress, and the importance of Maning in the developing colony, the breadth and scale of Rusden's *History of New Zealand* was a major cultural achievement in the colonial period. Casting Europeans as deceitful and aggressive newcomers did not conform to accepted ideology however, and Rusden's text was not well received, though it was reissued in 1889 (after the deletion of defamatory passages), with a second edition in 1895. It was slighted by many critics, including Thomas Hocken, who described it as 'a full and scholarly work abounding in laborious research and criticism, discounted by strong philo-Maori views'.⁷⁰ The book's persuasive and at times passionate prose is also critically weakened by the sheer mass of detail.⁷¹

It was rare for writers who had not lived in New Zealand or encountered Pakeha-Maori to write about them in such detail, and in this regard Rusden was an exception. Rusden's was a 'new voice' in an age when articulations about Maori and Pakeha-Maori were influenced by colonial perspectives. Rusden's 'rediscovery of the Treaty of Waitangi as a solemn compact', for which he was censured in the 1880s, has become orthodoxy in the 1990s.⁷² That his

potentially subversive text was generally ignored and slighted by contemporary critics demonstrates the difficulty of recontextualising cultural scripts in late nineteenth-century New Zealand.

Images of Pakeha-Maori underwent further refinements during the 1890s in literature generated by Pakeha who felt they were becoming indigenous.⁷³ This literature emphasised New Zealand's pioneering past and was characterised by nostalgia and a search for national identity. As the achievements of early European pioneers were elevated to legendary status, individual Pakeha-Maori were selected, reconstructed, and permitted to enter the realm of national mythology to provide a genealogical foundation for Pakeha.

Influencing the growing interest in New Zealand's past, R. A. Sherrin incorporated Pakeha-Maori into his *Early History of New Zealand* (1890), a compilation that drew on many sources. Sherrin completed the portion of the text entitled 'From earliest times to 1840', while J. H. Wallace wrote the section entitled 'From 1840 to 1845'. Published in four parts as *Brett's Historical Series* between 1889 and 1890, and with a total edition of 5000 copies, the publication of Sherrin's *Early History* was timed for the fiftieth jubilee celebrations of several provinces.⁷⁴

The 1890s also saw an overlap of writing between authors who were attempting to create a sense of New Zealand as something distinctive, those from an earlier era who thought of New Zealand as British, and authors who adopted both perspectives. Sherrin's *Early History* was less concerned than previously published histories with the success of British language and power. Underlying his representations of Pakeha-Maori was the belief that the colourful pre-annexation past would be of particular interest to New Zealand readers. While Sherrin found culture-crossing Europeans ideal subjects for stories of courage and adventure, he limited his definition of Pakeha-Maori specifically to the pre-annexation traders. His examples were Hans Tapsell at Maketu, Frederick Maning at the Hokianga, and Thomas Ralph on the Mokau River: 'After the Europeans had become familiar with New Zealand most villages had, at least one European resident, called a *pakeha-Maori*, purchasing provisions and flax. Such a person was generally under the protection of the chief of the village, and married, either by native custom or legally, to a relative of his of rank and influence.'⁷⁵ Sherrin devoted one page to James Caddell who challenged European notions of racial superiority by choosing to remain with his tribe, and seven pages to John Rutherford

who abandoned his Maori lifestyle and returned to England.⁷⁶ Sherrin's refashioning of Pakeha-Maori constituted an Anglo-centric and capitalistic version that excluded alternative interpretations. His wide reading, however, gave him an awareness of their complexity. By also indexing the tattooed white chief James Caddell as a Pakeha-Maori he allowed this character two shades of meaning, contradicting his earlier representations of Pakeha-Maori as agents of progress.⁷⁷

Sherrin permits Maning to appear briefly in Chapter Three as a reputable European settler to arrest convicts from the pirated schooner *Industry*, and again in Chapter Thirty-two, as an honest settler who paid Maori a fair price (£233.10s) for 200 acres.⁷⁸ Though Sherrin drew twice from Maning's *Old New Zealand* to illustrate discussions on headhunting and head curing, he was the first of a succession of New Zealand writers to express concerns about its veracity: 'His [Maning's] description of his reception when he first came to New Zealand is more an effort of imagination than memory'.⁷⁹ Sherrin's representations of Pakeha-Maori traders such as Tapsell, Ralph, and Maning illustrated a contrast between European civilising influences and Maori savagery, but these representations contained one of the most fundamental paradoxes of writing about hybrid men like Pakeha-Maori. The same cultural tensions that saw them reconstructed as Europeans meant that literate Pakeha-Maori like Maning who had asserted their biculturalism were the first casualties as writers like Sherrin understated the extent of their culture-crossing.

By 1890, pre-annexation Pakeha-Maori were already a generation removed from direct and regular contact with European New Zealanders. Despite the popularity of *Old New Zealand* and the existence of Pakeha-Maori as an identifiable type in Maori communities, Pakeha readers remained basically uncertain about them. The inclusion of so many Pakeha-Maori characters in Sherrin's *Early History* created a series of mini-biographies that catered to his readers' desires for exotic tales about culture-crossing pioneers.⁸⁰ While it is not possible to establish with certainty that Sherrin was anti-Maori, his stories of the captive Europeans Caddell, Rutherford, and Ralph may have encouraged a sense of outrage among some readers that helped justify anti-Maori attitudes and policies. What is clear is that Sherrin took pains to consult a wide range of sources and his text was a collation of official documents, reports, autobiographies, secondary source material and anecdotal accounts.⁸¹

By the turn of the century, the image and metaphor of superior Pakeha-Maori as first pioneers was firmly entrenched in the literature. In *Colonising History of New Zealand* (1901), Henry Kemp, a former civil commissioner and itinerant magistrate who had lived and worked in Maori districts, did not use the term 'Pakeha-Maori'. Perhaps admiring them for being like himself, Kemp labelled Maning, Marshall, Tapsell, and Barrett 'a superior class of men' to runaway sailors and convicts.⁸² Kemp ranked them alongside missionaries and whalers as civilising influences on Maori, 'sometimes becoming their leaders and advisors'.⁸³ Britain was no longer the centre of all New Zealand writing in this period, and the careful definitions and refashioning of Pakeha-Maori by Kennedy, Kemp, Rusden, and Sherrin indicate that their texts were written for New Zealand settlers as well as British readers.

However, constructing Pakeha-Maori as early New Zealand pioneers obscured their self-fashionings as tribal men. Their biculturalism was suppressed to privilege the class of European that responded best to idealised notions of early settler as civilising agent. The textual representations of these men subtly reversed the impact of Maori life/ways on lone Europeans living within Maori communities. The Pakeha-Maori of the late nineteenth-century historians were rarely members of Maori communities, but men like Maning who retained the privileges of the coloniser to act forcefully and with historical effect. Represented as agents of commerce, Pakeha-Maori could be viewed as helping bring Maori within the ambit of colonial order and power.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century, the textual struggle between writers like Rusden and Sherrin that saw Pakeha-Maori represented for consumption by British and/or New Zealand readers also brought the subject to the attention of writers generating literature for New Zealand's rising generation of young people. During the 1880s and 1890s, several school texts and 'readers' were published promoting the indigenous phenomena of New Zealand. These publications addressed demands by teachers for the inclusion of New Zealand subjects in the curriculum.

Interest in and encouragement of a distinctive New Zealand history was evident in Elizabeth Bourke's *A Little History of New Zealand* (1881).⁸⁴ Bourke expressed concern in the Preface to the second edition (1882) about 'the ignorance prevailing amongst many New Zealand children, concerning the history and early settlement of their own country'.⁸⁵ Bourke

preceded writers like Moss and Reeves who also implicitly considered the question: what was specifically New Zealand? From the 1860s, settlers effectively controlled the economy and *A Little History* celebrated the displacement of the untamed forest and the pacification of Maori. No longer perceived as a threat, and despite a range of possibilities, Pakeha-Maori were represented in the text as New Zealand rather than British settlers.

Comprising 42 compressed chapters, Bourke's Pakeha-Maori appear in the chapter entitled 'Whalers-Sealers-Pakeha Maori'.⁸⁶ This title, and her representations of this 'numerous class' who 'took Maori wives', were given land and performed mediating roles, follow A. S. Thomson.⁸⁷ Bourke describes Pakeha-Maori as 'former whalers', though her specific exemplar, George Bruce, was a runaway convict.⁸⁸ Bourke's Pakeha-Maori, though they lived with Maori and 'obeyed Maori law', are represented as New Zealand's 'first white settlers'.⁸⁹ These ambiguous images arose from Bourke's contradictory desire to emphasise Pakeha-Maori as a uniquely New Zealand phenomenon while reconstructing New Zealand as a miniature Britain in replica at the same time.

Bourke viewed Pakeha-Maori and other early settler types as an important phase in the pre-colonisation era and employed them for literary effect, dramatising the relationship between New Zealand's savage past and civilised present. Yet she believed that it was inevitable that Maori and Pakeha-Maori make way for European colonists. Her assumptions, based on an exaggerated perception of colonial power, thus diminished the extent to which Pakeha-Maori thrived and survived by adaptation and accommodation. *A Little History* was read by thousands of young New Zealanders who found in it lessons in history, ethics, and adventure. Hocken described it in 1909 as '[a]n excellent little history'.⁹⁰ Bourke's history was reissued in 1884 with two further issues in 1885.

Another writer, Frederick Moss, also considered 'fact' more edifying than fiction and wrote his text *A School History of New Zealand* (1889) to teach children about New Zealand's past. Moss emigrated to New Zealand from South Africa in 1859, establishing a substantial business as a merchant and founding the *Otago Daily Times* before entering Parliament in 1864. During the late 1860s he established a cotton plantation in Fiji and worked as a leader writer for the *New Zealand Herald*. In retirement he was a prolific pamphleteer and *A School History* was one of several published books.⁹¹

Devoting just two of 286 pages to Pakeha-Maori, Moss defined them as runaway convicts and sailors who settled in New Zealand.⁹² His examples are George Bruce, John Rutherford, and James Caddell. He acknowledges Craik's *The New Zealanders* as his source for Rutherford, while his information on Caddell was drawn from 'other books'.⁹³ His source for George Bruce is not stated but appears to be based on Bruce's own reminiscences published in 1806, and he refers to Dicky Barrett and his companions at Taranaki as 'Europeans and whalers'.⁹⁴ Like Bourke, Moss saw Pakeha-Maori as integral to New Zealand's early frontier phase, but considered them unimportant after annexation.

The representations of Moss are significant. Unlike most contemporary historians, he applied the term 'Pakeha-Maori' to both the traders who adopted some Maori customs and the tattooed men who made more significant assimilations as Maori. Like Bourke, Moss treats the culture-crossers Bruce and Rutherford, who returned to Europe, in detail, while confining James Caddell to a single sentence.⁹⁵ Like Rusden, Moss afforded Jacky Marmon similarly brief treatment in 1883 while developing full histories of Rutherford and Maning.⁹⁶ Late nineteenth-century historians such as Moss could approve of Bruce, Rutherford, and Maning, who returned to the settler world, while disapproving of Caddell, Marmon, and Burns, who made fuller adaptations or chose to live out their lives among Maori. These more positive images of Pakeha-Maori helped quieten fears about male settlers degenerating among Maori by substituting the myth of Pakeha-Maori as pioneering settler. In 1890, Moss was appointed first British Resident in Rarotonga. By encouraging the islanders to participate in his government and by appointing islanders as government officials and judges, Moss earned the enmity of European colonists and in 1898 he was recalled.⁹⁷ His *School History* was not widely read and the 1889 edition was not reissued, though A. G. Bagnall later commented, 'Hocken's judgement, full, concise, accurate and suitable for any learner, still stands'.⁹⁸

As Minister of Education, William Pember Reeves actively encouraged the publication of an anthology entitled *New Zealand Reader* (1894), the first of many school publications in this genre.⁹⁹ Published by the Government Printer, the text was intended to engender a sense of New Zealand history among students in the higher standards of schools.¹⁰⁰ New Zealand-born Reeves worked variously as a sheep station cadet, lawyer, and editor of the *Canterbury Times* before embarking on a political career. He simultaneously led a busy life as a family man, newspaper editor, and writer, publishing poetry and short stories in the literary magazine *Zealandia*.¹⁰¹ The *Reader* contained 41 pieces from authors as diverse as J. L.

Nicholas, G. L. Craik, Augustus Earle, Samuel Butler, and T. H. Potts. Reeves believed that the material would ‘tend to make our children more patriotic and foster love and pride for their country’.¹⁰²

The *Reader* contained stories by New Zealand visitors and residents. Taken out of context for inclusion in the anthology, the extracts reflected the general romanticising of the pioneer past and the New Zealand environment during the 1890s. In the pattern of Bourke’s *Little History* and Moss’ *School History*, the *Reader* was employed to engender a New Zealand identity while perpetuating conventional attitudes, including the belief in Pakeha superiority and the inherent ‘Europeanness’ of Pakeha-Maori.

Reeves recognised the symbolic functions which Pakeha-Maori like Rutherford and Maning could perform, while simultaneously providing entertainment and genuine educational value in the shape of ethnological and historical data. His appropriations of their experiences and perspectives were part of the process whereby settler society incorporated or transposed indigenous components to itself, thereby transforming Europeans from aliens to indigenes. According to Gibbons:

Indigenisation . . . is a programme of incorporating the Other which is instituted by colonists in order to transform themselves from aliens to indigenes. In this process, selected components of the culture of the indigenous society are transposed into the culture of the settler society. These transposed components are statements by the settler society to itself that it is becoming indigenous. They are also perhaps, albeit implicitly, statements to the indigenous society that the settler society is seeking cultural authenticity or autochthonous status: We (the settlers) can be like you (the indigenes) and belong to this territory – indeed we are superseding you as indigenes.¹⁰³

The *New Zealand Reader* confirmed Rutherford and Maning as a central part of New Zealand’s colourful settler past and Maning as a key literary figure. Eight of the 41 pieces were selected from Maning’s *Old New Zealand* and *History of the War in the North*. Maning had been viewed in 1840, by Governor Hobson, as an object of suspicion. During the 1890s, Reeves’ *Reader* helped transform Maning into an enduring New Zealand symbol.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, some writers tried to purify Europeans of contamination by New Zealand’s indigenous inhabitants and make themselves more British, while others tried to take on the attributes of Maoriness to make themselves less British. As

Pakeha-Maori lost their alien or negative connotations, several writers began imitating Maning, becoming interested in an imagined indigenous ancestry as epitomised by Pakeha-Maori and adopting the pseudonym 'Pakeha-Maori' to authenticate their views on Maori issues. Letters to the editor in newspapers were frequently signed 'Pakeha-Maori' in contrast to 'Old Settler'.¹⁰⁴

In 1875 a booklet entitled *Korero Maori: First Lessons in Maori Conversation* by a Pakeha-Maori was published by an Auckland bookseller.¹⁰⁵ Three further editions followed in 1878, 1879 and 1886. Bagnall noted that the alleged authorship of Henry Kemp, an itinerant magistrate, was not proven.¹⁰⁶ In 1888 a pamphlet entitled *A Plea for the Revision of the Westminster Assemblies "Shorter Catechism"* appeared, by a Dunedin writer who also adopted the pseudonym 'Pakeha Maori'.¹⁰⁷ That writers chose to adopt this pseudonym suggests that Pakeha in New Zealand remained familiar with the term. A British traveller in 1887, for instance, complaining in the *Auckland Weekly News* of the poor pronunciation of Maori terms by Europeans, had reported: 'It is all very well for a few Pakeha Maoris to roll round such words as Waipukurau and descant upon the beauty of the Maori lingo, but to the poor heathen of the British Isles it appears an appalling abyss which he can neither jump or get around'.¹⁰⁸

As settlers in New Zealand forged a culture from disparate sources, they constantly reassessed their personal, political, social and economic identifications. In *A Destiny Apart* (1986), Keith Sinclair noted that as the turn of the century approached, the colonists 'experienced new political, social and religious forms, demanding a constant reassessing and restructuring of personal, political, economic, even gender identification'.¹⁰⁹ He describes colonists as carrying a collection of identities, 'an invisible omnipresent backpack, to be made available at will and in whatever combination deemed appropriate or necessary by the wearer'.¹¹⁰ Many had several principal identities. They were Irish or English, they were British, they were New Zealand settlers, they were Wellingtonians or Cantabrians. As they grappled with and managed these layers of interweaving identity, the writers of *Korero Maori* and the "*Shorter Catechism*" added Pakeha-Maori, a self-definition of local identity, at once recognised as indigenous and embracing a Maori and Pakeha commonality.

Adopting this title might be interpreted as an attempt to confront or embarrass new settlers with an indigenous term, and/or the term may have been embraced precisely because it had

often been employed as a pejorative. It is also possible that the term operated at another level, providing an example of class separation by literate and educated men who emulated Maning by purporting to understand Maori, as opposed to the common settlers who did not. The adoption of the pseudonym by writers can also be interpreted as a symbolic form of possession by settler authors, not just of Pakeha-Maori, but of aspects of Maori land and culture. These representations were akin to theatrical performances, for what was primarily a visualisation and acting out of settler ideals and preoccupations about identity. Pakeha-Maori constituted not only a uniquely New Zealand phenomenon but the archetypical intersection of the two cultures with the European or Pakeha element dominant. By employing a sense of New Zealand identity around Pakeha-Maori as well as Maori myth and tradition, historians like Sherrin and Reeves, who were promoting a cultural nationalism, helped construct a longer tradition and past for European settlers precisely because New Zealand lacked an extended past on which such a tradition could be founded.¹¹¹

The cult of preservation and the need to establish roots saw the writers during the second half of the nineteenth century confronted by both real and imaginary Pakeha-Maori. They could not ignore the cumulative body of their pre-annexation reminiscences nor the rapidly accumulating accounts of post-war pioneer memoirs inclusive of Pakeha-Maori or by Pakeha-Maori like Marmon and Bent. As we have seen, individual historians addressed this issue by shaping and celebrating some Pakeha-Maori and by suppressing or expunging others from the record.

The texts of Sherrin, Bourke, Moss, and Reeves illustrate the extent to which culture-crossing traders and whalers were given an important place in the collective settler memory. Indeed, for some Pakeha during the 1880s and 1890s, Pakeha-Maori had been people they had known, and they could still be located and interviewed in remoter districts. In her thesis 'Founding Histories' (1999), Fiona Hamilton has written that pioneer history functioned as moral guidance for contemporary and future New Zealanders who could derive a sense of collectivity and distinctiveness from the story of transforming New Zealand from wilderness to civilisation.¹¹² This process was not unique to New Zealand but the general histories appropriated selected Pakeha-Maori giving them a central place in the history of Pre-colonial settlement.

Allowing culture-crossing settlers to emerge as significant in the early settlement phase in national histories served as a way for Pakeha writers like Alexander Kennedy and E. M. Bourke to perpetuate a legitimising myth that secured title to the land by kinship rather than conquest and helped to explain and legitimise the European presence in New Zealand, a process that Gibbons in 'Going Native' (1992) calls cultural appropriation.¹¹³ The European presence was represented as normative, while Maori and Pakeha-Maori were implicitly or explicitly construed as marginal or alien in order that Pakeha might perceive themselves as 'naturals'.¹¹⁴

Between the publication of Frederick Maning's *Old New Zealand* and William Pember Reeves' *Long White Cloud* (1898), Pakeha-Maori were firmly established in narratives of New Zealand history, but these textualisations were complex. Refashioning Pakeha-Maori as agents of civilisation was dependent on denying that naturalised Pakeha-Maori or those fully assimilating as Maori might still survive, let alone express their experiences in text. In keeping with their intentions of representing Pakeha-Maori in ways that served their signifying systems, late nineteenth-century historians generally excluded these white savages from their texts. This exclusion of 'savage' Pakeha-Maori, such as Caddell, Rutherford, and Burns, like the refashioning of trader Pakeha-Maori as part of a respectable and useable settler past, reflected ongoing and deep-rooted anxieties about Pakeha-Maori and issues of race, class and identity in New Zealand.

By 1880, many thousands of new colonists who were not familiar with Pakeha-Maori had settled in New Zealand under the Vogel immigration schemes. The trauma of the New Zealand Wars had also faded sufficiently for authors who were not professional historians to write new stories and reintroduce old stories about savage Pakeha-Maori that had previously been suppressed. Around the turn of the century, many Pakeha assumed that Maori would die out or at least be assimilated.¹¹⁵ It thus became safe to reintroduce naturalised Pakeha-Maori into the literature, and their narratives were often quoted and reprinted. The publication of multiple minor narratives by or about Caddell, Marmon, Rutherford, and Burns, and Cowan's *Kimble Bent* in 1911, resurrected images of savage Pakeha-Maori challenging Maning's dominant narrative. Naturalised Pakeha-Maori lived with their Maori wives within the kainga, were often tattooed, and dressed, spoke and behaved as Maori. Their opposition to missionaries and settlers, their participation in Maori expeditions of war, and their supposed

indulgence in or proximity to cannibalism had been an essential part of the rhetoric surrounding savage Pakeha-Maori since the early nineteenth century.

Because savage Pakeha-Maori were close to Maori and were the ‘product’ of interaction with Maori, negative representations resonate prevailing and/or reflect commonly held attitudes to Maori among Europeans at this time, for popular attitudes can be gauged from texts as much as cartoons and advertisements. Some Pakeha settlers could not forgive naturalised Pakeha-Maori for not attempting to civilise Maori and surround themselves with the comforts and trappings of British technology. A Taranaki settler, W. K. Howitt, recalled Kimble Bent as ‘a cannibal and ‘an outcast’.¹¹⁶ What really mattered was to represent naturalised Pakeha-Maori as men who had transgressed cultural boundaries and become savages, whose behaviour was based on instinct rather than reason. They were living proof that ‘races’ were essentially stable in their differences and that any admixture or hybridisation would manifest itself in specifically negative forms. More importantly, the degraded state of naturalised Pakeha-Maori was a measure of the degraded state of their hosts, rationalising the events of the past that pushed both Maori and Pakeha-Maori from lands required by the settlers.

In 1880, the *New Zealand Herald* published the serialised reminiscences of Jacky Marmon, the self-confessed white warrior and tohunga. *The New Zealand Herald* published Marmon’s autobiography in six weekly instalments between 9 October and 11 December 1880. A much longer version appeared in the *Auckland Star* between 21 November 1881 and 25 March 1882. A shorter but similar biography was published in the *Otago Witness* in broken instalments between 26 November 1881 and 15 April 1882.¹¹⁷ The epitome of the savage Pakeha-Maori, Marmon was part new literary invention and part throwback to the Pakeha-Maori narratives of the early contact period. His licentiousness and cannibalism were utterly inconsistent with mainstream textualisations of Pakeha-Maori. Until his death in 1880, Marmon was known among Hokianga settlers as Cannibal Jack Tiaki, the white tohunga.¹¹⁸ Like Kimble Bent, he was both a foil and bogeyman, an uncomfortable reminder that Europeans could lapse into savagery and, perhaps more frightening still, he was an alter ego for settlers. Naturalised or savage, Pakeha-Maori had a sinister colouring, acquired during their lives among Maori. Not just content to live as Maori within the kainga, men like Marmon had also participated in Maori expeditions of war, and, if his boasting was to be believed, in cannibal rituals.¹¹⁹

In constructing a negative stereotype of some Pakeha-Maori as savages, certain writers emphasised the aspect of cannibalism. The Hokianga sawyer George Nimmo had described how Marmon relished human flesh.¹²⁰ In 1834, Edward Markham, a gentleman traveller, reported that Te Rauparaha's favourite Pakeha-Maori had devoured part of the heart of the captive chief Tamaiharanui.¹²¹ That most Pakeha-Maori did not practise cannibalism made little difference. Anxious to foster the notion that such white men were beyond the limits of all things civilised, these writers were quick to accuse Pakeha-Maori of a practice that was depicted as largely based on instinct rather than reason.

European settlers in New Zealand constructed their self-image in myriad ways but particularly in terms of property and security under British law. The reclusive habits of many naturalised Pakeha-Maori in the post-annexation era and their absence in commerce, in contrast to traders like Maning and Barrett, needed to be constructed and explained in terms of idleness and lawlessness. Such imagery subtly played its part in helping rationalise the needs of late nineteenth-century settler governments to legislate for the assimilation of Maori and the acquisition of lands desired by the settlers. The re-emergence of savage Pakeha-Maori in the literature of this period is intriguing. The 140,000 immigrants attracted to New Zealand in the Vogel era had no memory of the New Zealand Wars nor any reason to fear Maori and Pakeha-Maori. For this new readership, narratives about white savages enjoyed considerable audience appeal simply as visceral thrillers.

In 1894 the first New Zealand Natives' Association was formed in Auckland. The aim was to 'foster a love of their native land among the young colonials, and inculcate a national and patriotic feeling'.¹²² Branches were soon established in Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Textualisations of the savage and the pioneering Pakeha-Maori were perfectly fitted to this evolving European national sentiment. Until the late nineteenth century, attitudes to Pakeha-Maori had always been ambivalent, a mixture of fear and admiration, attraction and hostility. In an era concerned with preserving and celebrating the Pakeha past, the authors Rusden, Sherrin, Moss, Bourke, and Reeves began to rehabilitate Pakeha-Maori as models for early Pakeha, as opposed to British, heroism, and as early Pakeha who would replace Maori who seemed to be dying out.

James Belich has used the term 'recolonisation' to describe the 'renewal and reshaping of links between colony and metropolis after an early period of colonisation'.¹²³ He concluded

that '[in] New Zealand's case, it reshuffled and tightened links with Britain between the 1880s and 1900s'.¹²⁴ Pakeha readers in this period were unlikely to view illiterate seamen and fugitive convicts as desirable pioneers of race relations or as founding fathers, but were assured by writers like Sherrin, Bourke, Moss, and Reeves that more 'respectable' culture-crossers could be so regarded.

The 1886 census revealed a majority of locally born European residents, many of whom were to increasingly consider both Britain and New Zealand their homes.¹²⁵ Some Pakeha had redefined themselves in terms of their differences from Maori following the New Zealand Wars, but increasingly began defining themselves in terms of their differences from Britons, at a time when they were also embracing imperial sentiment. Representations of Pakeha-Maori dramatised New Zealand's dilemma between maintaining British traditions and acculturating to indigenous phenomena. Contested interpretations of Pakeha-Maori originated in the ability of historians to articulate both alternatives. As agents of progress, Pakeha-Maori helped to advance British culture among the indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand. As white savages, Pakeha-Maori could now also be employed to help create an imagined indigenous ancestry and a sense of Pakeha history as something distinctive in its own right.

¹ E. M. Bourke, *A Little History of New Zealand, Progressive From Discovery to 1880* (Melbourne: George Robertson, 1881); George Rusden, *History of New Zealand* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1883); Frederick Moss, *School History of New Zealand* (Auckland: H. Brett, 1889); R. A. A. Sherrin and Thomson W. Leys, eds, *Early History of New Zealand from Earliest Times to 1840* (Auckland: H. Brett, 1890).

² J. C. Firth, *Nation Making: A Story of New Zealand. Savagism versus Civilisation* (London: Longman, Green and Co, 1890); Alfred Saunders, *History of New Zealand 1642–1881* (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1890).

³ Marshall in *Pakeha Rambles*, pp. 1-64.

⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 9 October to 11 December 1880.

⁵ Archibald Hood, *Dicky Barrett: With his Ancient Mariners and Much More Ancient Cannon at the Siege of Moturoa* (New Plymouth: Taranaki Herald, 1890).

⁶ See George H. Wilson, *Ena or the Ancient Maori* (London: Smith Elder, 1874); Antoinette Drahajowska, *Georges Bertrand, ou Dix ans a la Nouvelle Zelande* (Lille: Lefort, 1878); Rolf Boldrewood, *War to the Knife or Tangata Maori* (London: Macmillan, 1899).

⁷ St John 'Pakeha Rambles', pp. 5–64.

⁸ A. G. Bagnall, ed., *New Zealand National Bibliography to the year 1960*, 5 vols (Wellington: Government Printer, 1980), vol. I, p. 919.

⁹ St John, *Pakeha Rambles*, pp. 9, 12.

¹⁰ Nona Morris, 'Charles Marshall, Early Trader on the Waikato River', *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal*, No. 17, (April 1970), p. 18.

¹¹ Bill Pearson, *Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays* (Auckland: Heinemann, 1974), p. 12.

¹² St John, *Pakeha Rambles*, p. 167.

¹³ See Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, pp. 212-225.

¹⁴ Frederick Edward Maning, *Old New Zealand*, pp. 180–85. See also Richard White, 'Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill', in *The Frontier in American Culture*, edited by James Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 55.

¹⁵ Roger Wigglesworth, 'The Myth and The Reality: Study of the Adaptation of John Marmon with comments on his three newspaper autobiographies' (research essay in History, Massey University, 1974), p. 4.

¹⁶ Richard Poirier, *The Performing Self: Compositions and Decompositions in the Languages of Contemporary Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 87, in *The Edward Said Reader*, edited by Moustafa Bayoumi and Andrew Rubin, (Granta Books: London, 2001), p. 317.

¹⁷ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 95; Also see her text *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 117.

¹⁸ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 93.

¹⁹ Morris, 'Charles Marshall, Early Trader', p. 13.

²⁰ Nancy M. Taylor, *Early Travellers in New Zealand* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 13.

²¹ Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, p. 120.

²² This idea is informed by Neil Salisbury, ed, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed: being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs Mary Rowlandson and Related Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), p. 7.

²³ Gary L. Ebersole, *Captured by Texts: Puritan to Post-Modern Images of Indian Captivity* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), p. 198.

²⁴ Morris, 'Charles Marshall, Early Trader', p. 13.

²⁵ Maning, *Old New Zealand*, pp. 23–29, 90–98, 140–46.

²⁶ Ebersole, *Captured by Texts*, p. 190.

²⁷ Donna Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty* (Auckland: Broadsheet Publications, 1984); cited in Peter Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', p. 93.

²⁸ Ebersole, *Captured by Texts*, p. 193.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

³⁰ Henry Williams, *The Early Journals of Henry Williams 1826–1840*, edited by L. M. Rogers (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1961), p. 268; J. R. Elder, *Marsden's Lieutenants* (Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie, 1934), p. 119; Samuel Marsden, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765–1836*, edited by J. Elder (Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie, 1932), p. 337.

³¹ Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand from 1839–1864*, vol. 1 (Wellington: Reed, 1968), p. 495; George Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand: Being an Artist's Impression on Countries and People at the Antipodes*, vol. II (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1969), p. 86; Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand with Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany and Natural History of the Country*, vol. 1 (London: Murray, 1843), pp. 73–75.

³² J. E. Alexander, *Incidents of The Maori War: New Zealand in 1860–61* (London: Richard Bentley, 1863), pp. 48, 137.

³³ Saunders, *History of New Zealand 1642–1861*; Firth, *Nation Making*, p. 228.

³⁴ John Bodner, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 13.

³⁵ Jill Lepore, *The Name of War*, p. xiv.

³⁶ This idea is informed by Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, pp. 4–6.

³⁷ These ideas are informed by Lepore's Introduction to *The Name of War*, p. xiii. See also Peter Maxwell, *Frontier: The Battle for the North Island of New Zealand 1860–1872* (Auckland: Celebrity Books, 2000).

³⁸ See Igor Kopytoff, ed., *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 9.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Alexander, *Incidents of The Maori War*, pp. 56–57.

⁴¹ This idea is informed by Lepore, *The Name of War*, p. xv.

⁴² Edward Markham, *New Zealand or Recollections of It*, edited by E. H. McCormick (Wellington: Government Printer, 1963), p. 39; Martha Marsden (journal), cited in E. Ramsden, *Marsden and The Missions* (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1936), p. 215; Sherrin and Leys, eds, *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 109.

⁴³ Sinclair, *History*, p. 114.

⁴⁴ Alexander Kennedy, *New Zealand* (London: Longman, Green and Co, 1874), p. 75.

⁴⁵ Hood, *Dicky Barrett*, p. 82.

⁴⁶ Rusden, *History of New Zealand*, p. 23. Some of Rusden's New Zealand writings have been published as *Auretanga: Groans of the Maoris*, edited by G. W. Rusden (London: William Ridgeway, 1888).

⁴⁷ Mathew Russell, 'Had I But a Trumpet Tongue: George Rusden and His Imperious Duty' (unpublished MA dissertation in History, University of Auckland, 1995), p. 23.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.17–37.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁵¹ Jacky Marmon (reminiscences), *New Zealand Herald*, 9 October 1880 to 11 December 1880.

⁵² Rusden, *History of New Zealand*, p. 21.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

⁵⁹ Ann Blainey and Mary Lazarus, 'Rusden, George William (1819–1903)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. VI, 1851–1890 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976), p. 73.

⁶⁰ Rusden, *History of New Zealand*, p. 21.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 119.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 211.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 504.

⁶⁵ See William Renwick, 'Who Was G. W. Rusden and What Does it Matter?', *Stout Centre Review*, 3, 4 (1993), p. 22.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 20.

⁶⁷ Russell, 'Had I But a Trumpet Tongue', p. 16.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 374.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 309.

⁷⁰ T. M. Hocken, *A Bibliography of Literature Relating to New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1909), p. 348.

⁷¹ Russell, 'Had I But a Trumpet Tongue', p. 3.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Peter Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', p. 53.

⁷⁴ Sherrin's publications also included *An Enquiry into the Financial Condition of the Bank of New Zealand* (Auckland: E.H. Fail, 1881), and *Handbook of the Fishes of New Zealand* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton, 1886).

⁷⁵ Sherrin and Leys, eds, *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 216.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 199, 288–312.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. xxxiv.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 373.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Thomas Hocken thought well of *Early History*, commenting: 'A valuable work compiled from many sources; a list of visitors, whalers, traders and early residents with details of arrivals and names of vessels.'; *A Bibliography of Literature Relating to New Zealand*, p. 407.

⁸¹ Bagnall considered it 'an excellent starting point for further research', with the caution, 'usefully, if sometimes inaccurately presented'; *New Zealand National Bibliography to year 1960*, vol. II, p. 143.

⁸² Henry Kemp, *Colonising History of New Zealand From 1840 to 1880* (publisher not identified, 1901), p. 4.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 4.

⁸⁴ E. M. Bourke, *A Little History of New Zealand*.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Preface, p. iv.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Contents, p. viii.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹⁰ Hocken, *Bibliography of Literature*, p. 339.

⁹¹ B. J. Foster, 'Moss, Frederick Joseph', in McLintock, ed., *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. II, pp. 586–87.

See also Barrie Macdonald, 'Frederick Joseph Moss', *DNZB*, vol. II, 1870–1900, pp. 337–38; Frederick Moss, *A School History of New Zealand* (Auckland: H. Brett, 1889). See also *A Planter's Experience in Fiji* (1869), *Through Atolls and Islands in the Great South Sea* (1889), *Notes on the Political Economy from the Colonial Point of View* (1897), and *Freedom for the Legislature from the Executive Council* (1902).

⁹² Moss, *A School History*, p. 19.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹⁶ Rusden, *History of New Zealand*, p. 200.

⁹⁷ Foster, 'Moss, Frederick Joseph', p. 587.

⁹⁸ Hocken, *Bibliography of Literature*, p. 399.

⁹⁹ William Pember Reeves, *New Zealand Reader* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1895).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Preface, p. iii.

¹⁰¹ Keith Sinclair, 'William Pember Reeves, 1857–1932: Politician, Historian, Poet, High Commissioner, Banker', in *DNZB*, vol. II, 1993, pp. 411–14. Reeves had also previously edited an anthology of poems, *Canterbury Rhymes* (Christchurch: Lyttelton Times, 1883).

¹⁰² Reeves, *New Zealand Reader*, Preface, p. iv.

¹⁰³ Peter Gibbons, '“Going Native”: A case study of cultural appropriation in a settler society, with particular reference to the activities of Johannes Andersen in New Zealand during the first half of the twentieth century' (unpublished DPhil thesis in History, University of Waikato, 1992), p. 36.

¹⁰⁴ See David Colquhoun, 'Pakeha-Maori: The Early Life and Times of Frederick Maning' (unpublished MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1984), p. 72.

¹⁰⁵ Pakeha-Maori, *Korero Maori. First Lessons in Maori Conversation* (Auckland: G.T. Chapman, 1876?).

¹⁰⁶ Bagnall, *New Zealand National Bibliography*, vol. I, p. 562.

¹⁰⁷ Pakeha Maori, *A Plea for the Revision of the Westminster Assembly's "Shorter Catechism"* (Dunedin: H. Garford, 1885).

¹⁰⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 August 1887, p. 30.

¹⁰⁹ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 33.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* 4th ed. (Auckland: Penguin, 1991), pp. 196-199, 223. See also Peter Gibbons, 'The Climate of Opinion,' *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed, edited by Geoffrey W. Rice (Auckland New Zealand: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 313-315.

¹¹² Fiona Hamilton, 'Founding Histories: Some Pakeha Constructions of a New Zealand Past in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries' (unpublished MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1999), p. 107.

¹¹³ Gibbons, '“Going Native”' p. 693.

¹¹⁴ Gibbons, cited in Hamilton, 'Founding Histories', p. 25.

¹¹⁵ For evidence of their views that Maori would die out or be assimilated see Bourke, *A Little History of New Zealand*, p. 96. See also Moss, *School History of New Zealand*, p.135.

¹¹⁶ W. K. Howitt, *A Pioneer Looks Back* (Auckland: Oswald Sealy, 1945), pp. 119-121.

¹¹⁷ Roger Wigglesworth, 'The Myth and the Reality: A Study of the Adaptation of John Marmon , (1800?-1880) with Comments on his Three Newspaper Autobiographies' (unpublished research essay in History, Massey University, 1974).

¹¹⁸ Ibid; p.137.

¹¹⁹ 'Marmon,' *Auckland Star*, 7 June 1881.

¹²⁰ Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, p. 104.

¹²¹ Markham, *New Zealand or Recollections of It*, p. 84.

¹²² Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, pp. 32-33.

¹²³ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 29-30, 53-86, 394-404, 547-549.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*; p. 29.

¹²⁵ See Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, p.196.

Chapter Four

Pakeha-Maori and National Identity

In *The Road to Botany Bay* (1987), Paul Carter maintains that all colonial societies have a need to provide origins to explain why they were there, how they had come about, and so legitimate their presence.¹ This chapter examines the ways in which selected Pakeha-Maori were appropriated by some writers between the end of the nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century to help validate the European presence in New Zealand; a period when some among the first generation of New Zealanders were attempting to address issues of national identity. Specifically, it examines how, in the first decades following the publication of Reeves' *Long White Cloud* (1898), Pakeha-Maori continued to be deployed by some historians to help produce the idea of a New Zealand nation by laying claim to them as important settler ancestors and founding fathers. The chapter also examines the dominant images of Pakeha-Maori, and the extent to which they were central or marginal to the writers' visions of New Zealand history.

As we saw in Chapter Three, following the New Zealand Wars some writers had defined settlers in terms of their differences from Maori. From the 1890s, writers as stylistically diverse as Reeves, Robert McNab, Lyndsay Buick, Thomas Hocken, and James Cowan

attempted to characterise Pakeha in terms of their similarities to and differences from Britons. Their texts reveal the extent to which selected Pakeha-Maori had become part of efforts to promote a distinctive Pakeha past, what Homi Bhabha has termed 'a continuous narrative of national progress'. Belich has called this process 'founder studies', which could and sometimes did, reconstruct some 'respectable' Pakeha-Maori as founding fathers:

[Founder studies] laundered and reinvented, but also preserved, the Pakeha past for the purposes of the present. Its doyens included Thomas Hocken and Robert McNab. It was especially active in the 1890s and 1900s, when many communities celebrated silver jubilees and it was feared that old settlers would soon pass away without recording their memories. This approach emphasised *founders*, the virtuous and moral pioneers who had laid such a sound basis for the present. Its practitioners tended to write out the ruthless, disreputable but dynamic elements of nineteenth-century history. Early sojourners and settlers were divided into two categories: respectable, who made it into history, and 'degenerate' who did not .²

There were a number of contributions to the knowledge New Zealanders had about individual Pakeha-Maori characters in this period, mainly in male-authored texts by former politicians, journalists, and several scholars. Between the 1890s and the urban migration of Maori after 1945, Maori and Pakeha were largely separated from each other. Contact between Maori and Pakeha continued in some areas but, after 1900, Pakeha preferred to interact with Maori and Pakeha-Maori through books. Writers like Cowan helped shape the popular belief that the Pakeha-Maori phenomenon would never occur again and the major local publishers, Whitcombe and Tombs and, from the 1930s, A.H. and A.W. Reed, made much historical material on nineteenth-century New Zealand available to the public.

During the early decades of the twentieth century, several writers included accounts of Pakeha-Maori as individuals (and groups): Reeves and the bibliographer Thomas Hocken (Frederick Maning), James Drummond (John Rutherford), Thomas Lambert and Joseph Mackay (Barnet Burns), and James Cowan (Kimble Bent and Hans Tapsell). Pakeha audiences meanwhile were advised and/or encouraged to read narratives by Rutherford, Maning, Burns, and Bent as authentic 'inside' accounts of culture-crossing. By

appropriating Pakeha-Maori, Pakeha writers could define part of a past for Pakeha readers. Without an indigenous heritage, settlers could only be pretend New Zealanders, but a Pakeha-Maori heritage, on the other hand, could be employed to help New Zealanders construct a new cultural identity with their own ancestral past.³

The most substantial and influential writer to textualise Pakeha-Maori as colourful pioneers from a bygone era was William Pember Reeves. Entering politics in 1887, Reeves continued to write poetry and publish short stories. In 1891 he was appointed Minister of Education in Balance's Liberal government and was at the forefront of its labour and education reforms. Appointed New Zealand agent-general in Britain in 1896, Reeves continued to write, publishing *New Zealand and Other Poems* (1898) and a very influential short history of his country *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa* in 1898.⁴

The latter text was a short general history which emphasised the achievements of Pakeha colonists. It was still the standard interpretation of New Zealand history in 1950, when it was republished in a fourth edition.⁵ The text gave a progressive and liberal view of the country's development, and described civilisation and progress commencing with the organised Wakefield settlements. Indeed, *The Long White Cloud* is a history of European achievement. Reeves was one of a growing number of writers, including McNab and Drummond, who considered that they had 'residential' qualifications because they had been born in New Zealand and identified with the country. Writing with clarity and precision, Reeves devoted two pages of his 390-page text to Pakeha-Maori. These pages are a tightly integrated account of Pakeha-Maori founded on the works of John Nicholas, G. L. Craik, A. S. Thomson, and F. E. Maning.⁶

Pakeha-Maori as depicted by Reeves are white savages and civilising traders, but these images ignore their more diverse forms and types. The greater proportion of his imagery casts Pakeha-Maori as culture-crossing traders, but by distinguishing and identifying both groups, the individuals within it are encompassed by his term '*Pakeha Maori*'. Reeves' paradoxical assessment of the positive and destructive influence of Pakeha-Maori on Maori was a rephrasing of A. S. Thomson: 'These gentry were for the most part

admirably qualified to spread the vices of civilization and discredit its precepts. But, illiterate ruffians as most of them were, they had their uses in aiding peaceful intercourse between the races.’⁷ Again, Reeves extends Thomson’s images of Pakeha-Maori as harbingers of change, quoting John Nicholas’ tale of a London tailor and a shoemaker enslaved by Maori at the Bay of Islands.⁸

Reeves’ Pakeha-Maori consequently appear in a succinct chapter entitled ‘No Man’s Land’. His five-paragraph section contained a warning to all those researching Pakeha-Maori: ‘his [Rutherford’s] story is but one proof amongst a multitude that veracity was not a needful part of the equipment of the New Zealand adventurer of the Alsatian epoch’.⁹ Rutherford is harnessed as an example of one of the ‘whites’ who married sometimes two or three wives and who were tattooed and participated in intertribal battles.¹⁰ In the appendix to the first edition of *Long White Cloud*, Reeves remarked how Lord Brougham helped write John Rutherford’s Pakeha-Maori narrative. He noted how Rutherford is untrustworthy, ‘but will always, however, be worth reading’.¹¹

Unlike A. S. Thomson, Reeves did not interact with Maori and Pakeha-Maori, and, like Rusden, Bourke, Moss, and Sherrin, he could not permit them to exist outside a tradition that was neither Maori nor Pakeha. Reeves was familiar with Maning’s *Old New Zealand* and, like Maning, did not consider ‘white slaves’ and white fighting men ‘*Pakeha Maori*’. Though Reeves does not say so explicitly, they were by implication ‘Maori’. He italicised the word ‘Pakeha’ in his text and in the term ‘Pakeha Maori’, confining it to culture-crossing traders whose alternative experiences as the ‘pets’ and ‘slaves’ of Maori echo Thomson’s views: ‘As trade between whites and Maori grew, each tribe made a point of having a white agent-general, called their *Pakeha Maori* (Foreigner Maorified), to conduct their trade and business with his fellows. He was the tribe’s vassal, whom they petted or plundered as the mood led them, but whom they protected against outsiders.’¹² Reeves’ commercial definition of the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ indicates that he was writing a history of colonial achievement primarily for British audiences, New Zealand readers still being generally familiar with the term in 1898.¹³ More significantly, by representing them as ‘unofficial pioneers of our race’, he reclaimed them as pioneering ‘Europeans’.

Reeves' physical description of the jovial and rotund Dicky Barrett is sourced to Jerningham Wakefield's *Adventure in New Zealand* (1845).¹⁴ He also cites Thomson's story of the Pakeha-Maori, Captain Stewart of Stewart Island, who was seen in late years at Poverty Bay sitting among his hapu 'passing the pipe from mouth to mouth'.¹⁵ Deployed by Reeves to colour his text, Barrett and Stewart are represented as whalers and pioneering frontiersmen whose commercial activities helped civilise Maori and enabled the establishment of Pakeha communities: 'Half heroes, half ruffians, they did their work, and unconsciously brought the islands a stage nearer civilization. Odd precursors of English law, nineteenth century culture and "the peace of our lady the Queen",... their coarse manly life disappeared together.'¹⁶

Representations of Maning and Pakeha-Maori in *Long White Cloud* echo the writings of Thomson and Rusden, although Reeves was scathing in his criticism of Rusden's text: 'three long, vehement, sincere but not fascinating volumes . . . The volumes have their use, but are not a history of New Zealand.'¹⁷ Like Rusden, Reeves viewed Maning as a superior Pakeha-Maori, admiring his literary style and introducing Maning as 'an Irish adventurer, possessed not only of uncommon courage and acuteness, but a real literary talent and a genial and charming humour'.¹⁸ Reeves depicts Maning as a literate and talented Pakeha-Maori by linking him to '[a] Shakespeare and a Lempriere' (a classical dictionary), seen by A. S. Thomson on the Wanganui River, the property of a deceased Pakeha-Maori.¹⁹ Reeves believed Maning would 'always be known as *the Pakeha Maori*', illustrating how the ongoing influence of Maning's powerful self-construction in *Old New Zealand* continued to shape British and/or Pakeha perceptions of these individuals.

As has been seen in Chapter Three, in the aftermath of the New Zealand Wars many settlers believed that Maori were a dying race. Reeves, however, could not decide if Maori would die out or not. Rusden's history had been concerned with the injustices perpetrated upon Maori. Reeves' text was less concerned about that, but he employed Maning as an example of the honest European land-dealing: 'nor were the lay land-

claimants always ravenous. Maning the *Pakeha* Maori, had paid £222 for his 200 acres at Hokianga'.²⁰ Reeves clearly admired Maning and, as someone crossing cultures from New Zealand to Britain, may have felt some affinity with him.

Again, like Rusden before him, Reeves dealt with Maori-Pakeha relations by calling on Maning as a witness to the 'civilising' of Maori. Continuing the rehabilitation of Maning that commenced with Rusden's *History of New Zealand*, Reeves represents Maning as an important link with old New Zealand and the new colony: 'He lived to see savagery replaced by colonization, and to become a judicial officer in the services of the Queen's Government.'²¹ In later editions of *Long White Cloud*, Maning is ranked alongside Katherine Mansfield as a New Zealand literary icon. Reeves observed: 'Of the writers who tell of Alsatian days, none is worth naming in the same breath with Maning. His *Old New Zealand* and even better written story of Heke's War have about them – like Katherine Mansfield's stories – that elusive something that industry and mere talent cannot supply.'²²

Following the publication of Sherrin's *The Early History of New Zealand* (1890), reprints of *Old New Zealand* (1893), and Rusden's *History of New Zealand* (1883), Reeves' *Long White Cloud* allowed Maning to become greatly admired by the turn of the century when most Pakeha had no meaningful contact with Maori. Reeves' characterisation of Maning was important as he rendered him safe in a neat portrait that neutralised the threat inherent in his bicultural identity. Yet Reeves did not envision a future for Maori in New Zealand, effectively reducing Maning to a literary achievement rather than a possible model for the future behaviour of settlers.

How then did Reeves read Maning's *Old New Zealand*? He read the text as authenticating his own stereotypical views of Maori. Reeves was from Christchurch and, unlike his contemporaries Edward Tregear and S. Percy Smith, was unfamiliar with Maori and Pakeha-Maori.²³ Reeves described Maning's *Old New Zealand* as the 'best book which the country has been able to produce'²⁴ and drew his picture of Maori from Maning: 'Nowhere have the comedy and childishness of savage life been so delightfully

portrayed. Nowhere else do we get such an insight into that strange medley of contradictions and caprices, the Maori mind.’²⁵ Again like Rusden, Reeves recognised the function Maning could perform in his chapter ‘No Man’s Land’. Equally at home in a council of rangatira or in the parlours of gentlemen, Maning represented a connection between old and new New Zealand with which Reeves and his readers could feel comfortable.

Approving descriptions of Maning by Rusden, Sherrin, and Reeves reveal how they perceived Maning’s years as a Pakeha-Maori as constituting a set of indigenous initiations that deepened his understandings of Maori. Through this cycle of immersion and emergence and with the success of *Old New Zealand*, Maning came to symbolise a frontier hero who had applied his Maori experiences to further the success of settler culture. After 1863, it became Maning’s function as a Land Court Judge to help wrest control of the land for European settlers, rather than preserve the integrity of Maori ownership of land and his Maori kinsfolk.

The fundamental contrast between savage and civilising Pakeha-Maori employed by Reeves was to form a pattern, one repeated in many subsequent published histories. Reeves’ dual stereotypes were created images. Originating in the works of Maning and Thomson, this pattern of imagery became fixed. These dual images can be read as a manifestation of the inherent conflict confronting isolated European settlers living among indigenous peoples on nineteenth-century frontiers, the fear that they too might become savages.

In representing Pakeha-Maori both as savages and agents of civilisation, Reeves was influenced by his own perspectives and motivated to create the images he believed his audiences wanted to see. Accordingly, his Pakeha-Maori images correlate to contemporary modes of thought. Reeves represents Pakeha-Maori like Maning as part of civilising processes in which the destruction of Maori by European disease and technology seemed inevitable and the dying Maori was to be pitied. Pakeha-Maori slaves and fighting men were perceived by Reeves as Maori, in need of British civilising

influences, first introduced by medium of the trader Pakeha-Maori.

The Long White Cloud appeared after publications by Firth and Saunders whose texts excluded Pakeha-Maori, denying them the privilege of acknowledgement and erasing them from the record of the past, though all three writers perpetuated the colonial discourse that employed hierarchies to essentialise racial and cultural difference. While the texts of Firth and Saunders were not ‘full’ histories and did not actually say that Pakeha-Maori were unimportant, Reeves’ *Long White Cloud* extended liberties to these men denied by the former, challenging the view that Pakeha-Maori were insignificant in New Zealand history. Extending the pattern established by Thomson, Maning, Rusden, Moss, and Bourke, he insisted that his reader recognise Pakeha-Maori as a colourful but finite phase in the early history of New Zealand.

Reeves’ textualisations of Pakeha-Maori were part of the ongoing assessment and reassessment by writers of their place in New Zealand history and he probably read Thomson and Rusden while in London, by accessing the Parliament and British Museum libraries as well as a collection of books in the Agent-General’s office. Before the establishment of the Hocken and Turnbull libraries, there was limited material available to authors, who were either compelled to travel to New Zealand (Rusden) or to access private collections. Reeves marks a turning point in terms of conceptualising New Zealand history. People continued to read Alfred Saunders who, like Reeves, suggests that politicians achieved the most important advances in New Zealand. After Reeves’ *Long White Cloud*, however, some Pakeha saw New Zealand history as their own history.

Though much of the *Long White Cloud*’s text emphasised legislative and social progress, it was a successful history as it presented New Zealand as a distinctive place with a distinctive past, articulating the feelings of New Zealand readers about ‘their country’ while reinforcing, for some, their prejudices about Maori. Reeves was of the belief that Maori were no longer significant in New Zealand, and he did not see a future for its people based on the marriage of races.

In *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search For National Identity* (1986), Keith Sinclair argues: '[I]t was believed, a native literature would arise from and be inspired by the same process that was creating the new nation, that is, the experience of life in New Zealand.'²⁶ Though some writers still considered themselves British, they were searching for a distinctive New Zealand culture. *Long White Cloud* helped to promote New Zealand rather than Britain as the centre of history, by focusing on New Zealand experiences as distinctive. By re-presenting Maning and Pakeha-Maori and fitting them into his plot of separating New Zealand from Britain, they became part of his selections designed to draw attention to New Zealand's distinctive past. Reclaiming whalers and uncontrollable Pakeha-Maori as 'unofficial pioneers of our race' helped Reeves emancipate British colonists from old-world traditions, providing origins for an egalitarian and democratic society whose reforms saw it become the world's 'social laboratory'.²⁷

Nevertheless, Pakeha-Maori were not central to Reeves' vision of New Zealand history and he compresses them into the span of time between first European contact and annexation. In the pattern of Thomson, Maning, and Rusden, he places culture-crossing Europeans into two groups, Pakeha-Maori and whalers, according to their histories and influence on Maori. *Long White Cloud* was one of the books Pakeha referred to for their New Zealand history after 1898, and it had a great influence on the way New Zealanders viewed themselves and their past.²⁸ The book was written for a British audience but it became a popular history for New Zealanders. There were subsequent editions in 1899, 1924, 1950, facsimile reprints of the fourth edition in 1973 and 1987, and the text remains in print today. The fourth edition contained an introduction by Sir James Hight who called it 'the best history of the country'.²⁹ Sinclair described it as 'an outstanding short history' and 'the traditional interpretation of the country's history'.³⁰

Images of Pakeha-Maori appear with increasing regularity in historical texts after 1900. They vary from a few lines (Coad), to a few paragraphs (Shrimpton and Mulgan, Morrell and Hall), to entire chapters (Mackay's regional history), to the Pakeha-Maori biographies of Drummond and Cowan. During the period 1898–1939, Pakeha-Maori became another 'indigenous' subject through which writers formulated a past for Pakeha

in New Zealand. Robert McNab, a parliamentary colleague of Reeves, a lawyer and a farmer, confined a variety of Pakeha-Maori to single paragraphs in his texts. Like Hocken and Turnbull, he travelled widely, collecting books and manuscripts as part of his interest in constructing a detailed New Zealand past. McNab, who had his own extensive collection, also did much of his New Zealand research in the Hocken and Turnbull libraries, and through his publications made available a great deal of data about early New Zealand, while publicising material on culture-crossing Europeans not readily accessible or previously published.³¹

During the 1890s there was an increasing self-consciousness among some Pakeha about New Zealand's distinct identity and, in 1898, McNab helped found the Invercargill branch of the New Zealand Natives' Association. His twelve articles for the *Gore Southern Standard* were reprinted as *Murihiku* (1904), a history of early European sealing and whaling. Hocken described it as: 'A mass of old history, unearthed from early whaling and other logs and New South Wales newspaper records.'³² The text introduced James Caddell, whose life story had previously appeared in early nineteenth-century Sydney newspapers. McNab described him as: 'A Maori chief who, though English born, was at an early age adopted into the ranks of the Maori.'³³ McNab does not employ the descriptive term 'Pakeha-Maori' for Caddell or any of his culture-crossing Europeans, perhaps finding these culture-crossing men unfathomable or incomprehensible. Like Reeves, McNab was not familiar with Maori and never interacted with any Pakeha-Maori. His subjects are cast as 'sealers', 'whalers' and first 'white men'. Substantially revised versions of *Murihiku* were published in 1907 and 1909.³⁴

McNab's *Old Whaling Days* (1913) was a compilation of material on the New Zealand whaling trade based on a mixture of official and general letters, ships' logs and journals. The book details the defence of Nga Motu Pa, Taranaki, by Te Ati Awa and eleven culture-crossing Europeans under the leadership of Richard Barrett and Jacky Love. McNab labels these men 'traders'.³⁵ In volume one of the two-volume *Historical Records of New Zealand* (1908 and 1914), McNab presents material on John Besant and Jem the Tahitian, two runaway seamen who lived with the Maori and assisted Samuel Marsden

and his missionaries.³⁶ *From Tasman to Marsden* (1914) presented material describing the first European sailors to flee their ships to live among Maori on the Waihou River in 1799. It also introduced New Zealand readers to Charlotte Edgar (Charlotte Badger), a convict woman who lived with a minor chief at the Bay of Islands, and George Bruce, who spent one year living among northern Maori.³⁷

McNab does not complicate his relentlessly factual and chronologically ordered narrative of European settlement and progress by discussing or using the term 'Pakeha-Maori'. As a compiler, McNab did not try to colour his culture-crossing Europeans, but his texts were important in making information available on sixteen named pre-annexation Europeans who lived with Maori.

According to Hilliard in 'Island Stories' (1997):

In the decades between the Wars, there were major divisions between historians as to what constituted New Zealand history and as to what its overall moral was. The most serious divide was between those who claimed that Maori-Pakeha interaction was the driving force behind New Zealand history and those who favoured narratives in which Pakeha built a society in a physical, cultural wilderness, narratives in which Maori played only incidental parts.³⁸

Like McNab, Cowan, and Best, Thomas Lindsay Buick considered himself British but engaged in the search for a distinctive New Zealand culture. Buick located new documentary records on Pakeha-Maori, but added imaginative colour to his representations, promoting a dramatic past for New Zealand while combining the picturesque and romantic elements of Maori-Pakeha contact. A New Zealand-born writer, Buick was self-educated and worked variously as a carpenter, Member of Parliament, and journalist. He did not write a general history but was one of New Zealand's leading writers of popular history in his own day.³⁹ Like Cowan, Buick believed that New Zealand had a vibrant and fascinating pre-annexation past. He wrote of 'our fast receding history' and saw urgency in the task of salvage.⁴⁰ His first books, *Old Marlborough* (1900) and *Old Manawatu* (1903), were regional histories, quoting earlier publications, particularly by E. J. Wakefield and W. L. T. Travers.⁴¹

Old Marlborough described the adventures of James Heberley of Ngati Toa and Richard Barrett of Te Ati Awa, whom Buick described as ‘that now historical personage’ of the (Marlborough) province.⁴² *Old Manawatu* introduced Bush, whom Rangitane recalled as their ‘first Pakeha’, and Jack Duff, the first ‘European’ to enter Hawke’s Bay through the Manawatu Gorge.⁴³ Like McNab, Buick does not complicate his history of European settlement by discussing or using the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’, though he elaborated on the adaptations made by these men. They are central to his histories of early settlement and represented as ‘traders’ rather than Pakeha-Maori.⁴⁴

However, Buick located the heart of New Zealand history in a Maori-Pakeha compact secured through the Treaty of Waitangi, unlike his contemporary, James Cowan, who believed that this compact was secured through the frontier and the New Zealand Wars.⁴⁵ Extending Colenso’s *History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* (1890), Buick’s *The Treaty of Waitangi* (1914) played an important role in documenting the resistance by Hokianga Pakeha-Maori to Hobson and the Treaty document in 1840. He quotes from Hobson’s correspondence, which described Maning as: ‘an adventurer, who lives with a native woman, has purchased a considerable parcel of land, and being an Irish Catholic is an active agent of the Bishop [Pompallier]’.⁴⁶ Again quoting Hobson, Buick presented Marmon as: ‘Another person, altogether of a lower description [than Maning],... who is married to a native woman, and has resided in this country since 1809, [and] is also an agent of the Bishop.’⁴⁷ Later editions of *The Treaty* in 1933 and 1936 contained passages contradicting Maning’s self-representations in *Old New Zealand* as a loyal Briton, but did not adversely affect the way in which it was read by historians of this period as an authoritative inside account of pre-annexation New Zealand.

Buick’s ‘first Europeans’ are predominantly traders. These images served to compliment settler courage, strength and adaptability, while images of white savages like Marmon were used to point out the hazards, and temptations, confronting settlers in the pre-annexation era. Buick’s descriptions of Heberley, Barrett, Duff, and Maning also reveal how culture-crossing traders assisted settlement and social order. While such characters

allowed Buick to develop the analogy of culture-crossers as important explorers, guides and translators in his works, the newcomers who did most to found New Zealand in Buick's view were missionaries and government officials.

A writer carefully observant of detail, Buick's representations of 'first Europeans' synthesised a wide range of printed sources and eyewitness accounts. Alluding to the process of cultural appropriation J. E. Traue wrote of Buick in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990): 'He belongs to the small group of New Zealand-born historians, including Robert McNab, James Cowan and Elsdon Best, writing in the first quarter of the twentieth century, who worked out of a sense of duty and with little or no financial reward to make New Zealand's past readily accessible to the general reader.'⁴⁸

The works of James Drummond were also part of the effort by individual writers in the early twentieth century to formulate a past for New Zealanders by marginalising or appropriating aspects of indigenous and semi-indigenous identities. They were published at a time when one journalist called 'Tohunga' wrote strongly patriotic articles in the *New Zealand Herald* while other Pakeha adopted the title 'Maorilanders'.⁴⁹ Drummond was concerned with presenting New Zealand's distinctive indigenous phenomena, and Pakeha-Maori fitted this evolving national sentiment. A journalist and editor, he contributed regular articles on New Zealand history and natural history to the *Lyttelton Times* for 27 years and these were syndicated to many other regional newspapers. Drummond wrote *Nature in New Zealand* (1902) and *Feathered Friends of the Bush* (1907).⁵⁰ *John Rutherford: The White Chief* (1908) was essentially an abridged account of Rutherford's life among Maori, originally published in G. L. Craik's *The New Zealanders* (1830).⁵¹ Rutherford claimed to have been captured by Maori at East Cape and to have lived with them for ten years, during which time he was fully tattooed and became a chief.⁵² Like Craik, Drummond employed Rutherford to present information on Maori names and customs and the adventures of a culture-crossing European.

Craik's work had been very popular in its day. It was published in three editions, with an edition in German in 1833.⁵³ Rutherford's narrative also enjoyed great posthumous

attention and had appeared frequently in the historical texts before Drummond, because Craik's *New Zealanders* was so readily available to writers.⁵⁴ These writers either read Rutherford as an authentic 'inside' account or cast doubts on his veracity. In *Te Ika a Maui* (1855), the Reverend Richard Taylor had considered the narrative 'very valuable'. Moss (1889) considered Rutherford '[t]he best known of the old Pakeha-Maoris' and his narrative 'a wonderful story'.⁵⁵ Sherrin's *Early History of New Zealand* (1890), and Reeves in his *New Zealand Reader* (1894), quoted large sections of Rutherford as useful material from and about the early period.⁵⁶ Buick in *Mystery of the Moa* (1931) adopted Rutherford as a witness to the absence of the moa but was uncertain 'how much fact and how much fiction' made up his narrative. In 1896, however, Colenso informed the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute that shortly after his own arrival in New Zealand he had made extensive enquiries about Rutherford among Maori and concluded that the story was 'largely mythical'. W. L. Williams in *Transactions*, a paper published in 1890, concluded that Rutherford probably lived at the Bay of Islands rather than Tokomaru or East Cape.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, Drummond's editing of *The White Chief* was thoughtful and thorough. He believed that 'despite all its blemishes, the story [of John Rutherford] has a good claim to be included in the list of New Zealand works that are now being reprinted by Messrs Whitcombe and Tombs', who printed 2000 copies of *The White Chief* for New Zealand readers.⁵⁸ The text may have been a catalyst for further textualisations since it was followed by numerous stories of individual Pakeha-Maori by Cowan, Lambert, and Mackay.⁵⁹ Drummond's *White Chief* helped educate New Zealand readers about Pakeha-Maori and Maori while emphasising a distinctive New Zealand Maori past.

In *The Idea of Race* (1987), M. Banton argues that belief in white racial superiority reached its zenith in Western Europe in the two decades before World War One. He notes: 'New Zealand was annexed and settled at a time when this particular discourse and system of classification was taken for granted.'⁶⁰ Drummond's *White Chief* appealed to ordinary Pakeha readers who could imagine Rutherford's suffering and hardship among 'savage' Maori. The text may even have allowed Pakeha men and women to take courage

in their own struggle to tame the wild lands which they perceived as underutilised by Maori. Rutherford's 'escape' from Maori and return to Britain conformed to the preconceptions white settlers held about their innate superiority.

Drummond's *White Chief* provided an 'inside' view of Maori, but in centring his Pakeha-Maori as a captive, Drummond represents his culture-crossing European as passive and powerless, a simplistic interpretation of a complex member of a complex 'class'. With the exception of Cowan's works, representations of Pakeha-Maori by writers in this period failed to articulate the radical idea of difference that set Pakeha-Maori apart from both settlers and Maori.

Culture-crossing Europeans also found a place in the works of Thomas Morland Hocken, a bibliographer and avid collector of literature relating to New Zealand and the Pacific.⁶¹ Hocken was a prominent Dunedin citizen and medical doctor, and by the mid-1880s was known for his exceptional interest in, and promotion of, New Zealand history. He worked actively to promote an historical consciousness, offering readers a foundational vision of New Zealand history as the progressive unfolding of civilisation transplanted principally through Wakefieldian colonisation.⁶² His detailed and analytical *Bibliography of Literature Relating to New Zealand* (1909) became the standard reference for more than sixty years and is still valued today for its annotations.⁶³ Hocken's *Bibliography* was part of the effort by some writers after 1900 to push New Zealand chronology back beyond 1840, and he claimed the narratives of Rutherford, Maning, and Marshall as part of his project on New Zealand literature.

Hocken's 'Biographical Sketch' on Frederick Maning appeared in the 1906 edition of *Old New Zealand*. It was very significant in explaining Pakeha-Maori to New Zealand readers and coloured the way people read Maning's works.⁶⁴ Hocken defended Maning's anti-British outburst and opposition to Hobson and his officials at the Treaty runanga in 1840, arguing that Maning was concerned with the welfare of Maori, and that his views were shared by some Britons and missionaries.⁶⁵ Hocken was additionally very generous in his praise of Maning's writings, describing his *History of the War in the North* as 'as

full of fire and descriptive force as *Old New Zealand*'.⁶⁶

Maning hoped to be considered a great savage and Hocken authenticated Maning's exotic self-constructions in his 'Biographical Sketch', describing Maning's life in pre-annexation Hokianga: 'His life was such as all can imagine, wild, rollicking and adventurous, thoroughly identifying himself with his savage friends of the Ngapuhi tribe.'⁶⁷ Jacky Marmon had added to his own mystique in his *Reminiscences* by claiming tohunga status. Kimble Bent after 1900 impressed James Cowan, claiming to have practised among Maori as a healing tohunga.⁶⁸ During an interview in Auckland in 1881, Maning intrigued Hocken by hinting that he too had trained as a tohunga. Hocken recorded:

He proved to be a great, almost incessant talker, and gave me little opportunity of plying him with the numerous questions I was prepared to ask. Now and then, as though to emphasise his recitals, he would rise from his chair and accentuate with his forefinger. I gathered that he had been initiated as a *tohunga* into the mysteries of that order of priesthood. This was a matter of great interest to me, but all efforts to penetrate that sacred arena were quite unavailing. The plea fell on deaf ears that it was a duty to throw light on obscure points of early religious belief, and that the passage of time and of the old *tohungas* must surely have absolved him from whatever observance might have been imposed. It was in vain; he was silent and evasive and apparently shrank from all idea of disclosure.⁶⁹

All the same, Maning greatly impressed Hocken, who wrote in *The Early History of New Zealand* (1914): 'Whoever has not read that delightful book "Old New Zealand" by a Pakeha Maori, has a rich treat in store for him. He will there learn the Pakehas' mode of life.'⁷⁰ Hocken's images of Maning were accepted as 'historical truths' by many subsequent writers and readers who believed his representations of Maning to be 'fact', contributing to the image of Maning, the expert on the old-time Maori, that is still perpetuated in texts to this day.⁷¹

Reprints of *Old New Zealand*, the narrative of a culture-crossing European, meant that Maning's images of the trader Pakeha-Maori reached a wide audience. After 1900, the text was promoted by writers like Hocken as an example of successful Maori-Pakeha relations and Maning could be cast as that rare commodity, the European who

‘understood’ Maori. Hocken saw Pakeha-Maori as a critical force in shaping Maori-Pakeha relations in New Zealand. In *Early History*, he considered the pre-annexation impact of Pakeha-Maori like Maning on Maori important in formulating the nature of race relations in New Zealand thereafter: ‘And thus there sprang up a sort of friendship and a better knowledge between the two peoples.’⁷²

At a time when some writers were concerned with a search for New Zealand identity, Frederick Maning and Pakeha-Maori were placed in the vanguard of what it was to be a New Zealander. Writers like Reeves, McNab, Hocken, and Cowan were essentially cultural nationalists who saw Pakeha-Maori as another means by which New Zealanders might define themselves, forging a national identity and a uniquely New Zealand inheritance by taking on elements of ‘New Zealandness’ from these culture-crossing men. In *Old New Zealand*, Maning the pioneering settler was the very embodiment of these qualities and therefore an ideal template for New Zealand writers like Hocken. Only by attributing ‘Maoriness’ to Maning were such writers able to distinguish him from a British heritage. New Zealand’s national self-image has always been an extremely physical one, emphasising courage, adaptability, hard work and physical prowess.⁷³ By performing as a Pakeha-Maori, Maning had, in a sense, helped construct this national identity, the archetypal New Zealander settler. By canonising Maning as a Pakeha who moved easily between both worlds, Hocken helped give New Zealand an indigenous national character and genealogy. Sherrin in 1890 had questioned the veracity of Maning’s writings, but after Reeves’ and Hocken’s texts, many historians and non-historians read Maning as an indisputable authority on Maori.⁷⁴

Maning’s potential influence on New Zealand readers can be measured by the number of reprints as well as occasions on which *Old New Zealand* was cited in texts after 1900. In Chapter Two, I have argued that *Old New Zealand* is a multifaceted text which speaks with many voices. Before the turn of the century, it was frequently aligned by writers to the specific purposes of the British civilising mission. Buttressing an imagined Anglo-centric history of settlement, the text functioned as a key signifier in nineteenth-century New Zealand historical discourse. *Old New Zealand* had helped some writers to

demarcate the binaries between European and Maori, while writers like Hocken employed it as a means of illustrating Maori-Pakeha friendship.

Emerging national consciousness influenced and was affected in turn by many cultural forms, but representations of Pakeha-Maori continued to coalesce in images of Maning as an important national icon. Maning, like Rutherford, was an identifiable link with a distinctive Pakeha past, and both became part of what readers believed, or imagined, had happened in New Zealand. Rusden's admiration of Maning and *Old New Zealand* as the canonical text on Maori in the years before annexation surfaced again in the texts of Reeves, McNab, and Buick and continued into the histories of Oliver and Sinclair in the 1950s.

Echoing or imitating Reeves, Arnold Shrimpton and Alan Mulgan in *A History of New Zealand* (1922) wrote that Maning's *Old New Zealand* 'is regarded as the most admirable picture of life in New Zealand' and that the author 'looked upon himself as a Pakeha-Maori'.⁷⁵ Similarly, Nellie Coad, in *From Tasman to Massey* (1934), argued: 'No chronicle of early New Zealand would be complete without mention of Maning, a prince of early adventurers. Arriving among the first of them, he became a Pakeha-Maori – that is, he lived among "the natives, married a native wife" – and was besides the author of the best book written on early Maori life.'⁷⁶ John Bell Condliffe, in *A Short History of New Zealand* (1925), described Maning as a trader who became a Land Court Judge and 'the author of the most exciting and intimate story of Maori ever written'.⁷⁷

From the beginning of the twentieth century, the image of the trader who crossed cultures but assisted in the civilising of Maori remained a significant presence in general histories of New Zealand. Leading the list of Pakeha-Maori used in this manner are Maning, Barrett, and Tapsell. Maning is indisputably the dominant Pakeha-Maori in this period. He is the representative example, making an appearance in eight of the ten texts studied in this section. Barrett makes four appearances and Tapsell just two.

Reeves and some subsequent historians struggled to discover and articulate what it meant

to be a New Zealander, in their attempt to come to terms with the Maori and European past. 'Maning the Pakeha-Maori' was constructed as a possible model for early Pakeha settlers and as a symbol of an imagined, indigenous Pakeha past, and became one more facet in the formulation of the writers' own cultural identities as well as the burgeoning national sentiment. No longer solely an important mouthpiece for the British civilising mission, 'Maning the Pakeha-Maori', along with the Wakefield colonists and gold miners, gave New Zealand history another coherent and unifying identity, providing an alternative Pakeha myth of origin that commenced in the pre-annexation past.

The 1906 edition of *Old New Zealand* appeared concurrently with Drummond's *The White Chief*, based on Craik's story of John Rutherford. Interest in Pakeha-Maori also witnessed the publication of James Cowan's biographies of Kimble Bent (1911), Hans Tapsell (1935), and his short story anthologies in which many of his central characters were Pakeha-Maori. New editions of *Old New Zealand* appeared concurrently with, or soon after, these publications. Seven editions of the text appeared between 1893 and 1930.

The admiration of Maning by so many writers is attributable to what the local writers themselves made out of Maning and the capacity of his text to articulate popular Pakeha attitudes to Maori, Pakeha-Maori, and New Zealand. The acknowledgement of Maning in the general histories post-Reeves coincided with new editions or reprints of *Old New Zealand* in 1900, 1906, 1912 and 1922. Maning became vastly admired at a time when most Pakeha had no significant contact with Maori. The role of Pakeha-Maori in New Zealand history was upgraded and cherished but, like Maori, they would be represented as existing only in the past.

During the late nineteenth century, New Zealand settlers had read idealised textualisations of the Pakeha-Maori Maning and Barrett as agents of British civilisation and progress. While the growing sense of nationhood received impetus from New Zealand's military involvement in the First World War, most New Zealand readers still retained strong links with Britain. In Shrimpton and Mulgan's *Maori and Pakeha: A*

History of New Zealand (1922), Pakeha-Maori were represented as ‘Maorified Englishmen recruited by tribes wishing to trade’.⁷⁸ The authors did not see Pakeha-Maori as important after annexation in 1840. They briefly noted the presence of these ‘Maorified Englishmen’ before focusing on the organised Wakefield settlers who they considered far more important in their history of British progress. Shrimpton wrote the section from Tasman to 1853 and Mulgan the section to 1922.

Shrimpton’s representation of Pakeha-Maori indicates the extent to which ‘Englishness’ was a pervasive quality in the New Zealand of the time. Most white New Zealanders were of British descent, with a higher percentage of Scots and Presbyterians than in Australia where there was a higher proportion of Irish and Catholics.⁷⁹ The text reverberates with a strong ideological commitment to the myth of nation-building, but places more emphasis on empire as a framework.

Shrimpton’s term ‘Maorified Englishmen’ allowed for the joining of the old world with the new world of New Zealand. He saw Maori being assimilated by Pakeha. Largely influenced by Maning’s *Old New Zealand*, Shrimpton distinguished the respectable and superior Pakeha-Maori Maning and Barrett from their lower-class contemporaries, ‘runaway sailors, ex convicts and illiterates’.⁸⁰ Alan Mulgan, who worked with Cowan, on three occasions cites Cowan’s *Kimble Bent* to lend authenticity to his chapter on the New Zealand Wars. Shrimpton’s sources on Pakeha-Maori were Thomson, Maning, Sherrin, McNab, and Buick.⁸¹ He acknowledged Maning’s importance in the biographical section of the book, entitled ‘Men of Mark in New Zealand’, the entry reading: ‘He looked upon himself as a Pakeha-Maori and his book “Old New Zealand” is regarded as the most admirable picture of life in old New Zealand ever issued.’⁸² ‘Shrimpton and Mulgan’ was widely used in schools. The first edition ran to 5000 copies and the second, in 1930, to 3000.⁸³

Representations of Pakeha-Maori as white savages and civilising agents originated in A. S. Thomson’s *The Story of New Zealand* and continued to evolve in general histories from Reeves to Sinclair. Shrimpton and Mulgan replicated the pattern of establishing

them as oppositions or extremes. Such imaginative representations of Pakeha-Maori as either villains or heroes in the first half of the twentieth century, however, meant that the images of Pakeha-Maori in the general histories were severely limited, for they are placed in categories in which the selection of characteristics entailed a loss of other alternatives. They were presented to readers either as a dichotomy between the worst characteristics of Maori or the best qualities of Britons.

No matter how Pakeha-Maori were portrayed in early literature to the mid-twentieth century, they were most often depicted as belonging to one of two classes – the naturalised Pakeha-Maori who was illiterate and immoral, and the trader who was represented as literate, moral and rational. Whether noble or ignoble, Shrimpton and Mulgan's two classes of Pakeha-Maori were static images. Most textualisations of Pakeha-Maori in this period throw little additional light on the reality of Pakeha-Maori, meaning that for the researcher seeking original data they are largely repetitious and unrewarding.

Ambiguous representations of Pakeha-Maori reflected the colliding racial and moral constructs of nineteenth-century settler society that were perpetuated into the twentieth century. Such imagery suppressed the inherent qualities of the successful Pakeha-Maori, for whom compromise, flexibility, and synthesis were paramount necessities in their real lives. Highly adaptable men who were open to alternatives and possibilities, they needed to ceaselessly reconstruct themselves when confronted with new realities. The 'naturalised' men James Caddell and Jacky Marmon performed as guides, translators and trading intermediaries as Europe and Europeans encroached upon their worlds. Conversely, the assimilations made by the trader Pakeha-Maori, Barnet Burns, Hans Tapsell, and Charles Marshall, went far beyond those made by most other European traders. Burns was tattooed on face and body, Marshall had adopted Maori attire, and Tapsell would sometimes declare himself tapu.⁸⁴

Idealistic and imperialistic representations of Pakeha-Maori were not just confined to 'Shrimpton and Mulgan' however. The image of Pakeha-Maori as agent of civilisation

attained fullest expression in Nellie Coad's *New Zealand: From Tasman to Massey* (1934), the first general history of New Zealand by a woman since E. M. Bourke's primer of 1881.⁸⁵ Coad wrote her text while Head of History at Wellington Girls' College, and the work was widely used in schools throughout the country.

Through the process of migration, the colonists had left behind what had given their world meaning. Colonisation entailed constructing a new 'civilisation' in New Zealand that included a need to provide origins. While Pakeha-Maori could not be expunged from histories of settlement, they could be retrospectively moulded to fit founding and legitimating myths that allowed settlers title to the land by intermarriage between Pakeha and Maori.⁸⁶ An enthusiastic imperialist, Coad represented Pakeha-Maori in simple and unobtrusive prose as culture-crossing settlers who, by marrying Maori women, 'secured large tracts of land'. With their 'troop of half-caste children', she considered them critical in 'the fusion between Maori and Pakeha'.⁸⁷ Coad took an assimilationist view and her perspective on Pakeha-Maori throws into relief the Maori-Pakeha dichotomy. Pakeha-Maori could be employed to celebrate either Maori or early Pakeha, and for Coad they became a means of legitimising the acquisition of Maori land without the need for European domination or conquest.

As has been said, most writers of the period recognised two categories of Pakeha-Maori – the naturalised European or white savage, and the more respectable traders. Perhaps because the book was written for secondary schools, Coad excluded savage Pakeha-Maori from her text. Images of trader Pakeha-Maori as agents of civilisation had existed from pre-annexation times and, largely as a consequence of Maning's influences, the image persists. Coad's Europeanisation of Pakeha-Maori involved the direct transfer of recognisably European materialistic values and behaviours to a complex group of culture-crossing characters.

Coad's *From Tasman to Massey* resolutely excluded images of Pakeha-Maori as Other. In 1929, however, the Auckland newspaper *The Sun* published the reminiscences of Caroline Perrett, kidnapped by Maori from Taranaki in 1874. It was a captivity narrative

in the tradition of Rutherford, Barnet Burns, and Bent, whereby captive Europeans were able to construct histories of themselves.⁸⁸ These narratives offered Maori and/or Pakeha-Maori perceptions and perspectives in which Maori or Pakeha-Maori were central and Europeans marginal. Their enduring appeal is closely linked to the interest of American readers in Indian captivity narratives which offered accounts of courage, fortitude, and opportunities for imaginative identity transformation.⁸⁹

The reminiscences of Caroline Perrett reveal images far removed from the predictably detached and controlling view of the general or regional historians. Contemporary accounts of Maori captivity by Ann Morley (1809) and Elizabeth Guard (1834) had been distorted by European editors to reinforce Western stereotypes about gender and race. Perrett's narrative emphasised the harmony and love she found among Maori, suggesting the possibilities of narratives of culture-crossing enacted in dialogue or *korero* rather than in the one-sided gaze of domination.⁹⁰

After 1900, published and republished accounts of Rutherford's, Bent's, and Perrett's captivities continued to touch a deep nerve in early twentieth-century New Zealand, a country where isolation, physical hardship, and the need for resilience were persistent realities for some Europeans. Sensationalised newspaper accounts of Caroline Perrett's life indicated that the markets for fiction and non-fiction were not very different when it came to publishing stories about culture-crossing Europeans. Drummond in 1908 had published *John Rutherford. The White Chief* 'largely to meet the public taste for something wonderful and striking'.⁹¹ Caroline Perrett's story illustrated the vulnerability of Europeans in New Zealand and served as a cautionary tale. If a white woman could be kidnapped and live unrecognised among Maori for 50 years until 'discovered' in 1929, then Pakeha security and identity was precarious at best. The tale implied that isolated or independent Maori communities still posed a danger to European security after 1900 and that individual Pakeha could still fall out of their culture.

While these captivity tales were not included in the histories examined in this chapter, they are important as they raised age-old anxieties about culture-crossing Europeans who

might go native or remain civilised. They challenged early twentieth-century readers to put themselves in the place of John Rutherford, Kimble Bent, or Caroline Perrett, and ask themselves what *they* might have done. Such stories allowed readers to see a different world through the eyes of culture-crossing Europeans. They also offered readers a new way of looking at Maori-Pakeha relations, by contrasting their own roles and values with those presented by Rutherford, Bent, and Perrett as being Maori.⁹²

As the quest for a distinctive Pakeha past continued after 1900, there emerged another perspective on Pakeha-Maori, who were increasingly represented as a model for Pakeha, as opposed to British, heroism. This image originated in the works of Hocken, Buick, and G. H. Scholefield, who claimed Pakeha-Maori as colourful New Zealand characters, but particularly in works by James Cowan, whose Pakeha-Maori stories are examined in detail in the next chapter. Cowan wrote extensively about Europeans who joined ‘rebel’ Maori, and about kupapa Pakeha-Maori who assisted British and colonial troops in the war against ‘rebel’ Maori. Cowan was instrumental in upgrading their image to frontier heroes in texts like *Tales of the Maori* and *Hero Stories of New Zealand*.⁹³

If colonisation is broadly defined as the establishment of European power over non-European people and territories, then J. B. Condliffe’s activity of representing Pakeha-Maori as a means of communicating ideas about ‘savagery’ and ‘civilisation’ was intimately engaged in expressing that power dynamic.⁹⁴ Condliffe’s *A Short History of New Zealand* (1925) was a substantial survey of New Zealand economic and political history founded on painstaking research. Australian-born, Condliffe spent most of his professional career as Professor of Economics at Canterbury College. There were further editions of *A Short History* in 1927, 1929 and 1932. Willis T. G. Airey, then a lecturer in History at Christchurch Teachers’ College, wrote the two concluding chapters to the text in 1935. Airey completely revised and rewrote the entire text in 1955 and there were further editions or reprints of ‘Condliffe and Airey’ in 1957, 1959 and 1960.⁹⁵

However, Condliffe’s textual representations of Pakeha-Maori remained unchanged through the various revisions. He extended Reeves’ dual representations of Pakeha-Maori

as white savages and civilising traders. His convicts and runaway sailors became the curious by-products of cultural entanglement who lived in native fashion and assisted Maori in their tribal wars.⁹⁶ Represented as ‘illiterate’, ‘brutal’, ‘unscrupulous’ and ‘evil men’, they invoked pre-annexation missionary images of Pakeha-Maori as men captured by the dark snares of Satan.⁹⁷

Europeans who took on the negative aspects of Maori – ‘ignorance’, ‘savagery’, and ‘idleness’ – became a type of degraded ‘European’, a by-product of colonial expansion. Images of lawless and degenerate Pakeha-Maori allowed respectable Europeans a sense of disapproval, and furthered the cause of cultural domination justifying the imposition of British rule in New Zealand. Images predominantly concerned with degeneracy are numerous in Condliffe’s text. If this imagery of ‘revolting’ and ‘brutal’ men is a reliable guide to racism, then Maori stereotypes are also part of his representations of Pakeha-Maori. In the aggregate, Condliffe’s representations of ‘savage’ Pakeha-Maori articulate more about the author’s attitudes to Maori and naturalised Europeans than the characters they purport to describe.

Investing some particular epoch with specific virtues is another favoured use of the past.⁹⁸ Maning and Barrett are cast as ‘Pakeha-Maoris’ of ‘great ability’ who were important and central to the foundation of the New Zealand colony.⁹⁹ *A Short History* describes both categories of culture-crosser as Pakeha-Maori and was an indicator that these characters would continue to wear the extreme face of the white savage who was close to Maori barbarity, while trader Pakeha-Maori were to be reconstructed as founding fathers of the colony. Condliffe’s Pakeha-Maori became part of his economic interpretation of the past. He describes them as ‘becoming important when Maori realised the advantages of trade’ and he cites Maning’s view that possession of a Pakeha became a matter of life and death ‘for every tribe’.¹⁰⁰

Condliffe’s *New Zealand in the Making* (1930) was an economic history but, as in *A Short History*, he viewed the history of the country as commencing with the Wakefield colonists. His focus on Pakeha history saw Pakeha-Maori encompassed by his vision of

the pioneer settler. Condliffe's representations of trader Pakeha-Maori as pioneering settlers in New Zealand were part of the wider literature devoted to emphasising characteristics that distinguished New Zealanders from Britons. One of the most interesting lines of investigation opened up by *A Short History* is that of tracing the development of a distinctively New Zealand national type.¹⁰¹ *A Short History* indicated the way in which reworked images of the trader Pakeha-Maori as pioneering Pakeha rather than transplanted Briton were to take pride of place in the literature.

Language is one of the most valuable tools of historical identification, and careful definitions of the term 'Pakeha-Maori' by many general and regional historians, in conjunction with Maori words, place names and phrases, after 1900 was a form of linguistic nationalism. These terms allowed New Zealand writers to assert their differences from Britons. The consistent presence of the term 'Pakeha-Maori' in anthologies and the short histories of the 1920s and 1930s can be interpreted as a measure of some writers' commitment to a distinctive New Zealand identity and legitimisation of the process of settler naturalisation that was occurring.

Written as a very brief history for the general reader, Condliffe and Airey's *Short History* was divided into sixteen chapters, each followed by a bibliography. Their images of Pakeha-Maori were founded in Maning, McNab, and general New Zealand histories from Thomson to Shrimpton and Mulgan. *A Short History* was widely used in schools and colleges and continued to influence the views of readers into the 1960s.¹⁰²

The 1940 centennial celebrations occurred across the full range of the country's social, political and cultural activity. The 1940 Wellington exhibition was a showcase for the country's goods as well as a statement of historical achievement and a focal point for national sentiment.¹⁰² Some Pakeha writers continued the quest to render their past meaningful, and incorporating culture-crossing Europeans in their histories aided this purpose. Guy Hardy Scholefield, a former journalist and parliamentary librarian, reconstructed Pakeha-Maori as important Pakeha identities in his two-volume *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1940).¹⁰³ The 2600 entries, the majority of which were

written by Scholefield himself, were precise and detailed. They included some important Maori and many characters described by earlier writers as Pakeha-Maori.

Criteria for admission to the *Dictionary* depended upon Scholefield's view of the contribution his subjects had made to the progress of New Zealand. Others who 'fell outside' this category but gained entry did not include Pakeha-Maori but soldiers, artists, writers and women. Contributors included Condliffe, Cowan, and Ernest Beaglehole who assisted with the editing. Scholefield undertook a massive amount of primary research, supplemented by clippings of Cowan's 'Famous New Zealanders' published in the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* between 1933 and 1936.¹⁰⁴ Scholefield, like Reeves, was South Island-born and educated, and likewise unfamiliar with Maori and Pakeha-Maori. He represented Pakeha-Maori as 'first Europeans' or 'early settlers', suppressing their more complex identities. Some writers of this era had described New Zealand as 'a young country'.¹⁰⁵ While he was not referring to Scholefield specifically, Sinclair in *Looking Back* (1978) observed:

The writers of the thirties and forties were strongly aware that we had a British past, but they were in one sense blind. Most of them were South Islanders, unaccustomed to the presence of the great Maori pa, fortresses, ancient monuments which dominate many of the landscapes of the North . . . Maori New Zealand has a history extending back for a thousand years or more.¹⁰⁶

While Scholefield's publication had its antecedents among various encyclopaedias and *Who's Who* volumes, as the first New Zealand dictionary of biography it recognised Europeans who settled among Maori as important characters in the founding of the New Zealand colony, though they are not described as Pakeha-Maori. Scholefield frequently named their Maori wives and patrons, but much of the material examined their interactions with their European contemporaries rather than Maori. Similarly, though Rutherford, Maning, Tapsell, and Bent were textualised specifically as Pakeha-Maori in earlier works, the *Dictionary* provides most information on the lives of these men *before* their arrival in New Zealand and frequently *after* their Pakeha-Maori phases.

John Rutherford is represented as 'a captive' and 'a chief', Frederick Maning merely as

‘an adventurous trader who conceived a warm attachment to the Maori people’.¹⁰⁷ Richard Barrett is described as an interpreter and important in the founding of Wellington.¹⁰⁸ The Pakeha-Maori Mair, Preece, and Biddle are depicted as heroic and important military men but they are leaders of colonial troops, never kupapa tribesmen. Nevertheless, much of the space Scholefield allocated his subjects emphasised characteristics which distinguished these men from Britons. Scholefield reworked the earlier images of Pakeha-Maori, representing them as pioneering Pakeha and important New Zealand figures rather than transplanted Britons.

According to Lowenthal, incorporating past exemplars into contemporary life is another mode of appropriating the past.¹⁰⁹ After 1900, with changing Pakeha attitudes and beliefs and the awakening interest in the past, Pakeha-Maori become part of the new perception of New Zealand history taking place. Bringing thirty years of research and editing to culmination, Scholefield’s *Dictionary* was one of the most acclaimed of the centennial publications. He did not attempt the analyses and assessments or reassessments of his material practised by later professional historians, but he made available to the public for the first time a comprehensive range of information about the lives of many Pakeha-Maori before and beyond their sojourns among the tribes. In this systematic way, Scholefield followed Buick and Cowan, representing Pakeha-Maori as distinctly New Zealand characters, and his entries helped balance earlier representations confined solely to the Pakeha-Maori phases of their lives.

Representing Pakeha-Maori as local founding fathers was not confined to the regional histories of Buick. Joseph Mackay’s *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I. New Zealand* (1949) depicted Pakeha-Maori as pioneering settlers to valourise the East Coast settler colonists’ lives of isolation, material deprivation, adaptability, and the virtues of such existence.¹¹⁰ An enthusiastic local historian, Mackay chaired the Poverty Bay-East Coast Historical Committee. Nevertheless, Mackay does not use the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ to describe his culture-crossing characters: John Rutherford is a ‘white chief’, Barnet Burns ‘a tattooed trader’. Elsewhere they are ‘Mystery Pakeha’, ‘colourful figures’, ‘first Europeans’, ‘first settlers’, or simply ‘Pakeha’.¹¹¹ Mackay gives separate chapters to John

Rutherford and Barnet Burns, critically examining their reminiscences during and beyond their Pakeha-Maori phases. Throughout his chapters on Rutherford and Burns, Mackay discusses his research, giving authenticity to his characters with his regular use of dates, names of vessels and sources. He was among the first of the regional historians to talk about culture-crossing Europeans in detail, revealing a region where a great deal of inter-racial mixing and enterprise occurred in the pre-annexation era.

Mackay's style is neutral or non-judgemental and it is possible that he avoided using the term 'Pakeha-Maori' because of his perception that the term was itself inherently judgemental. His observations of both important and minor Pakeha-Maori are interwoven with humorous, intriguing and occasionally intricate insights. He additionally introduces and outlines the stories of numerous minor culture-crossing characters to readers for the first time, adding further validity and interest to his narrative.¹¹² Mackay considered the role of these men critical to early Maori-Pakeha relations and to the economic development of East Coast-Poverty Bay, before and after the British annexation of New Zealand, offering an alternative to entrenched and anachronistic views that Pakeha-Maori were not important after 1840. Originally planned for the New Zealand Centennial, publication of *Historic Poverty Bay* was delayed by the Second World War.

Mackay's images of Pakeha-Maori revolve around their relationships with Maori, and his imagery is emphatic and graphic, detailing massacre, captivity, cannibal feasts and expeditions of war. Rutherford and Burns provide concrete images, giving the abstract descriptions in general histories a tangible reality, and emerge in *Historic Poverty Bay* as highly adaptable men, alternately docile and assertive, and 'naturally quick and intelligent'. Mackay embroiders these images with examples till they dominate both chapters. Danger is latent in the narratives and the conclusion emerges that, if Europeans are sufficiently pliant, they can survive captivity and advance their status in Maori communities.

During the early twentieth century, then, 'Pakeha-Maori' remained an elastic and indeterminate term that was easy to distort or exploit according to the personal agendas of

respective writers. The dual characteristics of white savage and civilising pioneer continued to be built into the very mode of representing them during the first half of the twentieth century, and the period is characterised by repetition, with some minor departures and restatements by McNab, Buick, Drummond, and Mackay. While the general histories did not elaborate on Pakeha-Maori to any complex degree and these writers merely placed reliance upon a standard or common view founded in Thomson and reinforced in Reeves, Pakeha-Maori continued to serve as indicators of the wider state of race relations.

The way in which the theories of race prevalent in Victorian England produced a dominant framework of interpretation for historians in New Zealand that has been termed the 'doctrine of fatal impact'.¹¹³ Central to this doctrine were discourses that dismissed Maori cultural peculiarity as merely an anachronism and maintained the assumption that a superior race would inevitably replace a more primitive one with Maori dying out or being assimilated by the civilized society'.¹¹⁴ In the general histories, Pakeha-Maori were judged from the vantage point of larger perspectives which connected them with the interest in national origins. Identities are constructed out of a dynamic interaction between people and are understood as much by what is excluded from them as what is included.¹¹⁵ At a time when Maori continued to be marginalised by assimilationist legislation and subsisted in rural communities, Europeans 'naturalised' as Maori continued to be portrayed in the language of race and class. Various descriptions as 'degenerate', 'savage', 'dangerous', and 'idle', and an equation was frequently established between their naturalism and sexual morality.¹¹⁶ 'Respectable' Pakeha-Maori, meanwhile, permitted writers' and readers' imaginings of their mental selves as Britons and/or Pakeha New Zealanders.

The double patriotism which had emerged in the late nineteenth century, entailing pride in both Britain and New Zealand, persisted in the mid century. The regular presence of respectable Pakeha-Maori as culture-crossing Britons or pioneering Pakeha in retrospective assessments of New Zealand's past were part of this attempt to integrate

people whom the Pakeha historians discovered in their researches into the history they made of their understandings of themselves. The published reminiscences of the naturalised men Rutherford, Tapsell, and Bent after 1900, and the identification and description of numerous minor Pakeha-Maori characters in regional histories, helped provide a counterbalance to these representations. Textualisations of individual Pakeha-Maori often contained detail and anecdote and were explicit and conscious attempts by Buick, Drummond, and Cowan to construct intelligible images of these characters who were part of the nostalgia for what was passing away.

In conjunction with the general histories, these specific textualisations of individual Pakeha-Maori created a reasonably broad space for this group in the historical literature. Furthermore, when read as 'inside' accounts of culture-crossing, the narratives of Rutherford, Tapsell, Maning, and Bent helped reconcile the polarisation of Maori and Pakeha, demonstrating that the 'positivity' of Pakeha and 'negativity' of Maori was illusory; that cruelty and kindness, ferocity and tenderness, pleasure, spontaneity, zest for life, and spiritual and emotional fulfilment could be found by lone Europeans in Maori communities in equal measure.

Judging from the imagery and vocabulary, Thomson, Maning, and Reeves were the three writers who most influenced representations of Pakeha-Maori by New Zealand writers to the 1960s. There are persistent references to, or echoes of, these three chroniclers throughout the general histories. The manipulation of Pakeha-Maori by general historians into categories of white savage or civilising agent can be seen to constitute a symbolic construct based on the polarisation of Maori barbarity and European social virtues.

The persistent images of the savage and degenerate Pakeha-Maori by writers like Reeves, Buick, Shrimpton and Mulgan, and Condliffe, can also be reduced to a proposition about the moral relationship between Maori and white savages bent on self-gratification, and pioneering settlers bent on morality. In this context, the positive influences of trader Pakeha-Maori took on new meaning, allowing twentieth-century Pakeha writers and readers to identify with and lay claim to Maning, Tapsell, and Barrett as important settler

ancestors and founding fathers of the colony.

Images of Pakeha-Maori in the texts of the cultural nationalist writers during the first decades of the century were part of the history of storytelling and the representational practices used in making sense of these culture-crossers. Interest in national identity and nation making coincided with the marginalisation of Maori and their exclusion as a minority. As New Zealand identity was very European, respectable Pakeha-Maori, such as Maning, Burns, and Barrett, were allied with Pakeha interests and textualised as men of British origin who could help reinforce that identity. Acquiring iconographic or emblematic status as founding fathers and incorporated into the national historical discourse, representations of these Pakeha-Maori exposes the links between historiographical imagery and the rhetoric of national identity in this period.

¹ Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. xvi. Carter's interest was primarily in landscape and what he termed 'spatial history' rather than cultural identities per se.

² James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*. p. 544. Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990), p.1.

³ This paragraph is informed by William Pember Reeves, *Canterbury Rhymes* (Christchurch: Lyttelton Times, 1883); *New Zealand and Other Poems* (London: Grant Nicholas, 1898); *Colonial Couplets* (Christchurch: Simpson and Wells, 1889); *The Passing of the Forest and Other Verses* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1923).

⁴ Keith Sinclair, 'William Pember Reeves, 1857–1932: Politician, Historian, Poet, High Commissioner, Banker', *DNZB*, vol. II, 1993, pp. 411–13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

⁶ William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa*, 3rd edition (Christchurch: Golden Press, 1973), pp. 90–91.

⁷ *Ibid.*; p. 91.

⁸ *Ibid.*; p. 90.

⁹ *Ibid.* With regard to the term 'Alsatian days', *The World Book Dictionary* defines an Alsatian as a bohemian adventurer and Reeves wrote at a time when it was considered avant-garde to cross cultures

intellectually; *The World Book Dictionary*, vol. I, edited by Clarence, L. Barnhart (Chicago: Field Enterprises Education, 1969) p. 62.

¹⁰ Reeves, *Long White Cloud*, p. 90.

¹¹ Ibid., Appendix 1, p. 375.

¹² Ibid., p. 91.

¹³ The term 'Pakeha-Maori', for instance, appeared in the *Auckland Weekly News*, no. 17 (Xmas 1898), p. 3.

¹⁴ Reeves, *Long White Cloud*, p. 141.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 158.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 108-109.

¹⁷ Ibid., Appendix 1, p. 376.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 157.

²¹ Ibid., p. 91.

²² Ibid, Appendix 1, p. 375.

²³ Keith Sinclair, 'Reeves, William Pember,' *DNZB*, vol. 2, pp.411-414.

²⁴ Reeves, *Long White Cloud*, p. 91.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 91.

²⁶ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search For National Identity* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1986), p. 49.

²⁷ This sentence is partly informed by Fiona Hamilton, 'Founding Histories,' p. 10.

²⁸ Sinclair, 'William Pember Reeves', p. 414.

²⁹ James Hight, 'Introduction' in Reeves, *Long White Cloud*, fourth ed. (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1950), p. 5.

³⁰ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 59.

³¹ J. E. Traue, 'Robert McNab, 1864–1917', *DNZB*, vol. III, 1995, pp. 314-316. See also Robert McNab, *Murihiku and the Southern Islands* (Invercargill: William Smith, 1907); *Old Whaling Days. A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1913); *From Tasman to Marsden: A History of Northern New Zealand from 1642 to 1880* (Dunedin: J. Wilkie, 1914); ed., *Historical Records of New Zealand*, 2 vols (Wellington: Government Printer, 1908–1914).

³² Thomas Hocken, *A Bibliography of Literature Relating to New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1909), p. 475.

³³ McNab, *Murihiku*, p. 163.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 202.

³⁵ McNab, *Old Whaling Days*, pp. 44, 53.

³⁶ McNab, ed., *Historical Records of New Zealand*, vol. II, pp. 321, 377.

³⁷ McNab, *From Tasman to Marsden*, pp. 111, 115.

³⁸ Chris Hilliard, 'Island Stories' p. 17.

³⁹ J. E. Traue, 'Thomas Lindsay Buick, 1865–1938', *DNZB*, vol. III, 1993, pp. 76-77. See also Lindsay Buick, *An Old New Zealander* (London: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1991); *New Zealand's First War* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1926); *The French at Akaroa* (Wellington: Board of Maori Ethnological Research, 1928); *The Mystery of the Moa* (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery, 1931).

⁴⁰ Hilliard, 'Island Stories', p. 61.

⁴¹ See E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand 1839–1845* (Wellington: Reed, 1968); *The Handbook for New Zealand* (London: John W. Parker, 1848; Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1998); W. L. T. Travers, *Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha*, (Wellington: James Hughes, 1872).

⁴² Lindsay Buick, *Old Marlborough or the Story of a Province* (Palmerston North: Hart and Keeling, 1900), p. 212.

⁴³ Lindsay Buick, *Old Manawatu or the Wild Days of the West* (Palmerston North: Buick and Young, 1903), pp. 118-119.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-147.

⁴⁵ Hilliard, 'Island Stories', p. 153.

⁴⁶ Lindsay Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi or How New Zealand Became a British Colony* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1914), pp. 142-143.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Traue, 'Thomas Lindsay Buick', p. 77.

⁴⁹ See Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 197.

⁵⁰ A. G. Bagnall, ed., *New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960*, vol. 1, Part 1 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1980), p. 356. See R. K. Dell, 'James Mackay Drummond, 1869-1840', *DNZB*, vol. III, 1995, p. 142. See also James Drummond, *Nature in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1902); *The Life and Work of Richard John Seddon* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1906); *In Maoriland* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1907); *The Romance of the Moa* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1908). Drummond also edited J. B. Marsden's *The Life and Work of Samuel Marsden* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1908).

⁵¹ G. L. Craik, *The New Zealanders* (London: Charles Knight, 1830).

⁵² James Drummond, *John Rutherford. The White Chief* (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1908).

⁵³ Bagnall, *Bibliography*, vol. 1, p. 262.

⁵⁴ See Nancy M. Taylor, *Early Travellers in New Zealand* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 97–99; Frederick Moss, *School History of New Zealand* (Auckland: H. Brett, 1889), p. 19; R. A. A. Sherrin and Thomson W. Leys, eds, *Early History of New Zealand from Earliest Times to 1840* (Auckland: H. Brett, 1890), pp. 298–311; William Pember Reeves, *New Zealand Reader* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1895), pp. 243–59, 264–72.

⁵⁵ Moss, *School History of New Zealand*, p. 19.

⁵⁶ Sherrin and Leys, *Early History of New Zealand*, pp. 298–311; Reeves, *New Zealand Reader*, pp. 243–59, 264–72.

⁵⁷ Lindsay Buick, *Mystery of the Moa*; cited in Joseph McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and The East Coast N.I. New Zealand* (Gisborne: East Coast Historical Committee, 1949), p. 47. William Colenso, ‘On the Maori Races of New Zealand’, *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, (Wellington: J. Hughs, 1868), vol. I (3), p. 70, accepted that Rutherford was ‘in many respects a truthful witness’. S. Percy Smith arrived at the same conclusion, publishing his findings in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*; cited in McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, p. 70. See also W. L. Williams, ‘The Story of John Rutherford’, *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol. 23 (1890), pp. 458–61.

⁵⁸ Drummond, *The White Chief*, p. 171.

⁵⁹ Bagnall, *Bibliography*, vol 2, p. 356.

⁶⁰ M. Banton, *The Idea of Race* (London: Tavistock, 1987); cited in Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Porter, *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), p. 124.

⁶¹ S. R. Strachan, 'Thomas Morland Hocken, 1836–1910', *DNZB*, vol. II, p. 219.

⁶² Hamilton, 'Founding Histories', p. 77.

⁶³ Bagnall, *Bibliography*, vol. II, p. 568.

⁶⁴ T. M. Hocken, ed., 'A Biographical Sketch', in F. E. Maning, *Old New Zealand* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1922), pp. vii–xvi.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. x.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁶⁸ James Cowan, *The Adventures of Kimble Bent* (London: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1911), pp. 327–329.

⁶⁹ Hocken, in 'Biographical Sketch', pp. xiv–xv.

⁷⁰ T. M. Hocken, *The Early History of New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1914), p. 115.

⁷¹ See Nell Hartley, 'Four Hokianga Adventurers', in *Colonial Outcasts*, pp. 83–97. Simon Carr, *How We Began*, first published as *Old New Zealand by a Pakeha Maori*, 1863 (Auckland: Seascope Press, 1996); Norton Watson, 'Judge Maning and his Family', *Journal of the Waikato Historical Society*, 22 (April 1973), pp. 7–8.

⁷² Hocken, 'Biographical Sketch', p. xv.

⁷³ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 13.

⁷⁴ These writers are discussed later in this chapter.

⁷⁵ Arnold Shrimpton and Alan E. Mulgan, *Maori and Pakeha: A History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1922), p. 399.

⁷⁶ Nellie Coad, *From Tasman to Massey* (Wellington: H.H. Tombs, 1934), p. 31.

⁷⁷ John Bell Condliffe and Willis T. G. Airey, *A Short History of New Zealand* (Christchurch, NZ: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957), p. 50.

⁷⁸ Shrimpton and Mulgan, *Maori and Pakeha*, pp. 29, 67.

⁷⁹ Erik Olssen, 'Towards a New Society', and Peter Gibbons, 'The Climate of Opinion', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, second edition, edited by Geoffrey Rice, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 269–71, 308–09.

⁸⁰ Shrimpton and Mulgan, *Maori and Pakeha*, pp. 28–29.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 407–09.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 399.

⁸³ Bagnall, *Bibliography*, vol. 4, p. 279.

⁸⁴ See Barnet Burns, *A Brief Narrative of a New Zealand Chief* (Belfast: 1844); Charles Marshall, 'Forty Years in the Waikato', in J. H. H. St John, ed, *Pakeha Rambles Through Maori Lands* (Wellington: Robert Burrett, 1873), pp. 1-64.

⁸⁵ See also Nellie Coad's *A History of the Pacific* (Wellington: New Zealand Book Depot, 1926) and *Such is Life and Other New Zealand Stories* (London: Stockwell, 1931).

⁸⁶ Hamilton, 'Founding Histories', p. 25.

⁸⁷ Coad, *Tasman to Massey*, p. 31.

⁸⁸ Caroline Perrett, 'My Life Among The Maoris', *The Sun* (Auckland), 27 July 1929.

⁸⁹ The considerable literature on Indian captivity includes: Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Richard Van der Beets, *The Indian Captivity Narrative* (Lanham, Mass.: University Press of America, 1984); Alden T. Vaughn, *Narratives of North American Indian Captivity* (New York: Gordland, 1983); James Axtell, *The European and the Indian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Gary L. Ebersole, *Captured by Texts* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995); Michelle Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment* (Dartmouth College: University of New England Press, 1998).

⁹⁰ This idea is informed by Alex Calder, 'Postcoloniality and the Pacific,' in *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters 1769–1840*, edited by Alex Calder, Jonathan Lamb and Bridget Orr (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), p. 1 .

⁹¹ Drummond, *The White Chief*, p. 7.

⁹² The above sentences are informed by Gary L. Ebersole, *Captured by Texts*, pp. 6–8.

⁹³ James Cowan, *Tales of the Maori* (Wellington: Reed, 1982); *Hero Stories of New Zealand* (Wellington: H.H. Tombs, 1935).

⁹⁴ John Bell Condliffe, *A Short History of New Zealand* (Christchurch, NZ: L.M. Isitt, 1925). See also Condliffe's *Defunct Economists* (Christchurch, NZ: Pegasus, 1974); *The Commerce of Nations* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1951); *New Zealand* (London: 1918); *Te Rangi Hiroa, the Life of Sir Peter Buck* (Christchurch, NZ: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1971); *The Economic Outlook for New Zealand* (Christchurch, NZ: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1969).

⁹⁵ Bagnall, *Bibliography*, vol. 2, p. 279.

⁹⁶ Condliffe and Airey, *Short History*, p. 34.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ See David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 371.

⁹⁹ Condliffe and Airey, *Short History*, pp. 50, 59.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., Introduction, p. 5.

¹⁰² Stuart Murray, *Never a Soul at Home: New Zealand Literary Nationalism in the 1930s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998), pp. 13-15.

¹⁰³ Frances Porter, 'Guy Hardy Scholefield, 1877–1963', *DNZB*, vol. IV, pp. 459–61. Scholefield was a pioneer in the field of economic history, writing: *New Zealand in Evolution, Industrial, Economic and Political* (1909); *The Pacific: Its Past and Future and the Policy of the Great Powers from the Eighteenth Century* (1919); and the historical biography *Notable New Zealand Statesmen: Twelve Prime Ministers* (1946). Following the publication of his *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* in 1940 he edited the massive two-volume *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers* (1960).

¹⁰⁴ Hilliard, 'Island Stories', pp. 65, 67.

¹⁰⁵ Keith Sinclair and Wendy Harrax, *Looking Back: A Photographic History of New Zealand* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 231.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Guy H. Scholefield, ed., *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1 (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), vol. II, pp. 269.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, vol.1 p. 43.

¹⁰⁹ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 18.

¹¹⁰ Joseph McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast N.I. New Zealand*. See also *Joint Golden Jubilees: Borough of Gisborne, County of Cook 1877–1927* (Gisborne: Gisborne Publicity Co, 1927).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 63, 64, 69.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹¹³ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986); cited in Wetherell and Potter, *Mapping the Language of Racism*, p. 124.

¹¹⁴ Kelly Barclay, 'Rethinking Inclusion and Biculturalism: Towards a More Rational Practice of Democratic Justice', in *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations*, edited by James H. Liu, Tracey McIntosh, Teresa Teaiwa and Tim McCreanor, (Wellington: University of Victoria Press, 2005), 'Introduction,' p. 124.

¹¹⁵ Liu, McIntosh, Teaiwa and McCreanor 'Constructing New Zealand Identities', *New Zealand Identities*, p. 14.

¹¹⁶ See Maning, *Old New Zealand*, p. 5; L.M. Rogers, ed. *The Early Journals of Henry Williams 1826-1840* (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1961), p. 268; Sherrin, *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 113; Reeves, *Long White Cloud*, p. 90; Condliffe and Airey, *Short History*, p. 34.

Chapter Five

Manipulating Symbols: Representations of Pakeha-Maori in the Works of James Cowan

Pakeha-Maori are represented in the writings of James Cowan as colourful and important, authentic colonial types. Cowan had a fresh approach to Pakeha-Maori and did more than just take established narratives of New Zealand history and add colourful characters in cameo appearances. He reveals them through a variety of narrative forms: magazine and newspaper articles, short stories, biographies, and historical texts. Cowan was able to present Pakeha-Maori stories dramatically, for his journalism and publicity work had taught him how to dress up his various historical works according to genre.

This chapter commences with a biographical and bibliographical overview of Cowan, and introduces his perspectives on New Zealand history and race relations. It examines his representations of Pakeha-Maori as complex types, in two key biographies and numerous anthologies of frontier yarns, genre he used to help create a whole mythology about culture-crossing. The chapter then focuses on the way Cowan transformed Pakeha-Maori into colourful symbols of the past, and upon his use of oral testimony. It concludes by discussing Cowan's preoccupation with creating New Zealand frontier myths and the ways he employed Pakeha-Maori to promote a distinctive sense of New Zealand identity and history.

James Cowan (1870–1943) was born in New Zealand and spent his early life at Orakau near the frontier with the King Country known as the aukati line.¹ He became interested in the language, customs and traditions of Ngati Maniapoto, and spent much time among them and he later laid special emphasis on these experiences. Having passed the Civil Service examination in Maori at the age of eighteen, Cowan was offered a cadetship in the Native Department. Choosing instead to work as a journalist for the *Auckland Star* from 1888, and for the Tourist Department in Wellington after 1903, his speciality became Maori place names, customs and language. Work assignments allowed Cowan to pursue his passion for bush exploration and to research Pakeha, Maori, and Pakeha-Maori history.²

Like his contemporary, Lindsay Buick, whose works are referred to in the previous chapter, Cowan began writing as a journalist but became adept at presenting historical material. Like other British and Pakeha travellers and writers, he made much of his privileged knowledge of Maori and Pakeha-Maori. His favoured subjects were the geographical and racial frontiers of New Zealand in the nineteenth century.³ Cowan's writings on the New Zealand frontier did not have the effect of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis on American history, and in New Zealand individual historians did not pursue this theme until the modern era.⁴ Before his death at the age of 73, Cowan wrote hundreds of articles for newspapers and magazines and 43 books, the bestsellers being *The New Zealand Wars*, a two-volume work commissioned by the government (1922–1923), and *The Old Frontier* (1922).

Cowan's favourite subject matter was Pakeha-Maori, and he framed his accounts by focusing on a broad range of 'types' who had 'taken to the blanket'. Cowan recycled many of his Pakeha-Maori stories published originally in the *Auckland Star*, *Christchurch Times* and *Canterbury Times* in edited anthologies. His story 'The Traders' in *Tales of the Maori Coast* (1930), introduced readers to the trader Pakeha-Maori Captain Kent and John Cowell.⁵ *Tales of the Maori Bush* (1934) contained three Pakeha-Maori stories: 'The Wahoo Man', 'The Powder Maker', and 'Crusoe on Ponui'. Published posthumously, *Tales of the Maori Border* (1944), dealt with the New Zealand Wars, and Maori legends, and included two Pakeha-Maori tales: 'Kehu's White Man' and 'A Basket of Peaches'.⁶

Some of Cowan's ten Pakeha-Maori stories were first published in the *Auckland Star* before 1900 and in his collections of historical stories in 1930, 1934 and 1944. Several were republished by A.H. and A.W. Reed in 1982 as *Tales of the Maori*.⁷ Their titles were 'Kehu's White Man', 'The Head Hunters', 'Old Taumarunui', 'Maketu', 'The Tattooed Sailor from Limehouse', 'Maning and McClean', 'Old Maketu Days', 'Ransom', 'A Basket of Peaches', and 'Crusoe on Ponui'. Cowan also wrote two popular Pakeha-Maori biographies, *The Adventures of Kimble Bent* (1911) and *A Trader in Cannibal Land* (1935). The former described the life of an American military deserter who crossed cultures during the New Zealand Wars, while the latter followed the adventures of the Danish whaler and trader Hans Tapsell among the Arawa people at Maketu before the annexation and organised colonisation of New Zealand.⁸

Generally beginning with biographical information on the protagonist, Cowan's Pakeha-Maori stories then proceed to examine the causes or processes of culture-crossing. 'The Powder Maker' and 'The Wahoo Man' are the stories of adventurous individuals. Groups of Pakeha-Maori from similar backgrounds appear in 'The Tattooed Sailor from Limehouse' and *Kimble Bent* (fugitives); 'Old Maketu Days', 'The Miracle' and *A Trader in Cannibal Land* (traders); 'The Head Hunters' (fighting men); and 'Old Taumarunui' and 'The Shingle Splitter' (former military men turned Pakeha-Maori). Cowan writes with liveliness and humour and his yarning is an engaging narrative form. Each of Cowan's Pakeha-Maori tales stands alone, with no attempt to integrate insights between cases or to combine the author's knowledge to reap the benefits of comparative studies. The stories vary considerably in length and are often biographical. They are narratives written around patterns of cultural conformity and disruption and are about the fissures that opened up when men and women crossed cultures in nineteenth-century New Zealand. Cowan brings Pakeha-Maori to life, creating a series of stories and engaging mini-biographies that provide relatively full accounts of their lives.

According to A. H. Abrams,

many literary texts: ' . . . consist of a diversity of dissonant voices, and these voices express not only the orthodox, but also the subordinated and subversive forces of the era in which the text was produced. Furthermore, what may seem to be the artistic resolution of a literary plot, yielding pleasure to the reader, is in fact deceptive, for it is

an effect that serves to cover over the unresolved conflicts of power, class, gender, and diverse social groups that make up the real tensions that underlie the surface meanings of a literary text.’⁹

A writer who empathised with Maori and Pakeha, Cowan had personal motives for writing that did not conform to the usual cultural and economic forces that came to bear on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers textualising Pakeha-Maori. Cowan’s stories often reflect idealisations and perceptions of his own early cross-cultural experiences and his subsequent views on Maori-Pakeha relations and New Zealand history. Cowan was ambiguous in his representations of Pakeha-Maori and it is important to view these images in conjunction with his relationships with Maori and Pakeha-Maori, and the beliefs of other Pakeha writers of the period. Cowan’s writings on Pakeha-Maori are works of syncretism, incorporating and including the differing voices of the Pakeha, Maori, and Pakeha-Maori who informed his work and his own self-fashionings as a bicultural New Zealander.¹⁰

While Cowan’s representations of Pakeha-Maori arose from his romanticisation of Maori and Pakeha-Maori, as well as the needs of his audience, his entanglement was also born out of personal encounters, which led to a sense of loyalty to his informants. Contact between Cowan and Pakeha-Maori had been mutually beneficial. Like many nineteenth-century travellers and observers, Cowan had been reliant on Pakeha-Maori for accommodation and information during his researches and travels and, like his hosts, Cowan’s perceptions were significantly transformed by these contacts and his need to negotiate the boundaries of cultural difference.

Offering representations of Pakeha-Maori from an ‘insider’s’ perspective, Cowan, like earlier culture-crossers, had been obliged to assume an ambivalent identity, temporarily shifting in and out of cultural personae during his sojourns among Maori, and he was trusted sufficiently for Pakeha-Maori to relate their stories to him.¹¹ What is common in Cowan’s Pakeha-Maori stories is what Pearson calls ‘a tone of belonging’.¹² Ongoing marae encounters are fundamental to any understanding of Cowan’s efforts to textualise Pakeha-Maori. His marae encounters with Ngati Maniapoto enforced a link between identity and the land. For Cowan, who had no access to traditional lands, the marae formed an important tangible link with his sense of identity. Orakau, the scene of a bloody defeat of Maori by British troops, may have

also been a sign of guilt felt by Cowan as for him it became especially valued as a *turangawaewae*, a place to stand, or a place which complemented his personal identity and led to a greater sense of purpose and continuity.¹³ In the prefaces to his texts, Cowan frequently claimed his spiritual and emotional links to Maori. He wrote in the preface to *Settlers and Pioneers* in 1940: 'for the Ngati-Maniapoto and Waikato and their kindred are as much my own folk from my earliest years as any of my pakeha blood'.¹⁴

Cowan's first wife was Niuean and his second wife was Maori, but he never claimed any special position or affinity with Maori based on kinship ties. Yet cross-cultural marriage was an essential ingredient in Cowan's definition of Pakeha-Maori. He said of Ben Biddle of Ngati Awa in *Hero Stories*: 'He was a true type of the *pakeha-Maori*. His wife was a native of Whakatane, and she sometimes accompanied him on the war-path.'¹⁵ Of the scout Tom Adamson in the same text he wrote: 'He was Major Kepa's *pakeha-Maori*; he had married into the tribe.'¹⁶ Cowan's biographies were designed to serve a contemporary function, to reassure European New Zealanders that cross-cultural marriage was part of the tradition of their past, and therefore (by implication) part of their future.

Cowan, like Thomson, viewed Pakeha-Maori as harbingers of assimilation. Cowan's historical stories were published at a time when the commonly held belief was that Maori would cease to exist as a separate race. Because of his own belief in the one people 'myth', Cowan cast Pakeha-Maori as anachronisms. Yet, like Thomson, his examples often live in idyllic settings, surrounded by attractive mixed-race children. In 'Kehu's White Man', Cowan observed:

The pakeha-Maori was the one white inhabitant; he had lived there since the middle Seventies with his Maori wife. He had been a soldier, and fought in the wars. Now he had taken to the blanket, and was content with his dozen or so pretty half-caste children around him. A happy valley, too, this green basin Taumarunui. The crystal rivers that met here made murmurous music all day and all night long, and added to that music was the song of many birds.¹⁷

Cowan generally approved of past culture-crossing Europeans and his representations frequently manifest the myth of union between the races and the ordeals of

assimilation and freedom. In 'Crusoe on Ponui', a young sailor who is offered a Maori wife by a Ngati Paoa chief responds: '“Yes, I shall take her, she shall be my wife and Ngati Paoa shall be my people.”.... Thus was Crusoe launched into the full freedom and citizenship of Maori Land, a Pakeha-Maori for life.'¹⁸

Cowan often wished that Pakeha could be more like Maori, so Pakeha-Maori were a model for harmonious race relations. The 'Aryan Maori' ideal (the belief that Maori and Europeans shared common Aryan ancestors) deemed Maori worthy of amalgamation instead of extinction.¹⁹ Like his fellow Maori enthusiasts Edward Tregear and S. Percy Smith, Cowan was a committed adherent to the 'Aryan Maori' school of thought, though he never used this term in his writing. While not an associate of these writers, he echoed Tregear with the words: 'The European need no longer hesitate to claim the Maori as his long severed kinsman.'²⁰ Cowan wrote this in *Maoris of New Zealand* (1910), but in *New Zealand's First Century* (1939) he implied that the kin relationship between Maori and Pakeha was being developed by the 'process of blending'.²¹

The New Zealand Wars, Cowan's largest work, was a commissioned text and his most serious creation. Concerned with imparting information on every major battle and minor skirmish, he does not romanticise or exoticise Pakeha-Maori as in earlier and subsequent texts.²² In *The New Zealand Wars*, Cowan redrew the boundaries between Maori and Pakeha (that had been blurred by romanticism in his stories) to suit his view of the war as a contest of cultures culminating in mutual respect. British and colonial soldiers like Coburn, Murphy, and Hennessy who deserted to live in Maori communities were omitted from this history, though textualised in subsequent stories. While Tom Adamson, the colonial scout, and Kimble Bent, the American military deserter, are referred to as Pakeha-Maori, Adamson is more often described as a 'white bushman', 'noted bushman', and 'scout', and Bent is represented as a reliable European inside eyewitness to events in the Hauhau camp.²³

For Cowan, the end of the New Zealand Wars was paradoxically a fresh beginning for Pakeha and Maori. Insistent that the conflict had created something new in history, he wrote in the conclusion to *The New Zealand Wars*: 'The wars ended with a strong mutual respect, tinged with a real affection, which would never have existed

but for this ordeal by battle.’²⁴ Cowan’s agenda of racial harmony also saw him quote the New Zealand Wars veterans Gilbert Mair, Thomas Porter, and G. A. Preece repeatedly.²⁵ Fluent in Maori and with permanent or temporary Maori wives, these men retained their involvement with Maori as resident Native Land Court judges, magistrates and/or tourist guides. As Chris Hilliard has pointed out: ‘It would be too much to say that they *lived* Cowan’s myth, but their lives and their interests certainly made it an ideal.’²⁶

Hilliard has called Cowan’s vision of New Zealand a tragicomedy, citing Cowan’s claim that, ‘through the strife of war Maori and Pakeha came to respect each other and in partnership save each other from racial degeneration’.²⁷ Cowan wrote when the Maori population had dropped to about 45,000 and represented only 5.6% of the total populace.²⁸ Cowan’s belief in the one people myth required the disappearance or at least the assimilation of Maori, yet Maori communities continued to exist. Maori women were still categorised as living either a Maori or Pakeha lifestyle in the 1901 census.²⁹ In 1900 the bulk of the Maori population lived in scattered rural communities that were largely Maori in composition. Fear of such communities saw independent Maori settlements at Parihaka (1881) and Maungapohatu (1916) invaded by armed constabulary and militia and their inhabitants dispersed. Maori communities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also continued to practise traditional customs that Europeans found distasteful. Michael King said of this period:

Discussion at hui continued to be held almost exclusively in Maori, to be structured according to the conventions of *whaikorero*, and to centre on the continuous preoccupation with *whenuatanga*, *rangatiratanga*, *whakapapa*, *mana* and *mana motuhake*. Such discussions were surrounded and protected by *marae* ceremonial conducted according to the *kawa* of the *tangata whenua*. Whatever demographic and cosmetic changes the Maori people underwent in the first half of the twentieth century, they cloaked persistent commitment to traditional beliefs and practices, especially in the vicinity of *turangawaewae* or established *marae*.³⁰

The strength of Cowan’s writing suggests an attempt to utilise European forms in an attempt to create or imagine a Pakeha-Maori form of consciousness. The inclusive experiences and changing perceptions of his Pakeha-Maori characters assert the importance of his vision for New Zealand’s future. His Pakeha-Maori are bilingual and bicultural men. Their knowledge of Maori lore, their ‘Maori’ values, kinsfolk and

‘pretty half-caste children’ have a unifying effect, legitimising them as harbingers of assimilation. Cowan’s Pakeha-Maori, like Cowan himself, were adaptable, syncretic identities attuned to this imagined new New Zealand society.

Cowan’s diverse Pakeha-Maori types, white slaves, renegades, heroic military scouts, fugitives, and traders, suggest that he was conscious of just how complex Pakeha-Maori really were. At the time Cowan wrote, there was still only a relatively small amount of literature available on Pakeha-Maori. McNab and Buick had each identified several new Pakeha-Maori by name, but Cowan identified and publicised more than a dozen previously unknown to New Zealand readers, giving colour and texture to their hitherto obscure lives. It was Cowan, moreover, who challenged the popular fiction that Pakeha-Maori vanished with annexation, providing the imagery and story of Pakeha-Maori new directions and impetus. His researches and writings greatly increased the amount of knowledge about them and transformed the contradictory images of civilised and savage Pakeha-Maori into coherent narratives that represented them sympathetically.

Also at the time Cowan wrote, Pakeha-Maori had been mainly textualised by historians like Reeves, McNab, and Buick, who had never interacted with them. Investigations of Pakeha-Maori remained essentially studies of what writers had imagined happened to them, not necessarily what actually took place. Rusden, Moss, Bourke, Sherrin, and Reeves had confined Pakeha-Maori to the pre-annexation past, representing them mainly as culture-crossing entrepreneurs who entered Maori communities for economic reasons while retaining most of their European values, a construct that had what the art historian Leonard Bell has termed fundamental ideological correlatives.³¹ These representations were part of a network of evaluations and definitions that served to legitimise European economic and political power in New Zealand. As characters capable of reassimilation and redemption, their examples, Maning, Tapsell, and Barrett, were idealised figures. Cowan’s Pakeha-Maori tales are told with much more robustness, and while romanticising and exoticising Pakeha-Maori, he does not pretend that miscegenation, slavery, ritual cannibalism, and headhunting were not part of their world.

Striving to develop a New Zealand literary tradition before and after 1900, the compilers Carrick, McNab, and Hocken had also collected and published historical material on Pakeha-Maori that perpetuated the maintenance of determinable boundaries between the cultures. While the published histories of Reeves, McNab, Buick, and Scholefield represented Pakeha-Maori as colourful, culture-crossing characters, they too continued to cast these complex bicultural men as European settlers, explorers, and traders in their narratives. The constructions of Pakeha-Maori by these writers point to the enduring power of the colonising imagination to render Pakeha-Maori 'safe'.

Cowan's writings explored the three principal reasons why some Europeans 'went native': men who were on the run because of 'a disagreement with the law'; 'white men who ran from the British colours during the New Zealand Wars'; and 'the time-expired soldiers and sailors who had "taken to the blanket"'.³² However, in the 'Last of the Scouts', a romanticised story in *Hero Stories of New Zealand* (1935), Cowan identifies a fourth group: 'those old *pakeha-Maori* bushmen scouts. Like the vanishing birds, their life was bound up with wild forest life.'³³ They included the Adamson brothers, and Ben Biddle, whom Cowan described as 'as clear-cut a character as any Leatherstocking or Quartermain of fiction'.³⁴ Like Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, these men turned homicidal when their lifeways were threatened. Cowan's researches revealed the stories of many individual Pakeha-Maori and types of Pakeha-Maori with which New Zealand readers were not previously familiar. In contrast to the writings of McNab and Buick, Cowan's is a much more accurate picture of culture-crossing Europeans, though his representations reflected his own preoccupations.

The cultural, racial, and moral patterns and norms established by colonialism, Cowan's own experiences and views, and the needs of his readers, had interrelated implications for the way in which Cowan defined Pakeha-Maori. Pakeha-Maori is an extremely complex, multifaceted label, but in *Settlers and Pioneers* (1940) Cowan found it useful to distinguish two distinct types: 'There were two grades of pakeha-Maori, the white men who took naturally to the blanket and the *kainga* life, and the better-class squatter or trader who, although marrying into the tribe, did not abandon his civilised pakeha habits but instead tried to educate his *hoa wahine* in the elements

of European culture.’³⁵ There is a dichotomy between Cowan’s encounters with, and textualisations of, ‘natural’ Pakeha-Maori like Kimble Bent, and ‘more respectable’ pre-annexation Pakeha-Maori like Hans Tapsell. Bent, a taurekareka Pakeha, and Tapsell, a trader Pakeha-Maori, became the personification of Cowan’s ‘two grades of pakeha-Maori’.

Didactic narratives in which white culture-crossers serve as devices, Cowan’s stories embodied the idealised qualities of Pakeha-Maori life, a technique that enhanced their intrinsic appeal to readers. He invested his Pakeha-Maori, as he did Maori, with a mystique that is not present when he writes about wholly Pakeha characters.³⁶ Furthermore, Cowan’s representations afforded Pakeha-Maori some durable publicity. His stories were relayed within a linguistic style that claimed to know the ‘truth’ about them. As a professional storyteller, Cowan attempted a systematic representation which implied an absolute knowledge of Pakeha-Maori despite the fact that this could never be so. Essentially, Cowan sat on a narrative fence with one eye firmly on his audience and the other fixed on his Pakeha-Maori informants. To move too far beyond what was known by his audience of textualised images of Pakeha-Maori threatened to take his stories into the ‘unknown’ and potentially ‘incoherent’ side of that fence occupied by real-life Pakeha-Maori. David Berry has asserted:

In some ways, the story-teller has a vested personal interest in avoiding telling their story from the perspective of other. Who, after all, would listen to a story-teller who tells incoherent stories . . . Stories are rarely constructed upon local categories and meanings but are often built upon the categories habitually internalised within the ‘foreign’ mediator. At best, the story that is eventually told to an audience becomes a kind of hybrid semblance of the original act – a paradoxical double discourse of mediated fact/fiction.³⁷

There are many signs of rationality, respectability, domesticity, and Christianity in the lives of Cowan’s Pakeha-Maori. There are several runaway sailors and military deserters in conflict with European authorities, but licentious and alcoholic Pakeha-Maori have no place in his texts. Cowan’s Pakeha-Maori are mainly farmers, bushmen, and former soldiers and frontier scouts. Rather than alienate his audience with images of degenerate Pakeha-Maori, his examples also allowed the close emotional identification or involvement of his readers with his characters.

Before Cowan's writings, representations of Pakeha-Maori were founded in textual constructions based largely on Thomson's and Maning's images, rather than the observed actualities of Pakeha-Maori existence. During the final decades of the nineteenth century, images of Pakeha-Maori as white savages appeared in some general New Zealand histories.³⁸ These contradictory images coexisted quite happily in the minds of European writers and readers. Cowan's 'better class squatter or trader' perpetuated the colonial conventions of class, but his reassessment of 'naturalised' Pakeha-Maori was significant in allowing their representation in historical discourse.

The manner in which Cowan represented Pakeha-Maori was geared to the purpose and function of the vision he was producing and the genre he was writing. Accounts of their adventurous, violent, or romantic lives commanded a ready audience among New Zealand readers and were part of a package in which Pakeha-Maori were the raw material that was manipulated.³⁹ The popularity of Cowan's books also reveals more about the historical responses of readers to representations of Pakeha-Maori as colourful anachronisms.

While Cowan's Pakeha-Maori stories were written and shaped by larger cultural concerns, marketability was also an important motive. In early twentieth-century New Zealand, when it was difficult for a person to make a living as a writer, Cowan was unusual. He was able to maintain his family, though barely, by portraying indigenous subject matter that included Pakeha-Maori because they readily fitted the conventions of romance and high adventure. For novelty, little could match the story of Kimble Bent who lived as a slave, cartridge maker and tohunga among the Hauhaus, or the tale of Hans Tapsell, a former whaler and privateer, who after his death was interred at Maketu with his sword, spyglass and flintlock pistols.

Cowan's two major Pakeha-Maori biographies were similar but contrasting works. Two thousand copies of *The Adventures of Kimble Bent* were printed in 1911, depicting the life of an American adventurer who deserted the British 57th Regiment to live as a naturalised or 'savage' Pakeha-Maori. The text is an intimate portrait of how a culture-crossing European was shaped by circumstance and his life among Maori. Bent had deserted to Titokowaru's 'rebel' forces in Taranaki and lived 'behind the lines' for thirteen years from 1865. He enjoyed the protection of the prophets Te

Ua Hamene, Titokowaru, and Tawhiao and served his tribe loyally before eventually emerging from hiding in 1878.⁴⁰

Kimble Bent is an unusual text. In their reminiscences, the Pakeha-Maori George Bruce, John Rutherford, Jacky Marmon, and Barnet Burns claimed the status of indigenous chiefs (rangatira-Pakeha). Frederick Maning, Hans Tapsell, and Charles Marshall also claimed the status of European men of importance (Pakeha-rangatira).⁴¹ However, they all represent themselves as active and assertive in their interactions with Maori. Kimble Bent, however, is passive and subservient, revealing new ways in which culture-crossing Europeans can perceive, act and feel, revisiting prevailing images of Pakeha-Maori. Cowan's *Kimble Bent* is an alternative way of looking at Pakeha-Maori, balancing the recurrent image of the assertive or dominant trader Pakeha-Maori against one of a culture-crossing Pakeha-Maori subject to forces beyond his control.

In *Kimble Bent*, Cowan creates an antihero, a man without power or heroism who enters a new world stripped of familiar values, certainties and meanings. Like his deserter contemporaries Charles Kane and Humphrey Murphy, who Cowan also describes in the text, Bent is a fugitive and a misfit.⁴² Enslaved by Maori, these men reversed the popular stereotype of culture-crossing Europeans who became white chiefs by virtue of their race. Bent complained that his tribe Ngati Ruanui 'made me work like a blessed dog... felling bush, clearing and digging, gathering firewood, and hauling water for the camp'.⁴³ Cowan said of these military deserters:

They did not take a chief's status as some of them probably expected. They shared the communal life of the tribe that adopted them, none of them went hungry or lacked shelter. They were supplied with wives by the chief of the tribe or hapu . . . but usually their position was no better than that of a taurekareka (slave) or ponanga (servant) or herehere (prisoner).⁴⁴

Kimble Bent takes the reader through an interstitial zone of contact and into the world of Maori myths, lore, social rituals and sacred ceremonies. The supernatural and the mysterious rites of the Hauhau rebels are persistent subjects. Soon after his enslavement, Bent began the process of being socialised into his tribe. He gradually acquired the ability to share the values, beliefs and standards of Maori culture. Cowan

permitted Bent to describe distinctive Pakeha-Maori modes of experience and subjectivity in thinking, feeling, valuing and perceiving himself in the Maori world. Cowan wrote in 1911: 'When he [Kimble Bent] writes to me, he usually writes in Maori, and he is practically a Maori himself, for he has lived the greater part of his life as a Maori, and he has assimilated the peculiar modes of thought and some of the ancient beliefs of the natives, as well as their tongue and customs.'⁴⁵

Kimble Bent offered readers a different understanding of Maori culture and values through the Pakeha-Maori psychological viewpoints portrayed by Cowan. The final step in Bent's transition from European to Maori was to acquire the ability to dream as a Maori. He informed Cowan that, after many years among Maori, 'he became a dreamer of many a strange dream, and he came to believe almost implicitly as the forest-men themselves in the omens that lay in the visions of the night and in warning voices from the spirit world'.⁴⁶ Rather than following the more conventional pathways of his historical stories, this work enabled Cowan to represent his notions of Maori values, concepts and views together with a distinctive Pakeha-Maori way of thinking, behaving and regarding the world.

In *Kimble Bent*, Cowan allows his readers to cross sympathetically a literary border of racial and cultural difference. His detailed presentation of Bent's life within the kainga articulated for Pakeha-Maori a subjectivity that general histories had up to that point denied them. The text offers a response to, and the revision of, general historical reconstructions of Pakeha-Maori. It offered an alternative perspective, simultaneously challenging and supplementing the dominant discourse on Pakeha-Maori in New Zealand to that time. It captured interactions and adaptations at the grass roots of late nineteenth-century Pakeha-Maori existence. In this biography, Cowan came close to breaking the conventions of his own semi-fictional profiles and producing a work of considerable honesty and stature.

A Trader in Cannibal Land: The Life and Adventures of Captain Tapsell was a more conventional narrative; an example of the frontier adventure genre that perpetuated popular nineteenth-century images of daring traders who entered indigenous communities for material gain but remained essentially European in behaviour, outlook and attitude.⁴⁷ Like Maning and Barrett, Tapsell established kinship ties with

Maori by marrying into his adoptive tribe and exchanging their products for the European commodities they required. It is a tale of action and adventure that allowed Cowan to present a range of historical information about Tapsell as well as ethnological information about Maori. He wrote in the preface: 'This memoir of a boldly dramatic figure in New Zealand's history is an authentic Odyssey of sea-roving and shore-trading adventure'.⁴⁸

The incidents in the book take place in pre-annexation New Zealand and describe Tapsell's important role in the development of the Bay of Plenty flax trade. *A Trader in Cannibal Land* is as dramatic a tale as *Kimble Bent*. Tapsell is the successful Pakeha-Maori trader, a great-hearted hero. The villains are the enemies of Arawa, Tapsell's adopted tribe. There is much violent action and many dangerous escapades, all plausible but focusing on the more sensational events in his long life among Maori. Nevertheless, Tapsell is not always a hero of impregnable virtue. By refusing to load his battery of cannon at Maketu Pa in return for a guarantee of safety, his tribe was easily overrun and almost annihilated by the enemy.⁴⁹ Two of Tapsell's Maori wives abandoned him and he became impoverished in later life. Generally, however, Cowan portrays Tapsell as a pleasingly exotic character from New Zealand's early past, unashamedly aiming for the sympathetic identification of his readers with his protagonist.

The books on Bent and Tapsell highlight and caricature European qualities that Cowan considered admirable or valued most according to his own mores: rationality, adaptability, and courage. Kimble Bent kept a diary in captivity and refused to participate in the fanatic rituals of Hauhauism or take up arms against former countrymen.⁵⁰ Tapsell guided and protected early missionaries and visitors to Maketu, ransomed many Maori and Pakeha slaves, and had his first and third marriages to Maori women solemnised by Thomas Kendall and Bishop Pompallier respectively.⁵¹

Cowan represented Kimble Bent as part of another society, a non-conformist and outcast. Tapsell, by contrast, is portrayed as distinctly European, a courageous protagonist, alone in a world of Maori. He engages in a quest for material wealth that proves infinitely elusive. In *Kimble Bent*, Cowan manages to accurately convey a Western fantasy, the impulse to escape society and confront life on entirely different

terms. Nineteenth-century narratives by Pakeha-Maori typically included transforming experiences, and their reassimilation into European society was envisaged, desired, and generally accomplished. Neither Bent nor Tapsell, however, returned to the world of the white settlers and they lived out their lives among their Maori kinsfolk.

In *Kimble Bent*, Cowan presents a European who abandoned the acquisitive and individualistic world of Europe to become the perfect primitive man. Bent learns to live in harmony with his natural surroundings; a lifestyle that seemed to epitomise pre-industrial Arcadian purity: 'Planting season came round again; then we whiled away the time in Maori fashion – hunting wild pigs, snaring and shooting birds, catching eels and getting honey – until the crops were harvested.'⁵² The charm of this book lies in its many such observations of Maori life, reflecting both Cowan's perspectives and the likely cultural preconceptions of his Pakeha readers.

Cowan, then, lauded and stereotyped culture-crossing Europeans who supposedly sought the spontaneous and instinctual life of Maori. Cowan had a high regard for simple modes of life and for 'the last of the old type of better Maori', a view which represented pre-European Maori as more noble and dignified than their post-contact counterparts.⁵³ He renders all his Pakeha-Maori as living a radically simplified social life with Maori, close to the soil in a carefree place in the recent past. These images quite possibly reflect Cowan's longing to escape the complexities and pressures of earning a living as a writer by retreating into the simplicities of a lost youth spent among Maori at Orakau.

Pakeha-Maori were inevitably caught up in the European preoccupation with the passing of the Maori world, and Cowan's views on Pakeha-Maori were influenced by his belief that the frontier (Maning's *Old New Zealand*, with its small-scale mixed communities, unwritten laws, and absence of European notions of race, class and sect), was passing into history. Buick, Shrimpton, and Condliffe particularly, had after 1900 articulated the popular view that Maori and Pakeha-Maori were best confined to the past. The public response to their published histories certainly suggests the strength of this orientation among Europeans. In the preface to *Tales of the Maori*, Cowan wrote that '[t]he life that is passing like a breath of bush smoke' was the theme for most of his narratives.⁵⁴ Cowan's Pakeha-Maori lived and thrived beyond

annexation and up to the end of the New Zealand Wars, after which they were represented as colourful remnants of a bygone era, recalled in memory only.

Cowan believed that, in the aftermath of war, Maori and Pakeha-Maori were being overwhelmed by the advance of European culture and material power.⁵⁵ Consequently, his Pakeha-Maori stories employed romantic nostalgia to create a sense of remoteness and distance which fitted the standard European view of Pakeha-Maori as belonging to the past. In 'Kehu's White Man', the tale of an agricultural worker who joined Maori to escape the law, Cowan lamented: 'All that life has vanished with old Taumarunui. Joy and sorrow, the laughing and singing, the tragedy, the weeping, all, all have passed. This [story] is but a shadow, a memory; all has faded into the past.'⁵⁶

The culture-crossing characters in Cowan's texts generally dwell within the kainga, far from Pakeha settlements. This spatial dichotomy banishes Pakeha-Maori to a geographical zone threatened with extinction. They inhabit a rapidly changing world open to reconnaissance by travellers and reporters like Cowan who sought to capture them in text. With their gauze of romanticism, Cowan's images served to place Pakeha-Maori considerations into a never-never land, safely beyond the preoccupations of early twentieth-century Pakeha New Zealanders.⁵⁷ Pakeha-Maori were frequently portrayed as on the verge of extinction.⁵⁸ Although Cowan interviewed James Coburn and Alexander Bell of Ngati Maniapoto after 1900, corresponded with Kimble Bent of Ngati Ruanui to 1911, and interviewed Ben Biddle of Ngati Awa in 1921, his writing transformed them into past symbols of New Zealand's national heritage whose legacy was to be preserved in literature only.

Cowan was bilingual and was unusual in drawing upon the oral testimonies of Pakeha, Maori, and Pakeha-Maori for his writing. Like Buick and local historians, he valued oral sources at a time when the writers of general New Zealand histories did not. He was in a unique position to write vivid narratives on Pakeha-Maori because some of his informants had actually lived through the experiences and adventures he describes. His tales constitute an important record of these men and their lives.⁵⁹

Believing that personal memory rather than official documents gave the ‘real meat of history’, Cowan wrote in 1937: ‘My best authorities are – or were, “human documents”, not other people’s books.’⁶⁰ Often rejecting Pakeha written records in preference to Maori oral accounts, he declared that Maori oral testimony was more accurate than European accounts.⁶¹ Cowan, unlike Maning, never considered himself Pakeha-Maori, but he too was of Irish descent, had lived among Maori and Pakeha-Maori, and been exposed to their rich oral literary tradition. Irish legends and folk tales and the genre of korero (narratives), with its core of metaphor and images, helped colour and enrich the storytelling of both writers.⁶²

Thus, Cowan relied heavily on oral history, and he shaped this material to fit his views on the past, but his biographical accounts of Bent and Tapsell were also grounded in primary research. However, while these Pakeha-Maori were composite ‘images’ made up from a number of sources, books, manuscripts, and newspapers as well as interviews, Cowan’s documentary research was not exhaustive but ad hoc. In his preface to *A Trader in Cannibal Land*, Cowan stated: ‘My notes of the whaler-trader’s career were begun in 1902 when some of the old trader’s contemporaries were still living.’⁶³ The principal part of the narrative came from a manuscript which Tapsell’s grandson sent to Cowan in 1920. Tapsell had dictated this manuscript to Mr E. Little, a clerk of the Magistrates’ Court at Maketu. Portions of this manuscript had been published in the *Auckland Star* in 1874.⁶⁴ Cowan also received material dictated by Tapsell to a magistrate, F. E. Hamlin, in 1873, and obtained further information from Gilbert Mair who visited Tapsell during the 1860s.⁶⁵

Though the *Adventures of Kimble Bent* reads like a work of fiction, Cowan’s work was in fact based on extended interviews and correspondence (in Maori) with this Pakeha-Maori. Cowan checked these narratives with Pakeha, Maori, and Pakeha-Maori eyewitnesses.⁶⁶ Traditions of Polynesian theatre sat easily with many Pakeha-Maori, who were notoriously prone to exaggeration. Bent and Tapsell were both avid storytellers. Bent, one journalist reported, was ‘always willing to talk over the thrilling adventures of his earlier years’.⁶⁷ Bent freely embroidered his life story and was credited by Cowan with half-membership of a mysterious Indian tribe called the Musqua that never existed. Bent denied shooting at the British and colonial troops who pursued him, while according to T. W. Gudgeon, an officer in the colonial forces,

Maori eyewitnesses reported that he had taken an active role in the fighting in Taranaki.⁶⁸

Often representing his Pakeha-Maori as worldly-wise characters who tell him the story he relates to his readers, Cowan does not assume the role of an intrusive narrator. Nevertheless, he often speaks as 'I' in the introduction to his stories, employing the common literary device of an omniscient narrator or spokesman which permitted his own personality to permeate his stories. Frequently talking to his readers, Cowan invites them to be witnesses to his tales. His tone is approving rather than critical of culture-crossing Europeans, and his masculine stories are aimed at a male readership whom he assumes will share his views, interests and values.

Interestingly, Cowan acknowledges the contributions of his Pakeha-Maori informants, and his range of informants was indeed considerable. Nevertheless, while he attempts to quote Bent and Tapsell verbatim as a historian would a document, he excludes extraneous detail and changes their grammar and style to suit. He bridges these chunks of first-hand testimony with paragraphs of his own, elaborating on points of interest for the reader in the process.⁶⁹

Like previous writers concerned with Pakeha-Maori, Cowan served as both a functionary of colonialism and a compiler of knowledge about characters that his readers found curious and strange.⁷⁰ By casting himself as a frontier traveller and explorer, Cowan staked out a privileged position whereby he could claim knowledge about Pakeha-Maori which he could then circulate in his texts in terms of discovering ethnologically exotic objects of curiosity. By focusing on Pakeha-Maori as objects, Cowan perpetuated the colonising discourses and the power of the earlier textualisations he sought to challenge.⁷¹ By drawing on Maori and Pakeha-Maori oral sources, however, Cowan allowed readers to consider fresh perspectives on Pakeha-Maori, a necessary step if the dominant culture was to change its attitude regarding its possession of the 'truth' about them. Cowan effectively translated Pakeha-Maori experience to Europeans, thus the unique knowledge and experiences of Kimble Bent and Hans Tapsell were transformed, commodified and disseminated to his New Zealand readers.

By fashioning himself as a recorder of a rapidly vanishing Pakeha-Maori past, Cowan gave his stories authenticity through placing himself among these men. Cowan's Pakeha-Maori stories shift readily between biographical information on his subjects and his own life experiences, with a mix of contemporary fact and fiction. Cowan was anxious to be part of frontier history himself and, as has been noted, he frequently employed the personal 'I' to achieve this incorporation. In the preface to *Hero Tales* he wrote: 'I have spent years in gathering the real story on the spot. Memories of old Ben Biddle and Donald Sutherland and Steve Adamson, two-gun men of their day, telling the tales of their bush scouting. Many days with old fighters of both races; such leaders as Porter and Roberts, Northcroft, Gilbert Mair, a talk with Te Kooti himself in 1889.'⁷²

Again, in his conclusion to the *New Zealand Wars*, Cowan managed to build himself into the story, retrospectively colouring the whole account with a description of the way he came under fire from 'rebel' Maori while accompanying a column of European troops during the 1898 Dog Tax incident at the Hokianga.⁷³ Of his use of yarning narrator figures in his texts, Hilliard noted: 'Cowan's methods as an oral historian carried over into his texts, many of which read like print analogues of the masculine yarns that flourished in frontier New Zealand.'⁷⁴ Technically, his prose narratives are what M. H. Abrams defines as 'fictional biography', writing that contains a truth value, as well as imaginative intention.⁷⁵ Cowan's yarning style and anecdotal histories eventually saw the Wellington City Library and the *Pen Gazette* classify his collections of historical short stories as 'fiction, much to the author's chagrin'.⁷⁶

The writings of James Cowan were unusual in their concern with turning early culture-crossing European settlers into 'pioneers' and 'frontiersmen'. His stories treated New Zealand history idealistically and as a process of creation, while sometimes obscuring the destruction that accompanied colonisation. Public interest in the Maori-Pakeha past continued in the decades after 1900 and Cowan represented and interpreted Pakeha-Maori for a new generation of readers who were interested in colourful frontier characters. Cowan saw the 'frontier' as having a major role in shaping settler character and society. He also envisioned a 'New Zealand literature which would draw upon indigenous subject matter, and have the same cumulative cultural effect as the

works of certain United States writers of the early national period'.⁷⁷ His literary models included James Fenimore Cooper, Henry Longfellow, Frances Parkman, Theodore Roosevelt, and Henry Cabot Lodge.⁷⁸

Thus, Cowan was the first New Zealand writer to identify a frontier and he was drawn to Pakeha-Maori through his interest in promoting the image of that frontier. Pakeha-Maori were ideal subjects, enabling the exploitation of the frontier themes of the exotic, the dramatic, courage and adaptability. He argued that, in the King Country, the 'last frontier' continued longer than in many other parts of New Zealand.⁷⁹ For Cowan, the King Country and areas bordering the aukati line encapsulated old New Zealand. Events and personalities from the locality were a rich source of stories in which he frequently resorted to comparisons with the American frontier.⁸⁰ In the foreword to *Settlers and Pioneers* (1940), for instance, he wrote: 'The West of America and the North-west of India are not the only places where frontier history has been made. In New Zealand's smaller landscape all the elements of an often thrilling fight by settler and Maori to hold the land were piled up in a far shorter period than in any American scene.'⁸¹

Consequently, the epistemological conventions of Cowan's narrative forms shaped the content of his Pakeha-Maori stories. With an eye to book sales, he wrote what were in effect 'New Zealand Westerns', creating in the process literary comparisons with and counterparts of that distinctive American genre the frontier tale. These New Zealand frontier narratives made his history accessible and entertaining to ordinary readers. Cowan's representations of individual Pakeha-Maori like Biddle and Adamson as 'two gun men' were clearly influenced by American frontier myths. Other models such as Hans Tapsell, Bill Naylor, and the Ngati Porou traders Tom Waller and Alex Campbell are colourful, romantic characters, cultural inventions which helped invest Cowan's images of New Zealand frontier types with richness and diversity: 'Explorers, scouts, bush fights, frontier settlers we have in multitude, men (and women too) who lived adventurous days and nights and suffered and endured. I have known many men who were well entitled as any hero of the West to the title of frontiersman, men who lived wild days on the border.'⁸²

James Cowan sought to promote a distinctive New Zealand history by writing about Pakeha-Maori, educating his readers in the 'facts' about them and his writings addressed an explicitly local readership. Lydia Weavers argues (albeit contentiously) that short stories are said to flourish in incompletely developed cultures: 'It seems to be the mode preferred by those writers who are not writing from within a fixed and stable colonial framework.'⁸³ Cowan's Pakeha-Maori writings contain what Weavers has described as 'problematic questions of separation, race, culture and identity which change in shape as emerging national literature can be more comfortably articulated in a genre which does not imply resolution'.⁸⁴

In Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, interest in the revival of folklore and local myth was often linked with a quest for a distinctive national culture and imagery.⁸⁵ Cowan was aware of this imperative and tried to make use of such an approach for New Zealand. In *Hero Stories*, Cowan wrote that '[p]atriotism flourishes best upon the soil of history'.⁸⁶ His stories were written to remind white New Zealanders of their past which could be used to inspire patriotism and national pride. Similar forces were at work in Reeves' and Hocken's representations of Maning, and Drummond's representations of Rutherford. These writers had come to think of themselves as New Zealanders and were anxious to provide fellow New Zealanders with a national heritage. It is interesting to note how their textualisations of Pakeha-Maori appeared soon after 1907 when the country became a Dominion.

While he did not write a general history of New Zealand, Cowan did focus on particular New Zealand phenomena. In his MA thesis 'Native and Natives' (1992), Paul Hamer asserts: 'By the 1890s New Zealand nationalism began to emerge with the majority of settlers by this time having been born in the colony rather than Britain. Growing national consciousness led to the popularisation of the indigenous as symbols of nationhood.' According to Chris Hilliard 'Cowan's texts fed into war-related nationalism with Cowan linking his explicitly "patriotic" histories to World War One, seeing in Maori and Pakeha self-sacrifice in this war a seal on the compact originating in the New Zealand Wars.'⁸⁷ Pakeha-Maori were utilised and romanticised by Cowan as 'unusual' symbols of the new-found identity, for he elevated them to the status of national icons, marking a departure reflecting the transition of settlers from displaced Britons to New Zealand 'natives'.⁸⁸

While James Cowan lauded the achievements of the pioneers, he believed that New Zealand could make its way as a nation by drawing on indigenous features such as its Pakeha-Maori for identity. However, like some writers before him, Cowan found it difficult to promote an alternative history of the nineteenth-century New Zealand past based on the interactions of Maori and Pakeha. While his Pakeha-Maori tales enjoyed a wide readership in New Zealand, Cowan's vision of an intertwined Maori-Pakeha past did not become part of national mythology until more recent times. Trained in British universities, contemporary writers of short general histories of New Zealand such as James Hight, Johannes Marais, Angus Harrop, and John Condliffe viewed New Zealand history in the context of British imperial expansionism. Their texts marginalised Pakeha-Maori, representing them as a brief pre-annexation sideshow while emphasising New Zealand history proper as starting with annexation and organised colonisation Hilliard has argued that between the World Wars, many of the most substantial academic works on New Zealand history began life as doctoral theses in English universities and that the development of the writing of history in New Zealand universities from 1920 to 1940 is largely a story of entrenchment of early twentieth-century English academic practices in this country. Hilliard believes that those writing in London lacked access to material produced in New Zealand 'other than the accounts of say, Maning, Swainson, Fox and J. Wakefield'.⁸⁹

By Cowan's time, and partly as a consequence of Maning's *Old New Zealand*, the term 'Pakeha-Maori' no longer had pejorative connotations. In Chapter Three I have noted how several writers adopted the pseudonym 'Pakeha-Maori' during the 1890s to authenticate their views. The early decades of the twentieth century were a particularly rich period of textualisations, with new material and assessments by Carrick, McNab, Shrimpton and Mulgan, Buick, and Condliffe and Airey.⁹⁰ Cowan's texts created a demand for, and catered to the interest of Pakeha New Zealanders in, culture-crossing white men. How might Cowan have read Maning's *Old New Zealand*? According to Alan Mulgan, in *Great Days in New Zealand Writing* (1962), Cowan admired Maning but believed that 'apart from his intimate knowledge of land tenure, history and related subjects, Maning dealt with superficialities'.⁹¹ Cowan himself, who obtained much information from Maning's close friend John Webster, challenged Maning's 'expert knowledge', writing: that Maning described 'very graphically the surface of old-time

Maori life, the obvious things, the excitements and humours and tragedies'. But because of Maning's contempt for Maori religion and mythology, he was, in Mulgan's words 'never admitted to the innermost confidences of the learned men of the race. In his later period he somewhat modified his attitude, but he missed unrivalled opportunities'.⁹²

This criticism may have originated in Cowan's need to compete with Maning's long-established reputation as New Zealand's foremost authority on Maori and Pakeha-Maori. Cowan's ambivalence towards Maning may also have originated in the need to compete for sales with Maning's *Old New Zealand* and its enduring images of Pakeha-Maori. When Whitcombe and Tombs published *Kimble Bent* in 1911 they also brought Maning back into print in 1912. In the historical story 'Maning and McClean', Cowan describes McClean as 'cool and level headed in dealing with the Kingite Maori' but was critical of Maning's judgement, stating: 'Had such a man as Judge Maning with his fiery temper been in the position of native minister, he quite possibly would have committed the colony to another war.'⁹³

Cowan's representations have a valuable place among writing about Pakeha-Maori. His is narrative history at its best, as he attempts the daunting task of telling, in general terms, what happened to Pakeha-Maori. In the process, he created a dynamic body of knowledge that firmly established Pakeha-Maori as identities founded in combined elements of New Zealand's two main ethnic groups. Cowan's historical stories will remain of interest to the particular whanau, hapu and iwi to which these characters belonged. His writings still have a crucial part to play in the identities of many Maori and Pakeha New Zealanders living today.

Modern British contributing writers stress the hybridisation of colonial language and cultures in which imperialist importations of language and culture are superimposed on indigenous traditions to produce a Eurocentric version of colonial history.⁹⁴ The writings of James Cowan did much to challenge the wide-ranging cultural identification of savage or naturalised Pakeha-Maori in textual images by many nineteenth-century writers as merely negative objects or Other. While his writings continued to perpetuate established myths about trader Pakeha-Maori as agents of civilisation, his attention to 'naturalised' Pakeha-Maori like Kimble Bent established

new patterns for representing them. Cowan's authorial magnanimity had the advantage of transforming notoriously difficult men into tame and predictable ones. His works on Kimble Bent and Hans Tapsell particularly helped mitigate the horror of culture-crossing, an act still totally incomprehensible to many Pakeha New Zealanders in the early twentieth century.

Collectively, these stories constituted an adjustment within the master narrative of the European colonisation and settlement of New Zealand in which Pakeha-Maori were subordinated by representing them in text as degenerate and confining them to the pre-annexation era. Cowan's writings foreshadow how a counter-narrative might be constructed, enabling many post-annexation Pakeha-Maori new and/or revised roles in New Zealand history. While Cowan 'controlled' these figures in various ways, he also helped move to the centre knowledge about a minority which had previously been marginalised in many earlier writings by Europeans. His own writings, then as now, destabilised and subverted the binary oppositions of Maori and Pakeha which were essential structural elements in post-annexation textualisations of New Zealand's past.

Talking of prose fiction, Timothy Brennan argues: 'Nations are imaginary constructs that depend for their existence on an apparatus of cultural fictions in which imaginative literature plays a decisive role.'⁹⁵ Cowan's writing focused on the intersection between the real and imagined Pakeha-Maori, and he wrote comprehensively and with authority on this topic while establishing and reiterating themes about culture-crossing. There is a dialectic at work here between the general picture of Pakeha-Maori at the end of the nineteenth century and the way they were seen by Cowan which opened up new perspectives. Through his reiterative writing he produced another narrative that did more than just repeat established narratives while adding Pakeha-Maori for drama and interest. Cowan's innovative and broader racial perspective impacted on his specific representations of Pakeha-Maori and changed his story of New Zealand as a result. He viewed Pakeha-Maori as a significant phase and important participants in New Zealand history.

¹ The King country was an autonomous Maori zone. According to Sinclair: 'For twenty years after their defeat in the Waikato, the Maori King and his followers lived in hostile isolation in the "King Country". Few Europeans dared cross the *aukati* (boundary). Several who did were killed.' Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, revised ed. (Auckland: Penguin, 1969), p. 147.

²Eugene Grayland, 'James Cowan', in *More Famous New Zealanders* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1972), p. 104-106.

³ Chris Hilliard, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', in *NZJH*. 31, 2 (October 1997), p. 219.

⁴ See James Cowan, *Tales of the Maori Bush*, edited by Alex Calder, pp. 8-11. June Namias notes how Ortiz (1988) reflects Frederick Jackson Turner's notion of the moving frontier as ethnocentric: 'Not a single frontier line, white on one side and lacking any discernible colour at all on the other, but groupings of frontier zones in which white and red met and mingled.' See June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), p. 12. New Zealand never had a frontier as depicted by Turner. Americans could move on to successive frontier zones over 300 years but the New Zealand frontier zones were short-lived. Initially confined to coastal settlements founded on revictualling, sealing, whaling, timber and flax, after the New Zealand Wars these zones shifted to inland areas bordering Maori districts like the Urewera and the King Country. For more recent studies of the New Zealand frontier see for example, Duncan Mackay, 'The Orderly Frontier: The World of the Kauri Bushmen', *NZJH*, vol.25. 2, 1971, pp147-158; Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male-A History*, revised ed. (Auckland: Penguin, 1996); Ivan Kerbel, 'Notorious: A History of Kororareka and the New Zealand Frontier, c. 1800-1850' (M Litt in History, University of Auckland, 1994).

⁵ James Cowan, *Tales of the Maori Coast* (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery and Sons, 1930).

⁶ James Cowan, *Tales of the Maori Bush* (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1934).

⁷ James Cowan, *Tales of the Maori* (Wellington: Reed, 1982).

⁸ James Cowan, *A Trader in Cannibal Land: The Life and Adventures of Captain Tapsell* (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1935).

⁹ M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College, 1985), p. 137.

¹⁰ This paragraph is informed by Kathryn Derounian Stadola and James Levernier, *The Indian Captivity Narrative 1550–1900* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), p. 16.

¹¹ See James Cowan, *Hero Stories of New Zealand* (Wellington: H.H Tombs, 1935), pp. 221-235 and *Tales of the Maori Border* (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W.Reed, 1934), pp. 45-46.

¹² Cited in Michelle Keown, 'Taku Iwi, Taku Whenua, Taku Reo: The Constructions of Maori Identity in the Novels of Witi Ihimaera' (unpublished MA thesis in English, University of Waikato, 1996), p. 12.

¹³ Taima Materangatira Moeke-Pickering, 'Maori Identity Within Whanau' (unpublished M soc Sc thesis, University of Waikato, 1996), p. 10. See also Mason Durie, 'Marae and Implications for a Modern Maori Psychology', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 33, 1 (1999), pp. 356–57.

¹⁴ James Cowan, *Settlers and Pioneers* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), p. viii.

¹⁵ James Cowan, *Hero Stories of New Zealand*, p. 223.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

¹⁷ James Cowan, *Tales of the Maori Border*, p. 113.

¹⁸ Cowan, *Tales of the Maori Bush*, p. 232.

¹⁹ Paul Hamer, 'Native and Natives: Transforming and Saving the Indigenous in New Zealand Past in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries' (unpublished MA thesis in History, Victoria University, Wellington, 1992), p. 154.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² See James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, 2 vols (Wellington: Government Printer, 1922).

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 298, 301, 218–19.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 3.

²⁵ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, vol. I, p. 3.

²⁶ Hilliard, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', pp. 226.

²⁷ Hilliard, 'Island Stories,' p. 153.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

²⁹ Michael King, *One Thousand Years of Maori History: Nga Iwi O Te Motu* (Auckland: Reed, 1997), p. 70.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³¹ Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, p. 209.

³² James Cowan, *The Adventures of Kimble Bent*, pp. vii-viii.

³³ Cowan, *Hero Stories of New Zealand*, p. 221.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

³⁵ Cowan, *Settlers and Pioneers*, p. 29. Cowan never wrote a full general history of New Zealand but *Settlers and Pioneers* indicates a broader narrative of New Zealand which was not solely about the triumph of civilisation; rather, it shows an unresolved history for Maori and Pakeha.

³⁶ See Michael King, 'Introduction', *The New Zealand Wars*, 2 vols, reprint ed. (Wellington: Government Printer, 1983), pp. viii-ix.

³⁷ Carol Davis and Nick Raynor, 'Reproducing Consciousness: What is Indonesia?', in *Ethics and Media Culture: Practices and Representations*, edited by David Berry (Oxford: Focal Press, 2000), p. 95.

³⁸ See George Rusden, *History of New Zealand* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1883), p. 21 and R. A. A. Sherrin and Thomson W. Leys, eds, *Early History of New Zealand from Earliest Times to 1840* (Auckland: H. Brett, 1890), p. 199.

³⁹ This paragraph is partly informed by Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, pp. 47–52.

⁴⁰ Cowan, *Kimble Bent*.

⁴¹ The terms 'rangatira Pakeha' and 'Pakeha rangatira' are also defined in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁴² Cowan, *Kimble Bent*, pp. 74-76, 122, 134-138.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁴ Cowan, *Tales of the Maori Border*. P. 11.

⁴⁵ Ibid., Preface, p. viii.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 87.

⁴⁷ Cowan, *A Trader in Cannibal Land*.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 110–112.

⁵⁰ W. H. Oliver, 'Kimble Bent', *DNZB*, vol. I, 1990, pp. 427–428; Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, vol. I, pp. 301, 342, 343.

⁵¹ W. T. Parham, 'Phillip Tapsell', *DNZB*, vol. I, 1990, p. 425–426.

⁵² Cowan, *Kimble Bent*, p. 327.

⁵³ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, vol. I, p. viii.

⁵⁴ Cowan, *Tales of the Maori Bush*, p. 7.

⁵⁵ Belich characterises this process as 'swamping': see James Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 249–272.

⁵⁶ Cowan, *Tales of the Maori Border*, p. 125.

⁵⁷ King, *Maori History*, p. 70.

⁵⁸ Arthur Saunders Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand, Past and Present – Savage and Civilised*, vol.1 (London: John Murray, 1859; Capper Reprint, Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1974), p. 301.

⁵⁹ Cowan interviewed several Pakeha-Maori after 1900, including Ben Biddle whom he met at Whakatane in 1921: Cowan, *Hero Stories*, p. 222.

⁶⁰ Cowan cited in Hilliard, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', p. 223.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.222.

⁶² Cowan makes many 'points of likeness' between Irish and Maori fairy tales and had extensive knowledge of both. See James Cowan, *Fairy Folk Tales of the Maori* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1925), pp. 1–10.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶⁶ G. J. Griffith, review of *The Adventures of Kimble Bent* by James Cowan, *Otago Daily Times*, Wednesday, 7 June 1989, p. 28.

⁶⁷ Maurice Shadbolt, *Monday's Warriors* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990), p. 307.

⁶⁸ Thomas Gudgeon, *Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand* (1890), (Papakura, NZ: Southern Reprints, 1986), p. 190.

⁶⁹ Hilliard, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', p. 222.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 1.

⁷¹ Byrnes, 'Surveying - the Maori and the land', p. 97.

⁷² Cowan, *Hero Stories*, pp. x-xi.

⁷³ Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, vol. 2, pp. 499–502.

⁷⁴ Hilliard, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', p. 223.

⁷⁵ Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, p. 22.

⁷⁶ Hilliard, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', p. 223.

⁷⁷ Peter Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', p. 62.

⁷⁸ See Cowan, *Hero Stories*, p. 221. See also Cowan's *The New Zealand Wars*, vol. I, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Cowan, *Settlers and Pioneers*, p. viii.

⁸⁰ See Cowan's *The New Zealand Wars*, vol. I, pp. 1, 2.

⁸¹ Cowan, *Settlers and Pioneers*, p. viii.

⁸² Cowan, *Hero Stories*, Preface, p. viii.

⁸³ Lydia Weavers, 'The Short Story', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, edited by Terry Sturm (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 244.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 245.

⁸⁵ This sentence is informed by Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, p. 150.

⁸⁶ James Cowan, *Hero Stories*, p. ix.

⁸⁷ Hamer, 'Native and Natives', abstract. See Chris Hilliard, 'Island Stories', p. 155.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 1.

⁸⁹ These sentences are informed by Hamer, 'Nature and Natives', pp. 124, 213, and Hilliard, 'Island Stories', pp. 45, 155. pp. 79, 94.

⁹⁰ The New Zealand publishers Whitcombe and Tombs, and later, A.H. and A.W. Reed, brought Pakeha-Maori back into print at this time. They also published Drummond's *The White Chief* (1908) and Cowan's biographies on Bent and Tapsell in 1911 and 1935.

⁹¹ Alan Mulgan, *Great Days in New Zealand Writing*, p. 18.

⁹² Ibid., p. 18.

⁹³ Cowan, *Tales of the Maori*, p. 103.

⁹⁴ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffin and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London, New York: Routledge, 1989).

In the essay titled 'Gender, Race and Class: Asian Women in Resistance' in *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain* (1982), Pratibha Parmar suggests that the subaltern has become a standard way of designating the colonial subject that has been constructed by European discourse and

internalised by colonial peoples who employ this discourse. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), pp. 124–47.

⁹⁵ Timothy Brennan, 'The National Longing for Form', in *Nation and Narration*, edited by Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 49.

Chapter Six

Representations of Pakeha-Maori in Post-Second World War Writing

After the Second World War, New Zealand universities underwent a rapid expansion. During the 1950s, some of those engaged in historical research began to be associated with academia rather than journalism, as had been the case with earlier historians like Reeves, McNab, Buick, and Cowan. It also became somewhat easier for New Zealand writers to be published, with smaller presses such as the Caxton Press in Christchurch providing alternatives to mainstream publishers like A.H. and A.W. Reed and Whitcombe and Tombs, and the mainstream publishers greatly expanding their lists.¹ The 1960s and 1970s were particularly exciting decades, with a major expansion of interest in New Zealand history among university teaching staff and at graduate and undergraduate levels.²

This phase of scholarly enquiry occurred both in and outside the universities with great attention now being paid to document-based research. Academic historians such as Keith Sinclair, J. C. Beaglehole, and Angus Ross engaged in detailed research into New Zealand or New Zealand-related topics and they encouraged their graduates to do likewise.³ New Zealand historians were also influenced by research and writing from the Australian National University at Canberra. James W. Davidson, a New Zealander, established the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies and employed outstanding scholars like Neil Gunson. Davidson ‘championed... the learning of indigenous languages, field working or “participant observation” ‘and attempted ‘to deal seriously with indigenous knowledge’.⁴

Scholars developed a concern to provide historical works which made the New Zealand experience distinctive, in particular culture contact and race relations episodes and developments.⁵ Historian-anthropologists such as Ivan Sutherland and Ernest Beaglehole were greatly influenced by Boasian notions of the equality of cultures and ideas such as these and culture contact scholarship spread rapidly through New Zealand universities.⁶

Numerous individual studies of culture-crossing Pakeha appeared, written by scholars who themselves crossed between institutions and shared their interests and expertise. Eric McCormick, for example, who later became a research fellow at Auckland University, produced an edition of Edward Markham's hitherto unpublished journal, a new edition of Augustus Earle's *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand* and, later, a book on Omai. McCormick drew on the expertise of Ruth Ross and one of J. C. Beaglehole's students, Nancy Taylor, who compiled *Early Travellers in New Zealand* (1959) and edited *The Journal of Ensign Best* (1966), which illustrated the way early New Zealand travellers and writers kept discovering and rediscovering culture-crossing Pakeha and were obliged to acknowledge their presence and influence.⁷

The views of historians like W. P. Morrell, E. J. Tapp, Sinclair, and W. H. Oliver were shaped by major social and political events. Important among these were war, the 1930s depression, and a growing sense of nationalism that has been described as 'the dilemma of Pakeha who still looked to England as "Home" but increasingly identified with New Zealand through ties of kinship and experience'.⁸ Interest in historical subjects had also been raised through the 1940 Centennial, which was accompanied by historical publications from the government's Historical Branch and by numerous commissioned regional and local histories.⁹ Additionally, Maori began migrating to the cities in large numbers after the war, and questions of cultural distinctiveness and 'race relations' became very real ones for New Zealand historians.¹⁰

This chapter examines how the intensive document-based scholarship of the period, 'new' anthropological ideas about cultures and cultural interaction, and the interest in and work on Pacific history was accompanied by a proliferation of monographs on culture-crossing Pakeha, Pakeha-Maori and 'new' New Zealand-centred histories

concerned with national identity. The chapter groups for discussion influential texts inclusive of European culture-crossers and Pakeha-Maori in three categories as follows. Works by writers working outside the universities, specifically R. M. Burdon's *New Zealand Notables* (1941, 1945, 1950), Ormond Wilson's *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke* (1969; published in 1985), and E. H. McCormick's editions of Edward Markham's *New Zealand or Recollections of It* (1963) and Augustus Earle's *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand* (1966). Biographical/monographic texts by historians working inside the universities are then examined: E. J. Tapp's *Early New Zealand* (1958), Harrison Wright's *New Zealand: 1769–1840* (1959), and Judith Binney's *A Legacy of Guilt* (1968). Three short histories of New Zealand are also considered: W. P. Morrell and D. O. W. Hall's *A History of New Zealand Life* (1957), Keith Sinclair's *A History of New Zealand* (1959) and W. H. Oliver's *The Story of New Zealand* (1960). Collectively, these works reflect a significant shift in perceptions about culture-crossing Pakeha and a massive revision of the roles Pakeha-Maori were given, particularly in the broader narratives.

Culture-crossing Pakeha and Pakeha-Maori gave 'amateur' New Zealand historians during, and after, the mid-century a particularly rich source for continued interpretation and were an important part of the trend in New Zealand historical writing that began to represent a variety of culture-crossing characters as significant participants in New Zealand history. In *New Zealand Notables*, published in three series (1941, 1945 and 1950), R. M. Burdon, a sheep farmer and amateur biographer, combined historical research and literary criticism to represent a variety of eccentric, flawed and often tragic characters, including the culture-crossing Thomas Kendall and Frederick Maning.¹¹ Burdon's essays were new readings, critical revisions that explored the social and psychological motives of these figures for 'going native' and went far beyond the surface intertextuality of Pakeha-Maori representations in many national and regional histories.

In 1822 one Maori at the Bay of Islands had remarked to the Reverend Samuel Leigh, 'Kendall is no more a missionary. He is now one of us, a New Zealand Tangata'.¹² This suggests a significant, though ultimately short-lived, social and spiritual transformation, that identified Kendall as Maori and beyond the standard Ngapuhi epithet for culture-crossing Europeans from 1827: 'Pakeha-Maori'. The leading

Church Missionary Society missionary at the Bay of Islands, Kendall abandoned his family and fellow missionaries in 1821 to live for several months with Moengaroa, his house servant, in the kainga of the chief Hauraki. Kendall attempted a return to the missionary fold but, in August 1822, received a letter of dismissal from his superior in New South Wales, the chaplain Samuel Marsden, and departed New Zealand in disgrace.¹³ Burdon saw Kendall's culture-crossing in terms of a failed anthropological experiment: 'By living as a Maori he [Kendall] hoped to see beyond the ordinary range of a white man's vision' and 'to obtain accurate information as to their religious opinions and tenets which he would in no other way have obtained.'¹⁴ Judith Binney considered Burdon's essay on Kendall 'succinct and well written'. Although 'marred by errors of fact and interpretation, [it] deserves credit as the pioneer biography.'¹⁵

Burdon's 48-page essay 'Frederick Maning: Pakeha Maori' described Maning's early life in Tasmania, his years as a Pakeha-Maori through an analysis of *Old New Zealand* and *The War in the North*, and his accomplishments as a judge of the Native Land Court. Burdon's researches led him to conclude that many of Maning's Pakeha-Maori experiences in *Old New Zealand* were 'probably true enough when some allowance has been made for the author's love of exaggeration and embellishment'.¹⁶ Burdon also became aware of the slippery way in which Maning dealt with history and how he constructed a Pakeha-Maori identity acceptable to his readers: 'In *Old New Zealand* there is no chronological sequence....With no pretence of writing an autobiography he does not even mention his marriage with a Maori woman...a sister of the Ngapuhi chief, Hauraki'.¹⁷

Attempting to enter the realms of his characters' consciousness, Burdon employed the language and perceptions of psychoanalysis: what he described as Kendall's variable moods of intractable arrogance and grovelling self abasement' suggested 'the presence of some pathologic abnormality.'¹⁸ Maning had gathered up copies of *Old New Zealand* and burned them. According to Burdon: 'The true explanation of Maning's ruthless book-burning is more likely to be found in the strange compulsion to self-punishment.'¹⁹ This robust language of psychology saw Kendall and Maning emerge as unstable, contradictory characters with acute identity problems.

Burdon's essays on Kendall and Maning added much to the knowledge and interpretative base for future studies of culture-crossers but simultaneously reinforced the ideological divisions between Maori 'savagery' and European 'civilisation'. His representations of the otherness of Maori continued to define the society and religious ideologies of Europe as normative. Kendall's return to Europe thus becomes a curbing of his 'depravity' and his misguided interest in 'native superstition'. Maning's eventual rejection of Maori similarly creates a racially and ideologically acceptable space pleasing to Pakeha readers.²⁰

The problem in coming to grips with definitions of Pakeha-Maori in the decades following the turn of the century continued past the mid-twentieth century. This was because, while numerous biographical accounts had been written on individual Pakeha-Maori, such as Tapsell, Maning, Bent, Marmon, and Barrett, little work had been done on Pakeha-Maori as a group.²¹ Ormond Wilson's history *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke* (1985) was not just a story about what happened to culture-crossing Europeans, but about how Pakeha and Maori reacted to them and the collective meaning of Pakeha-Maori as a category of identity in nineteenth-century New Zealand.

His last major work before his death in 1988, the text illustrates the way in which writers outside the universities were also rehabilitating Pakeha-Maori. His detailed reconstructions of culture-crossing Europeans as mediators of meaning and reliable inside eyewitnesses to the Maori world have served as an interpretative anchor for my own textualisations in the books *Pakeha Maori* and *Captured By Maori*. His history allowed Pakeha-Maori to become central in a text and more broadly conceived than previously.²² In the foreword to Wilson's *Kororareka and Other Essays* (1990), Michael King observed:

Ormond Wilson belonged to what might have been New Zealand's smallest sub-culture: a group of gentlemen-scholars who wrote about their country with respect, insight and grace. Their ranks included William Guthrie-Smith, James Courage, Randal Burdon and Charles Brasch . . . Ormond Wilson was the last of them and the best scholar among them.²³

Wilson's autobiography, *An Outsider Looks Back* (1982), provides some insight into his views on history and his methodologies. During the 1960s, Ruth Ross and J. C. Beaglehole guided his research and writings on early New Zealand history, and Wilson's stated aim was to emulate their 'meticulous scholarship' to give his text 'the feeling of the epoch' rather than merely state the unadorned facts.²⁴

Bypassing established definitions, Wilson's methodical researches, which were carried out mainly in Wellington, Auckland and Dunedin repositories during his twelve years as chairman of the Historic Places Trust, led him to analyse the meaning and origins of the term 'Pakeha-Maori'. He maintained that the word 'Maori' was an adjective, not a noun, meaning 'normal' and that Pakeha-Maori as contrasted with missionaries were 'normal, natural men'.²⁵ Re-emphasising their importance as mediators of meaning between the cultures, Wilson devoted eleven pages to Pakeha-Maori in a chapter entitled 'Pakeha-Maori' which discussed and evaluated their individual histories, adventures, and adaptations. Wilson's index shows references for George Bruce (6), Barnet Burns (2), John Rutherford (2), John Cowell (1), Jacky Marmon (6), Edward Markham (7), Frederick Maning (9), and Hans Tapsell (5).²⁶

Significantly, Wilson authenticated Pakeha-Maori as important eyewitnesses to traditional Maori lifeways. He noted how George Bruce provided details on the cultural importance of fingerprints and how Barnet Burns imparted valuable information on Maori religion. Wilson cites Edward Markham's account of the rate of exchange for Maori women, and Frederick Maning's descriptions of head hunting, muru, tapu, land sales, and Heke's war.²⁷ Wilson evaluated and endorsed the reliability of each of these accounts.

Wilson's textualisations of Maori and Pakeha-Maori in *From Hongi Hika and Kororareka and Other Essays* (1990) may reflect some of his own anxieties and feelings of alienation as an outsider. *An Outsider Looks Back: Reflections on Experience* (1982) reveals a writer who occupied a permanently embattled middle ground. It registers awareness of his difference from ordinary New Zealanders as a left-wing, Oxford-educated intellectual, the contrast between his social position as a member of the pastoral aristocracy and socialist ideologies as a Labour Member of Parliament. It also registers awareness of his differences from the Britons and

Europeans he encountered during his studies overseas. His view of Western society, and marginalised groups like Maori and Pakeha-Maori, may have been shaped by his own need for acceptance. Wilson terms egocentrism ‘the dominant feature of Western man’ with selfishness and envy as its hallmarks.²⁸ He maintained that in Maori communities, despite differences in status, there was much tolerance and acceptance.²⁹ In considering A. S. Thomson’s representations of the Taupo Pakeha-Maori, he calls on his readers to reflect on the way Maori always made a place for foreign outcasts:

Hume [Thomson’s companion] might have more accurately reflected on the tolerance of the tribes which continued to give refuge to these outcasts from their own society long after they ceased to be of any use to their hosts. For their part, these men had simply merged into the Maori world, adopting its customs and conventions. In return, each was treated, as the chiefs said of Jacky Marmon, as one of themselves.³⁰

Wilson’s representations constitute one of the most ambitious and sophisticated attempts to go beyond the stereotypical images of Pakeha-Maori as European pioneers or white savages who had capitulated to Maori. Rather than recycle the views of Maning or Reeves, he engaged in original and meticulous research that saw Pakeha-Maori recast as an important group who helped shape North Island race relations as well as modern understandings of Maori. Recognising the merits of acknowledging an intercultural past, Wilson’s analysis of Maori-Pakeha coexistence in early New Zealand signals the possibilities for cross-cultural co-operation and accommodation in modern New Zealand.

The texts by authors working outside the universities inclusive of Pakeha-Maori appeared in New Zealand bookshops beside academic publications about culture-crossing European travellers and observers. Despite variations in the quality and reliability of their reports and the skills of the authors and editors, these narratives shared one common element: they were popular.³¹ Wilson’s monograph appeared alongside Eric McCormick’s scholarly editions of the journals of the culture-crossers Edward Markham and August Earle. Former assistant to the Dominion Archivist, G. H. Scholefield, and Chief Archivist in the Department of Internal Affairs, McCormick introduced many Pakeha-Maori and annotated them in detail so these publications remain basic historical and literary texts. McCormick’s subjects, Markham (a

gentlemen rover) and Earle (a travelling artist) lived among Maori and Pakeha-Maori and recorded their own adventures, experiences and observations before crossing back into European society. These exuberant and colourful tales added depth and resonance to New Zealand's intercultural history.

In 1834, Markham had lived for eight months at the Hokianga and the Bay of Islands before returning to Britain. The American historian-anthropologist, Harrison M. Wright, considered the journal 'an invaluable collection of facts and opinions'.³² Published by the Government Printer, it was additionally an accessible/affordable book. During his editing of Markham's journal, *New Zealand or Recollections of It* (1963), McCormick was research fellow at the University of Auckland. He received much assistance from Ruth Ross, drawing on her inside knowledge of Northland history, and the assistance of the Maori academics Bruce Biggs and Pat Hohepa. Ross was aware of the importance of culture-crossing Europeans in pre-annexation northern New Zealand. She wrote a brief but perceptive biographical entry on Frederick Maning in McLintock's *Encyclopedia of New Zealand* and her views on Maning were influential.³³

McCormick's edited publication of Earle's *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand* (1966) is a valuable inside account of a crucial period of transition in Maori culture.³⁴ Earle lived and painted at the Bay of Islands and Hokianga for six months in 1827–1828. Like Markham, he enthusiastically participated in Maori life, lived with a Maori woman, and communicated with chiefs in a genuine attempt to understand their customs and beliefs. Both men attained some fluency in Maori but remained European in outlook.³⁵ Tony Murray-Oliver, who reproduced all Earle's engravings and lithographs in *Augustus Earle in New Zealand* (1968), considered the text 'the liveliest account of the country before it was colonised'.³⁶

These narratives of culture-crossing Europeans exercised an irresistible appeal for New Zealanders requiring imaginative extensions of data about the past, providing intimate eyewitness accounts of the Maori world and assisting Pakeha readers to 'understand' Maori. Perhaps Markham and Earle also functioned as the kind of colourful colonial characters that many New Zealanders would have liked to fancy they sprung from. They were engaging, adventurous, and had something of the rebel

about them, providing a counter-image to the more puritanical ancestor figures supplied by the Church Missionary Society. More significantly, they were bilingual, possessed of a sense of cultural egalitarianism, and knowledgeable in tikanga Maori.³⁷

Revised perspectives on Pakeha-Maori founded on document-based scholarship are evident in many texts by historians working within the universities of the mid-twentieth-century period. Edwin John Tapp was a graduate of the University of New Zealand who became Associate Professor of History at the University of New England, Australia.³⁸ *Early New Zealand: A dependency of New South Wales 1788–1841* (1958), addressed the impact of sealers, whalers, missionaries, and British officials on Maori, themes covered in greater detail by Harrison M. Wright's *New Zealand, 1769–1840* which appeared the following year.³⁹

Taking a broader view of New Zealand history before 1840, Tapp emphasised the fifty-year link between the Australian colony of New South Wales and New Zealand. For Tapp, Pakeha-Maori were more than just another colourful category of characters that included sealers and whalers. While he did not employ the term 'Pakeha-Maori' to describe culture-crossing Europeans, Tapp characterised them as important mediators in early commercial exchanges. Citing the *Sydney Gazette* of 3 April 1823, he described James Caddell as 'John Cadell, a white renegade turned chief' who assisted Captain Edwardson of the *Snapper* to secure a cargo of dressed flax.⁴⁰ The Sydney merchant John Montifiore is described as making an agreement 'with a renegade Englishman, Barnet Burns, to send flax to Sydney'.⁴¹ Tapp's acknowledged source was Burns' own autobiography, *A Brief Narrative of the Remarkable History of Barnet Burns* (1844).⁴²

Images of renegade culture-crossing Europeans appeared in a chapter entitled 'Trade and Commerce'. Stereotyped representations of the respectable traders Maning, Tapsell, and Barrett as agents of progress have no place in this chapter. Tapp's pre-annexation traders are portrayed as sympathetically closer to Maori than European society, a powerful influence on Maori, and hostile to the missionaries. His traders attempt to win favour with Maori by warning them that the missionaries would undermine Maori so that their lands might be more easily taken.⁴³ In this context,

Tapp's traders were not dissimilar to the *coureurs de Bois* of New France who undermined missionary endeavours by pursuing profits, yet assisted the process of conversion, helping to establish the 'middle ground' portrayed so well in the writings of Richard White.⁴⁴ While Tapp's individual examples were Pakeha-Maori who made significant cultural and psychological adjustments, in his text Caddell and Burns remain flat figures without depth or texture and he does not allow his renegades to coalesce into any pattern other than as trading intermediaries. Such imagery suited his economic interpretations of New Zealand's early history.

Prior to the inception of British rule, Pakeha-Maori lived as isolated individuals or as polyglot clusters of transculturites in hybrid whaling and trading communities that spoke both languages and sympathised with both ends of the culture clash.⁴⁵ In *Hatreds: Racialised and Sexualised Conflicts in the Twenty-First Century* (1996), Z. Eisenstein challenges the 'dominant silencing of diversity', and fosters a framework by which 'new identities are (re)formulated, new communities are constructed, knowledge and power are contested and Eurocentric universalities are exposed for what they are; self serving discourses in defence of ideology'.⁴⁶ Tapp's *Early New Zealand* served as such a 'self serving discourse' favouring contemporary ideologies of egalitarianism and the integration of Maori and Pakeha. In the tradition of Cowan and Buick, he also injected interest and harmony into his history by focusing on benign Maori-Pakeha relations and perpetuating the myth of New Zealand as a race relations paradise. Yet historical experiences that are multiple, fluid, or hybrid were not entirely excluded from his text and in Tapp's broader grid and interpretation of New Zealand's early past Pakeha-Maori were given a wider, more inclusive definition which recognised their significant economic roles as individuals and as a group in the early contact period.

Harrison M. Wright brought an American social science background to his representations of Pakeha-Maori. As an American Fulbright Scholar, Wright worked at the University of Otago under Dr Angus Ross, then Senior Lecturer in History. Adapted from his Harvard Master's thesis, his monograph *New Zealand, 1769–1840: Early Years of Western Contact* centred on Maori and Pakeha interaction at the Bay of Islands, 'the area most continuously subjected to Western pressures before 1840'.⁴⁷ At this time, in the 1950s, American social science was concerned about the

understandings produced by cultures in change, and the impact of early visitors and settlers on Maori was a matter of particular interest to Wright. In what was more than just another conventional account of European penetration and impact, the author used anthropological insights to examine the nature and meaning of the impact of Europeans on Maori.

Wright offered a two-paragraph section on Pakeha-Maori in his second chapter, entitled 'Traders and Whalers'. In a wider, more inclusive definition, not dissimilar to Tapp's, he terms them 'pakeha Maoris', 'individuals who went native and lived among the Maori tribes, interpreting and helping in the contacts with other whites'. Wright's Pakeha-Maori were composite images, made up of elements from a number of sources. A study of his sources shows information derived primarily from Craik, Thomson, Maning, and Markham. His bibliographical essay states that he drew his references from the records of individual white men living in New Zealand, and from McNab's books, particularly *Historical Records of New Zealand* and *From Tasman to Marsden*, as well as Marsden's correspondence.⁴⁸ Wright believed that Pakeha-Maori had their greatest influence during the 1830s, 'after the Maoris had seen the need for trade and before full-scale settlement made such agents unnecessary'.⁴⁹ His images of Pakeha-Maori as trading intermediaries indicate the extent to which pre-annexation Maori-Pakeha relations were not based on compulsion but on co-operation and accommodation. This forced into being what Richard White was later to term 'the middle ground', a place between cultures.⁵⁰ White maintained that, initially, Europeans and Native Americans regarded each other as alien, as Other, and as virtually non-human. Over the ensuing two centuries they constructed a common, mutually comprehensible world. Culture change took place, but on a middle ground between the cultures, and it affected both Europeans and Native Americans. White argues that there was no sharp distinction between the European and Native American worlds, that they were distinct peoples but they shaded into each other.⁵¹

Wright's Pakeha-Maori were, however, an ideological presentation, a study of Pakeha-Maori as an American social scientist imagined them to be. Though many Pakeha-Maori began life in Maori communities as captives, his subjects 'go native voluntarily'. The more positive and picturesque features of culture-crossing are selected, with any associated disadvantages or unpleasantnesses eliminated. By

favouring a more harmonious image of Pakeha-Maori who served as intermediaries between the cultures, Wright evades many of the contradictions and ambiguities surrounding these individuals. Constructing a unifying image, linking Pakeha-Maori to both Maori and European worlds, he suggests that, as intermediaries, they inhabited an important place between the cultures, or what White terms the 'middle ground'.⁵²

Wright's images of Pakeha-Maori tell us as much about his social background and historical training as his Pakeha-Maori subjects. His Pakeha-Maori examples are numerous and they are cast as important eyewitnesses. Acknowledging Rutherford's account in Craik's *The New Zealanders* as a 'partially fraudulent but important' inside view on Maori lifeways, he employed the gentlemen rover Edward Markham as an eyewitness to European lawlessness and Maori population decline.⁵³

Wright's *New Zealand* was published as part of the Harvard Series of Historical Monographs, and his full and careful referencing made academics and non-academics more aware of what materials were available for researching New Zealand history in the Hocken Library. Wright accepted at face value the pre-annexation world Maning claims to have inhabited and describes as 'old New Zealand'. He referred to the 1948 edition of *Old New Zealand*, describing it as '[t]he classic book of the 1800s' and believed it to be one of the best two or three books ever written about the country.⁵⁴ His text provided a scholarly framework of analysis that outlines a three-stage process for fatal impact: initial shock and questioning; a period of cultural assertion; ultimate confusion, social dislocation and cultural breakdown. Wright's theories subsequently provoked debate in the *New Zealand Journal of History*, and the New Zealand historian John Owens, who also drew on anthropological theory, extended some of Wright's themes with his own students.⁵⁴

Harrison Wright helped foreground the usefulness of social science categories to New Zealand history. His writing on Maori-Pakeha contact reflects the interest in social class, social mobility and occupations that characterised the growing interest in social history as history began to draw on social science methodologies. Wright additionally brought structured historical investigation to his study, beginning with a hypothesis that he was ready to modify, and his text may have influenced subsequent writers, including W. H. Oliver. Wright's wide and inclusive definition of Pakeha-Maori as

cultural intermediaries is worthy of recognition as among the first modern studies to contest in detail many stereotypical images of Pakeha-Maori entrenched in the existing literature.⁵⁵ Wright presented a revised interpretation of the role of Pakeha-Maori. His assessment avoids stereotypical images of Pakeha-Maori as negative influences on Maori whose activities constituted a further reason for the British annexation of New Zealand. His analysis was among the first attempts by modern writers to review their place in history. Though a revisionist interpretation, Wright's Pakeha-Maori still had to be sufficiently credible for New Zealand critics in the late 1950s.

The paradoxical experiences of an English missionary who crossed cultures to become a student of Maori religions also held interest for professional historians. *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall* (1968) originated in Judith Binney's contemplation of Burdon's essay and Sinclair's poem.⁵⁶ Binney attempted to explain the evolution of Kendall's personality from a 'gentle London schoolmaster . . . to the man who was to break every commandment he initially believed,' and worse still to cross cultures.⁵⁷ The narrative bristles with inherent drama and cultural and moral implications for New Zealand history. Binney's extensive exploration of missionary records from New Zealand and the Pacific informed her thesis, then the book.

To extend the Christian church and redeem savage souls was a principal motive for colonisation. Another tenet of colonial faith was a fundamental belief in the superiority of civilisation, and that no civilised person would voluntarily choose to become a Maori.⁵⁸ Kendall's culture-crossing illustrates the disparity between the British dream of colonising New Zealand and the reality of missionary life at the Bay of Islands in 1822. Though the missionaries had laboured since their arrival in 1814, no Maori had converted to Christianity, yet the extraordinary drawing power of Maori culture saw a steady stream of Europeans abandoning their own society to live as Maori, with a number even becoming adherents of Maori religion.⁵⁹

Binney describes Kendall's fall as a seduction by the heathen world while in the pursuit of knowledge, while Kendall's missionary contemporaries, regarded his culture-crossing as a descent into savagery.⁶⁰ Binney maintains that Kendall ultimately rejected the Maori lifestyle to which his emotions and curiosity were

attracted and attempted a return to the missionary fold, blaming Satan for his fall, 'but this belief he knew was not a real solution to his feelings that Maoris had conceived, and seemingly offered to him, a pagan system which surpassed the teachings and ethics of Christ'.⁶¹ Kendall stated, 'I have been almost completely turned from a Christian to a Heathen', poisoned by the 'apparent sublimity of their ideas'.⁶²

Other biographical studies of culture-crossing Europeans were published during the 1960s and 1970s, but none were as comprehensive as *A Legacy of Guilt*. Binney took Maori understandings seriously, elucidating the different religious interpretations of Maori and Pakeha and providing insights into Maori thought patterns beyond the understanding of Pakeha at that time.⁶³ Unlike Burdon, Binney did not attempt a psychological profile of Kendall, and her research allowed her readers to appreciate the multifaceted nature of his character. A student of Keith Sinclair whose own work *Origins of the Maori Wars* questioned and challenged many accepted myths, Binney began writing in an academic context which was only just starting to take New Zealand and other colonial histories seriously. Binney's text illuminated an important dimension of New Zealand post-colonial writing, the concern with recovering the intertwining of Maori and Pakeha, and the text subsequently had a tremendous impact on the way in which the entangled indigenous and Pakeha past could be understood and written.⁶⁴

That said, although historians, both amateur and academic, and students in secondary and tertiary institutions found these detailed studies and edited works of immense value, other readers, with less concern for or interest in the complex interactions of early New Zealand, came across Pakeha-Maori in works which provided a broader narrative. While Harrison Wright's and Judith Binney's works had a substantial readership, short general histories of New Zealand, especially new interpretations published in the 1950s and 1960s, reached a very wide audience, inside and beyond educational institutions. In all these works, Pakeha-Maori received attention, if brief, as a significant component of New Zealand's past.

The following section considers three post-war short histories that were widely read and influential. The limited space given to Pakeha-Maori in these histories did not indicate a loss or lack of interest in them by professional historians. Participating in

the growing interest in re-evaluating early New Zealand's intercultural past were such skilled writers as Morrell, Sinclair, and Oliver who treated culture-crossing Pakeha and Pakeha-Maori in more detail in other works.⁶⁵

In presenting nations as imagined communities, Benedict Anderson argues that fellow nationals will never meet or know about one another, 'yet in the minds of each, lives the image of their communion'.⁶⁶ For Morrell and Hall, the imagined New Zealand community was one comprising Maori and Pakeha, mythologised as a predominantly assimilationist and integrationist New Zealand. In their text, *A History of New Zealand Life* (1957), which first appeared as a series of post-primary school bulletins, Pakeha-Maori become more than mere colonial constructs, scripted with the negative images/characteristics which colonisation ascribed to Maori.⁶⁷

William Parker Morrell was Professor of History at the University of Otago, and D. O. W. Hall, a writer and critic. Morrell's doctorate was completed in Britain and focused on colonial history. While he began writing New Zealand history in the 1930s, it continued to be contextualised within a framework of imperial expansion and administration. *A History of New Zealand Life* was a scholarly text which paid attention to documentary sources. Morrell wrote seven chapters describing pre-European Maori and European settlement up to 1880. Hall contributed three chapters on social development and took the history through to 1945.⁶⁸ During the 1930s, Morrell had stressed the evolution of New Zealand's national independence and its loyalty to Britain, especially in war. *A History of New Zealand Life* continued to champion this view of 'our colony' New Zealand and 'our nation' Britain, and emphasised as founders virtuous and moral pioneers who had laid a sound basis for the present.⁶⁹ These views inevitably coloured Morrell's representations of Pakeha-Maori.⁷⁰

Pakeha-Maori are confined to the first chapter, entitled 'New Zealand Before The Treaty of Waitangi', and to the North Island. Taking an Anglo-centric view of settlement, Morrell maintained that early New Zealand was settled by 'two types of Englishmen' – the missionaries, and 'others' seeking to escape the law or make money.⁷¹ Morrell's 'others' were principally 'Pakeha Maoris in the North and the whalers of the South'. Using the unhyphenated, capitalised form 'Pakeha Maori', he

did not include the shore whalers in his definition of Pakeha-Maori but viewed them as like Pakeha-Maori in ‘helping to keep Maori and Pakeha in harmony’ through intermarriage, but unlike Pakeha-Maori because they founded permanent settlements.⁷²

In contrast to Tapp’s more narrow economic definition, Morell’s socioeconomic scholarship resulted in a wider and more inclusive definition of Pakeha-Maori, for it also incorporated ‘many of the traders’ as well as ‘the runaway convicts, the deserting sailors, [and] the publicans who opened grog shops in the pas’.⁷³ Citing Maning’s *Old New Zealand*, Morrell observed: ‘The duties of the Pakeha Maori were to live according to Maori custom and carry on trade for the benefit of the tribe and probably at little profit to himself’.⁷⁴ Morrell’s perspective on the role and impact of Pakeha-Maori as a group was generally positive and perceptive. He maintained that: ‘They too were missionaries of a way of life, imposing their standards on the Maori women they married; setting an example to the tribes they lived with of the use of European goods. The training of the Maori in European ways had gone a very long way before the settlers came pouring in by the shipload in the years after 1840’.⁷⁵

Nevertheless, while Morrell considered the place of Pakeha-Maori in settlement more critically than some of his predecessors, he represented them as a subcategory of early settler in ways that still reflected old stereotypes of race and class. He described the ‘real’ founding settlers as virtuous and moral pioneers such as respectable traders, missionaries, and the Wakefield settlers.⁷⁶ Morrell additionally viewed Pakeha-Maori as part of the story of British economic and social progress, drawing on Maning’s *Old New Zealand* to represent these men as exotic others, living ‘according to Maori custom’, and concluding trade ‘for the benefit of the tribe’.⁷⁷ His principal images of Pakeha-Maori are as agents of progress who nevertheless remained ‘a perpetual danger to peace’, important characters in shaping early Maori/Pakeha relations but rendered unreliable and unimportant after annexation and organised settlement.⁷⁸

Founded on original research that drew freely on published and unpublished sources, *A History of New Zealand Life* was written in a decade of economic prosperity, Pakeha social contentment, and conformity. While Morrell’s images of Pakeha-Maori were expressed in the language of colonialism, he does address critical questions

about Pakeha-Maori, acknowledging them as a complex group and recognising their role as significant mediators in trade and in harmonious relations between the races. Nevertheless, he found it difficult to shake off all the stereotypical and ambiguous images of Pakeha-Maori that had become entrenched in New Zealand historiography over the years.

Essentially a narrative of British civilisation and progress, *A History of New Zealand Life* gave Pakeha-Maori just eight sentences in a text comprising ten chapters and 294 pages, but Morrell cast Pakeha-Maori as a distinct and important class of early settler. The text's bibliographical essay included the comment: 'On the "Pakeha-Maori" there is F. E. Maning's classic *Old New Zealand* (ed. T. M. Hocken, Christchurch etc, Whitcombe and Tombs 1906 and 1948)'.⁷⁹ This entry indicates the extent to which Maning's blueprint for Pakeha-Maori and Hocken's authentication of Maning's images would continue to influence the production of brief but cumulative representations of these men. Republished in 1958 and 1962, *A History of New Zealand Life* was influential among young Pakeha readers as the book's chapters first appeared as a series of post-primary school bulletins published by the New Zealand Department of Education.

Another influential view of Pakeha-Maori appeared in 1959 when Keith Sinclair, Professor of History at the University of Auckland, published *A History of New Zealand*.⁸⁰ Sinclair (1922–1993) has exerted a major influence on how modern New Zealanders view their past. After the Second World War he embarked on an academic and literary career which culminated in him becoming New Zealand's leading historian during the 1960s and 1970s. Sinclair had one of the longest working careers of any New Zealand historian and two generations of New Zealanders have become familiar with his *A History of New Zealand*. In it he produced a text that has remained continuously in print (with revisions and updating) since its first publication.

Sinclair recalled writing his history over several years during visits to Britain and North America, and targeting the 'general, educated reader'.⁸¹ Pakeha-Maori appear in the second chapter, entitled 'Australian Colony', and his representations initially turn around questions of their identity. Sinclair's representations reveal how categorisations of Pakeha-Maori changed over time, and in a wide, inclusive

definition he commenced by telling his readers what Pakeha-Maori were like as a group. Sealers, whalers, deserters, and escaped convicts who settled among Maori, they were 'brutalised', 'degraded', and 'rarely edifying'.

In New Zealand, as elsewhere, colonial domination comprised both coercive force and attempts to control the flow of discourse about the colonised society and its inhabitants. Hybrids like Pakeha-Maori complicated popular notions of fatal impact and assimilation.⁸² 'Stereotypes often develop about subordinated and suppressed social and ethnic groups that are the cause of problems for the dominant group in a society or country'.⁸³ While one characterisation conformed to earlier stereotypes, Sinclair's general images are briefer but more complex than those of most of his predecessors and the historians of his own era. Reflecting contemporary notions of 'fatal impact', he describes the traders as providing Maori 'with the means of destruction' (muskets).⁸⁴ This assessment of the traders sharpened focus on the larger question of why Maori made places for Pakeha-Maori in their communities. It also challenges earlier assumptions that, as purveyors of muskets and general trade goods, the impact of the traders on tribal New Zealand was beneficial, ultimately paving the way for peace and progress.

Sinclair's brief attempt to explain Pakeha-Maori by description and example are woven together through Frederick Maning. There were plenty of trader Pakeha-Maori models available to Sinclair during the 1950s, but, like Reeves, and Condliffe and Airey before him, he chose to build his definition around Maning, 'a Pakeha-Maori (that is a white man living with and more or less as the Maoris)'.⁸⁵ Sinclair's definition was very important as it was the first of many post-war texts to return to Thomson's (1859) definition of Pakeha-Maori. By implication, Maning was part of a tribe, part of Maori social organisation and, therefore, one who had acted out traditional Maori cultural practices.

In *A History of New Zealand*, Sinclair took the image of Pakeha-Maori as agents of vice that had currency in some texts and reproduced it. His image conforms to the established pattern on representation which implied moral judgements about them and assumed that Pakeha-Maori shared definable, negatively valued characteristics. Throughout *A History of New Zealand*, Sinclair develops his arguments on Maori-

Pakeha relations, and Pakeha-Maori are part of this process. Sinclair believed that the legacy of the New Zealand Wars 'was the growth of a new nation which embraces two races' and manner in which Sinclair represented Pakeha-Maori as a negative influence on Maori was geared to the purpose and function of his text, which was to re-evaluate the process of European conquest and colonisation of New Zealand.⁸⁶

It has been suggested that society can become equitable and inclusive provided the perspectives of those who have been historically marginalised by the dominant group's colonial discourse are taken into account'.⁸⁷ Like Hocken before him, Sinclair also read Maning's *Old New Zealand* as an important inside account of Maori and Pakeha life in early New Zealand and he drew on the text to illustrate the custom of tapu, the white savages at Kororareka and European lawlessness at the Bay of Islands. Sinclair considered the text 'among the best [New Zealand] books of the time'.⁸⁸

In a text that consists of 350 pages and devotes some fifty pages to Maori-Pakeha relations, Sinclair provides the reader with a single paragraph on Pakeha-Maori. While his images acknowledge their immense complexity, he expunges their mediating role in early race relations. Like many previous historians, Sinclair attempted to create a brief and historically useful image of Pakeha-Maori but ultimately merely perpetuated the traits of group difference central to earlier race and class discourse. His paragraph is an inclusive synthesis based on earlier texts, and his images of culture-crossing degenerates were still geared primarily to reflecting the anecdotal, as opposed to the actual, Pakeha-Maori.

Sinclair's ambivalent images of Pakeha-Maori were important as *A History of New Zealand* provided Pakeha New Zealanders with a basic view of their past. His *History* sold 33,000 copies by 1962, and 100,000 copies by 1995. The publication was timely, for New Zealand history was taught in schools and tertiary institutions from the 1960s onwards. His text became a standard history for New Zealanders, with further editions and later reprints in 1969, 1980, 1988, 1991 and 2000. Sinclair's reductive images of Pakeha-Maori were formative for a new generation of Pakeha readers, though he was not the sole influence in this period.

Pakeha-Maori are a category briefly and narrowly defined in W. H. Oliver's short general history *The Story of New Zealand* (1960). One of New Zealand's foremost historians, Oliver was Professor of History at Massey University (1964–1983) and later general editor of the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* until 1990 when the first volume was published.⁸⁹ His text '[t]raced a history of adaptation and improvisation.'⁹⁰ In this, his first major historical work, Pakeha-Maori appear in an early chapter entitled 'The First Disruption'.⁹¹

Oliver allocated a one-sentence definition to Pakeha-Maori, and another to Frederick Maning, whose 'busy career . . . stretched from life as a *pakeha*-Maori to a judgeship'.⁹² '[I]n 1801 comes the first record of a *pakeha*-Maori – a European, probably an escaped convict or a deserting seaman, choosing to live with a tribe and shy of further European contact.'⁹³ Oliver's definition suggests men who lived as fugitives or isolates. His reference to Maning assumed that his readers were already familiar with *Old New Zealand* and the role of traders as cultural intermediaries.

Just as Europeans entering Maori communities became Pakeha-Maori, so individual Maori entering Pakeha communities to live permanently and semi-permanently as Pakeha become Maori-Pakeha. From the 1790s biculturalism increasingly became a way of life for Maori. In *Becoming Bicultural*, James Ritchie asserts: 'Maori have long resorted to biculturalism as a personal coping strategy. Many have had little choice except to acknowledge the necessity of a dual identity and of adoption, given the demands of an invasive monocultural society.'⁹⁴ Biculturalism had also been a way of life for Pakeha-Maori since the 1790s when the first runaway sailors found refuge among the tribes. The reminiscences of Maning, Marshall, and Marmon assert that Pakeha-Maori had vigorous social and economic lives, but Oliver's definition confined Pakeha-Maori to the regular/predictable image as cast-offs from European society with Maning represented as a rare and striking counter-example.

In later works, Oliver shows increasing interest in culture-crossers. In many centennial regional histories, Pakeha-Maori were given minor roles in European dramas with the main roles set aside for respectable colonising pioneers.⁹⁵ In *Challenge and Response: A study of the development of the Gisborne, East Coast Region* (1971), Oliver saw an opportunity to examine the history of New Zealand

within a regional context.⁹⁶ He hoped that the New Zealand experience as a whole might be illuminated by the particular experience of the East Coast region.⁹⁷ In this text, Oliver's Pakeha-Maori were 'traders, whalers, coopers, boat builders and sawyers'.⁹⁸ Pakeha-Maori did not form communities, and as isolated individuals led a precarious existence 'quite without any power over their hosts and subject to Maori regulation', but from the late 1830s they began to form small settlements.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, Oliver's researches gave him a detailed understanding of Pakeha-Maori and his entry on Kimble Bent in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is full and perceptive.¹⁰⁰

In Oliver's representations of Pakeha-Maori as isolates and fugitives, it is still possible to see the imaginative paraphernalia which went with traditional assumptions about their negative influence on Maori. His general concern was to accomplish a workable definition of this group according to his agenda of 'tracing a history of adaptation and improvisation', but in doing so he traverses some of the conventional approaches to representing them established by Morrell, Hall, and Tapp.¹⁰¹

However, as a construct, Oliver's Pakeha-Maori as a fugitive category, characterised by their limited influence on Maori, needs to be interpreted. His 'fugitives' were made for reading and consumption by Pakeha readers so his representations are loaded with cultural and social significance. Oliver's *History* emphasised New Zealand's British origins and his judgement was part of the ideological framework of Eurocentrism which linked 'degraded' and marginalised minorities with doctrines of fatal necessity.¹⁰²

By accentuating their fugitive status, Oliver represented Pakeha-Maori as like each other, interchangeable, but different from Maori and respectable settlers. Oliver wrote at a time when government policy and dominant ideology was beginning to recognise that Maori would not be assimilated by Europeans, but would survive in New Zealand as a separate culture. Oliver's readers were more likely to see Pakeha-Maori as an anachronistic outgroup with a narrow range of traits that reinforced the ideas and beliefs held about dissenting minorities in New Zealand in the 1960s.¹⁰³ Like Sinclair before him, Oliver assigned an existence to Pakeha-Maori that fitted Pakeha interests and requirements after the mid-century.

During the post-war period, Pakeha-Maori remained an elastic and indeterminate term that was defined, distorted or exploited according to the agendas of individual historians. Their representation in texts was interrelated with the dominant concerns and anxieties of this era. While the world views of British educated writers like Morrell, Oliver, and arguably Sinclair, were still filtered through British perspectives influencing their representation of pre-colonial Pakeha-Maori, their general histories continued to acknowledge and create space for these men, as individuals and as a group. Their short histories became the student histories for New Zealand after 1960 and Pakeha-Maori bore the imprint of these authors and prevailing ideologies. Oliver was involved in the 'No Maoris No Tour' movement in 1960 and Sinclair later took part in the anti-apartheid campaigns of 198 which tested New Zealand's commitment to racial equality and the textual representations of Pakeha-Maori was interrelated with the dominant concerns and anxieties of this era.

Questions of separate communities within a national identity were very real ones for historians of this generation who witnessed the appearance of Maori on the urban landscape, and for them, the issues of separate or mixed communities were not mere issues of the past but compelling issues for the present and future. The histories of Sinclair and Olive mark the beginnings of a critical reflection on race which became an increasingly important aspect of New Zealand cultural and intellectual life. Because of and similar issues, culture-crossing Europeans and Pakeha-Maori came back into public (and reading) consciousness.

In the aggregate, brief statements about Pakeha-Maori in short general histories indicated a willingness to go beyond the textualised images of Reeves, McNab, and Buick. In the move to document-based research and attempts to place Pakeha-Maori within the narrative contexts which operated in these books, the categorisations often became broader/more inclusive, consistently embracing fugitives, sealers, whalers, and traders. Characterisations generally became more insightful, acknowledging the important role of Pakeha-Maori as mediators in trade, race relations, and in 'civilising' Maori.

Literary tradition is customarily defined as a coherent, self-consciously intertextual grouping of literary texts, where the writers may be aware of each other and responsive, in some ways, to each other's work.¹⁰⁴ In *Fragments* (2000), Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum maintain that 'any text cannot be divorced from the contexts of their creation. If historians are to capture the energies of writing and the diversity of voices in the historical records, then such contexts require as much reading and interpretation as the texts they produce.'¹⁰⁵ We can see in the New Zealand historiography of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, groups of texts that share similar themes, concerns and values, and react similarly to political and cultural developments. Knowledge about Pakeha-Maori was increasingly sought after at a time when the focus of many New Zealand historians centred on revising and reinterpreting the Maori-Pakeha past.

The proliferation of books inclusive of culture-crossing Europeans including those termed Pakeha-Maori asserted their legitimacy, vitality, and persistence in the historical imagination but also indicated the extent to which Pakeha-Maori remained malleable characters, easily shaped by authors and editors to the needs of their readers. What is really significant is that culture-crossing Pakeha are present in all five non fiction subgenre which helped return a sense of human agency to Pakeha-Maori, by treating them more sympathetically. The increase in writing about culture-crossing Pakeha is one of the most interesting and engaging features of historical writing in the post-war era. At a time when Maori were asserting their rights, Pakeha-Maori were finally beginning to be set adequately in an historical framework in a way that recognised their complexity and importance within the narrative of the settlement of New Zealand, though the bicultural identity and legacy they might offer the country was yet to be explored in detail.

¹ New Zealand's Literature in the 1940s and 1950s. Themes from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. V, pp. 41–60, <http://www.nzhistory.net-exhibs/lit.nz/dnzb>, p. 1.

² Foremost among these academics was Professor Angus Ross. Erik Olssen, 'An Obituary, Angus Ross', *NZJH*, 36, 2 (2002), pp. 201-202.

³ For Sinclair's teaching initiatives in the undergraduate programme at Auckland University and his impact in shaping a generation of New Zealand historians see Peter Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History', *NZJH*, 37, 1 (April 2003), p. 39. Damon Salesa, 'Korero: A Reflection of the Work of Judith Binney', *NZJH*, 38, 2 (October 2004), p. 273.

⁴ Completed at Cambridge, Davidson's thesis 'European Penetration of the South Pacific 1779–1842' (1942), was widely read by New Zealand scholars as was Niel Gunson's brilliant doctoral thesis 'Messengers of Grace. Evangelical Missions in the South Seas 1797–1860 (1978)'. Judith Binney's own thesis on the culture-crossing missionary Thomas Kendall 'A Legacy of Guilt' (University of Auckland, 1964), was influenced through correspondence with Gunson. Salesa, 'Korero', p. 289.

⁵ In this period Angus Ross, Keith Sinclair, Judith Binney, Alan Ward, and Keith Sorrenson made significant contributions to the study of Maori settler interactions. 'Obituary, Angus Ross', pp. 201-202.

⁶ Sinclair, for example, preferred to think of New Zealand and New Zealanders in the twentieth century as transcending their British origins, and outgrowing their colonial beginnings, not just aspiring to but achieving national identity and independence. See Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity', pp. 38-39.

⁷ Nancy M. Taylor, ed., *Early Travellers in New Zealand* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959) and *The Journal of Ensign Best* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1966).

⁸ <http://www.nzhistory.net-exhibits/lit.nz/dnzb>, pp.1–2.

⁹ For images of Pakeha-Maori in the regional histories of this era see A. D. McIntosh, *Marlborough: A Provincial History* (Marlborough: Provincial History Committee, 1940). Dick Craig, *Land of the Maniapoto* (Te Kuiti: King Country Chronicle, 1951). Basil Howard, *Rakiura: A History of Stewart Island New Zealand* (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed and the Stewart Island Centennial Committee, 1940). A. C. and N. C. Begg, *Port Preservation* (Christchurch, NZ: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1973). For further analysis of the impact and significance of the 1840 centennial see William Renwick, ed., *Creating a National Spirit: Celebrating New Zealand's Centennial* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004).

¹⁰ Sinclair noted in the 1998 edition of his *History* that in 1936 there were only 1,700 Maori in Auckland, by 1976, 66,000 plus 20,000 of part Maori descent. In 1945 20% of Maori lived in towns, but, by 1976, 76% did so. He believed that this migration increased problems of race relations as people with different social customs came to live near one another. Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, revised ed. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1988), pp. 327-328.

¹¹ R. M. Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, Series Three (London: The Caxton Press, 1950).

¹² Judith Binney, 'The Heritage of Isaiah: Thomas Kendall and Maori Religion', *NZJH*, 1, 2, October 1967, p. 127.

¹³ Judith Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 88, 89, 107. Binney consulted Sinclair and Ross during her researches for the text.

¹⁴ Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, Series Three, p. 45.

¹⁵ Binney, *Legacy of Guilt*, p. ix.

¹⁶ Burdon, *New Zealand Notables*, Series Three, p. 67.

¹⁷ Ibid; p. 71.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 42, 60.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 120.

²⁰ Richard Greenway, 'Randal Mathews Burdon', *DNZB*, vol. IV, 1920–1949, p. 76.

²¹ Ronald McLean, 'Dicky Barrett: Trader, Whaler, Interpreter' (unpublished MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1994), p. 13.

²² Wilson *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke*.

²³ Foreword by Michael King, in Ormond Wilson, *Kororareka and Other Essays* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1990), p. 7.

²⁴ Ormond Wilson, *An Outsider Looks Back: Reflections on Experience* (Wellington: Port Nicholson Press, 1982), p. 209.

²⁵ Wilson's definition is echoed in subsequent definitions by Adams and Salmond who read his works. Wilson developed an ongoing interest in culture-crossers. His *Kororareka and Other Essays* contains an essay entitled 'Maori Travelling Abroad', pp. 27–52, and another on Pakeha-Maori entitled 'Temporary European Residents', pp. 53–70.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 55-56, 65-66, 76-79, 83-84, 140-144, 150, 162, 176, 201, 237.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 62, 65, 72, 129-130, 162, 205, 239, 263, 270.

²⁸ Wilson, *An Outsider Looks Back*, p. 62.

²⁹ Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke*, p. 82.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Frederick Maning and *Old New Zealand* again became the subjects of a biographical essay in Alan Mulgan's *Great Days in New Zealand Writing* (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1962). Eugene Grayland's *Coasts of Treachery* (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1963) contained 24 episodes of culture-crossing, bloodshed and massacre on the early New Zealand coastal frontier. Whakahuia Carkeek's *The Kapiti Coast* (Wellington: Reed, 1966) employed Pakeha-Maori to represent a past which conveys a distinctive intercultural significance for that region. Pakeha-Maori appeared in a major biographical and general reference work of this period, A. H. McLintock's vast *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 3 vols (Wellington: Government Printer, 1966), which recycled many contradictory and ambiguous images of Pakeha-Maori. C. W. Vennell's *The Brown Frontier* (Wellington: Reed, 1967) contained thirteen meticulously researched stories of Maori-Pakeha conflict. Vennells and Susan Williams' *Raglan County* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton, 1976) represented John Cowell, Captain Kent, Captain Payne, and Charles Marshall as traders rather than culture-crossers.

³² Edward Markham, *New Zealand or Recollections of It*, edited by E. H. McCormick (Wellington: Government Printer, 1963), pp. 11-12. Harrison Wright, *New Zealand, 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 30.

³³ Ruth Ross, 'The Autochthonous New Zealand Soil', in *The Feel of Truth. Essays in New Zealand and Pacific History*, ed. Peter Munz (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1969).

³⁴ Augustus Earle, *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand* (1832), edited by E. H. McCormick (London: Clarendon Press, 1966).

³⁵ Judith Binney, review of Augustus Earle, *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand*, *NZJH*, 2, 2 (October 1968), p. 206.

³⁶ Anthony Murray-Oliver, *Augustus Earle in New Zealand* (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1968), p. 34.

³⁷ Hamish Keith, review of Anthony Murray-Oliver, *Augustus Earle in New Zealand*, *NZJH*, 4, 1 (April 1970), p. 88.

³⁸ Tapp stated accessed dispatches, documents, journals, manuscripts and pamphlets at English, Australian and New Zealand archives and received assistance from Professor G. S. Graham at King's College London and J. M. Ward, Professor of History at the University of Sydney. E. J. Tapp, *Early New Zealand: A Dependency of New South Wales 1788–1841* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1958), Preface, p. v.

³⁹ See Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand, 1769–1840*.

⁴⁰ Tapp, *Dependency*, p. 48.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴² Barnet Burns, *A Brief Narrative of the Remarkable History of Barnet Burns* (Belfast, 1844).

⁴³ The image of the renegade Pakeha-Maori is an enduring one. See McNab, *Murihiku and the Southern Islands* (Invercargill: William Smith, 1907), p. 217; W. K. Howitt, *A Pioneer Looks Back*, p. 119; James Cowan, *The Adventures of Kimble Bent*, pp. 124–25.

⁴⁴ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empire and Republics in the Great Lakes Region 1630–1815* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. x.

⁴⁵ Ivan Kerbel, 'Notorious: A History of Kororareka and the New Zealand Frontier, c. 1800–1850', (unpublished MA thesis in Literature, University of Auckland, 1998), p. 17.

⁴⁶ Z. Eisenstein, *Hatreds: Racialised and Sexualised Conflicts in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Routledge, 1996). Cited in Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 2.

⁴⁷ Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand 1769–1840*, p. vii.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 129, 203.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵⁰ White, *The Middle Ground*, p. 37.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵² These sentences originate in Ronald McLean, ‘Dicky Barrett: Trader, Whaler, Interpreter’, (unpublished MA thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1994), p. 11.

⁵³ Nicholas Thomas has argued in *Colonialism’s Culture*, p. 25:

A ‘fatal impact’ has, however been detected in European historiography far more frequently than it actually occurred, and this is no doubt linked with the appeal of a romantic narrative that nostalgically regrets the destruction of idealised precolonial communities. Though generally sympathetic to the plight of the colonized, such perceptions frequently exaggerate colonial power, diminishing the extent to which colonial histories were shaped by indigenous resistance and accommodation.

⁵⁴ Wright’s views were debated by J. M. R. Owens, ‘Christianity and the Maoris to 1840’, *NZJH*, 2, 1 (1968), pp. 19–20. See also Judith Binney, ‘Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: ‘A Comment’, *NZJH*, 3, 2 (1969), pp. 154–56. K. R. Howe, ‘The Maori Response to Christianity in the Thames-Waikato Area 1833–1840’, *NZJH*, 7, (1973), pp. 28–46.

⁵⁵ Wright, *New Zealand*, pp. 30-37.

⁵⁶ Keith Sinclair, 'Memorial to a Missionary', *Landfall*, 22 (June 1952), pp. 146-148. See also Trevor James, 'Lost Our Birthright Forever?', *Span*, 24 (April 1987), p. 107.

⁵⁷ John Owens, review of *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall*, by Judith Binney, *NZJH*, 4, 1 (April 1970), p. 91.

⁵⁸ These ideas originate in James Axtell, 'The White Indians of Colonial America', *American Quarterly*, 32 (1975), pp. 55-58.

⁵⁹ See Bentley, *Pakeha Maori* pp. 99-120.

⁶⁰ Judith Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall* 2nd ed, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books 2005), p. 66, 100-104; 'The Heritage of Isaiah', p. 125.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Brian Gilling, review of *Redemption Songs* by Judith Binney, *Landfall*, 194 (Spring 1997), p. 353.

⁶⁴ Salesa, 'Korero', p. 273. Binney's text was also informed by extensive exploration of missionary records on New Zealand and the Pacific.

⁶⁵ See for instance W. P. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1973); Keith Sinclair, 'Memorial to a Missionary', *Landfall*, 22 (June 1952); William Oliver and Jane Thomson, *Challenge and Response: A study of the development of the Gisborne, East Coast Region* (Gisborne: The East Coast Development Research Association, 1971).

⁶⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 15.

⁶⁷ The creation of Maori image types is explored by Leonard Bell in *Colonial Constructs* and *The Maori in European Art: A Survey of the Representation of the Maori by European Artists from the Time of Captain Cook to the Present Day* (Wellington; A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1980).

⁶⁸ W. P. Morrell and D. O. W. Hall, *A History of New Zealand Life* (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957).

⁶⁹ Miles Fairburn has argued that colonising elites invariably attempt to establish 'a more gentlemanly middle class style of manhood'. In the pattern of their nineteenth-century predecessors who had considered Britain 'Home', Morrell and Hall appropriated the trader Pakeha-Maori, Maning and Barrett, to their own strategic ends, recasting them as part of the civilising process that helped the triumph of British colonialism in New Zealand. Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989), p. 4. Morrell and Hall, *A History of New Zealand Life*, pp. 47, 289.

⁷⁰ Morrell and Hall drew on many history theses and materials available from the Alexander Turnbull Library. Although guided by the general New Zealand histories of Rusden, Saunders, and Reeves, they considered *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. VII, part 2 (1933) 'the most comprehensive history of New Zealand'. Their sources on pre-annexation New Zealand included Maning, E. G. Wakefield, Buick, and McNab. Morrell and Hall, *A History of New Zealand Life*, p. 25.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 61.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 24.

⁷⁸ Jock Phillips has argued that churchmen, gentlemen, and other members of the imperial elite were nervous at the prospect of colonial society 'going bush': See Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), p. 47.

⁷⁹ Morrell and Hall, *A History of New Zealand Life*, p. 28.

⁸⁰ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1959), revised edition (Auckland: Penguin, 2000); *Halfway Round the Harbour: An Autobiography* (Auckland: Penguin, 1993), p. 35.

⁸¹ Lynne Richardson, ed., *Bateman New Zealand Encyclopaedia* (Auckland: Bateman, 5th edition, 2000), p. 581.

⁸² Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, pp. 23, 35, 47. This element of colonial domination is explored by Gloria Raheja in 'The Illusion of Consent: Language, Caste and Colonial Rule in India', in *Colonial Subjects*, p. 119. This idea is also explored in Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter, *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992).

⁸³ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, p. 227.

⁸⁴ Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, p. 47.

⁸⁵ By confining Pakeha-Maori to the pre-annexation past, Sinclair and Reeves were united in a similar discourse. Reeves believed irreconcilable differences between Pakeha and Maori might see the demise of Maori and their assimilation by European culture. In 1959, Sinclair believed that Maori would survive as a culture and inhabit New Zealand along with Pakeha, in communities separated by irreconcilable differences. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 172.

⁸⁶ Sinclair, *Origins of the Maori Wars*, p. xi.

⁸⁷ Eisenstein, *Hatreds: Racialised and Sexualised Conflicts in the Twenty-First Century*, cited in Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*, p. 2.

⁸⁸ Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, p. 47.

⁸⁹ W. H. Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960).

⁹⁰ Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie, eds, *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 414.

⁹¹ W. H. Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand*, pp. 36–48.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁹⁴ James Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1992), cited in Fleras and Spoonley. *Recalling Aotearoa*, p. 253.

⁹⁵ A concern to celebrate past glories produced a regional historiography of Otago, Canterbury and Nelson much more extensive than in other parts of New Zealand. Otago's centennial year of 1948, for instance, resulted in the writing of many volumes of local and district history. A. H. McLintock's *The History of Otago: The Organised Growth of a Wakefield Class Settlement from 1840–1952* (Dunedin: Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), focused on the development of the province as a Wakefield class settlement. James Hight and C. R. Straubel's *A History of Canterbury* (Christchurch, NZ: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957), represented the pre-colonisation flax traders, Smith and Price, as Anglicised explorer-pioneers rather than culture-crossers. Ruth Allan et al., *Nelson; A History of Early Settlement* (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1965), in representing Pakeha-Maori, noted 'the pernicious influence of godless Pakeha' in the region.

⁹⁶ Oliver, *Challenge and Response* p. 44.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁰⁰ W. H. Oliver, 'Kimble Bent, 1937–1916, soldier, deserter, Pakeha-Maori, character', *DNZB*, vol. I, pp. 27–28.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 28. See also Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, pp. 54–75.

¹⁰² This idea is informed by Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, pp. 23–24, 96.

¹⁰³ This idea is informed by Wetherell and Potter, *Mapping the Language of Racism*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁴ M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College, 1985), p. 44.

¹⁰⁵ Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum, *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), p. 3.

Chapter Seven

Belich, Salmond and Beyond: Post-Colonial Representations of Pakeha-Maori

By the late twentieth century, multiple images of Pakeha-Maori as colourful exotic figures, regional founding fathers, pioneering settlers, harbingers of a bicultural future, and inside eyewitnesses to the Maori past were firmly entrenched in non-fiction literature. During the 1990s, however, novelists and film producers, as well as anthropologists and historians, began to take a great interest in these representations. The aim of this chapter is to explore why modern scholars and writers viewed Pakeha-Maori differently and the new frames and images they constructed that were founded upon new perspectives of cultural issues.

From the 1970s, Pakeha-Maori became a subject for academic inquiry. During the 1980s and 1990s particularly, there was a period of sustained scholarship by graduates interested in the social and cultural history of New Zealand. David Colquhoun's 1984 Master's thesis, 'Pakeha-Maori: The Early Life and Times of Frederick Edward Maning', focused on an analysis of Maning's *Old New Zealand* and the author's motivations.¹ Colquhoun's supervisor was Judith Binney who wrote extensively about the culture-crossing missionary Thomas Kendall.² He also received assistance from Roger Wigglesworth (the author of the 1974 research essay 'The Myth and The Reality: A Study of the Adaptation of John Marmon' and whose own supervisor was John Owens) and Ruth Ross, who had contributed a brief but perceptive biography on Maning to the *Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (1966).³

Ronald McLean's Master's thesis, 'Dicky Barrett: Trader, Whaler, Interpreter' (1994), examined the changing relationship between this trader and whaler Pakeha-Maori and the Te Ati Awa people of Taranaki. McLean argues that, initially, European traders found it essential to integrate into Maori society in order to survive, and that they became dependent on Maori for food, shelter, labour, and protection. Barrett is represented as an important intermediary, but after annexation, co-operation and accommodation was replaced by conflict and McLean's researches reveal how Barrett returned to an ambiguous position in the world of settlers.⁴

More recent theses include Kate Riddell's '“ A Marriage of the Races?” ' (1996) which asserted that when individual Pakeha males entered Maori communities as strangers, they realised that to be accepted as more than a sojourner they would have to accept a Maori wife.⁵ Ivan Kerbel's 'Notorious: A History of Kororareka and the New Zealand Frontier' (1998) maintained that the multiracial and multinational whaling and trading settlements in pre-annexation New Zealand reflected both European and Maori influences.⁶ Hamish Bremner, in 'Masking Identities in Geyserland' (1999), examined the life of the mixed-race guide Alfred Warbrick within a theoretical framework built on the ideas of Homi Bhabha and Frantz Fanon.⁷ The acknowledgement of an 'in between' and a fresh perspective on the relationship between Maori and Pakeha continued to be symbolised by the use of and definitions of the term 'Pakeha-Maori' by these post-colonial scholars. This interstice or space between cultures was implied each time the words 'Pakeha-Maori' were used. Bremner maintains that the two distinct entities embodied in Pakeha-Maori give rise to the interstice, which may be examined as the joint entanglement of Maori and Pakeha.⁸

While Pakeha-Maori became a focus of research for graduate students, professional historians were also revisiting the category, and nowhere was this more evident than during the 1990s, as greater interest in biculturalism evolved among some New Zealand writers. A significant development in images of Pakeha-Maori during this decade was their reappearance as central characters in a widely read New Zealand novel and in an internationally acclaimed film. 'In modern times only two Pakeha-Maori have had any airplay,' wrote Anthony Hubbard in the *Sunday Star-Times* (6 June 1999). 'Actor Harvey Keitel played the brooding and tattooed lover of Holly

Hunter in Jane Campion's film *The Piano* and Maurice Shadbolt's novel *Monday's Warriors* revisited Kimble Bent, the American soldier who switched sides and fought for the great Maori leader Titokowaru during the Taranaki Wars.⁹ Both novel and film raised public consciousness about culture-crossers by revisiting the colonial past, revealing the roles of Pakeha-Maori at a time when British systems began to assert their dominance over indigenous forms of culture within New Zealand.

During the 1980s and 1990s the imagined possibilities of co-existence with Maori, at least among liberal Pakeha, became something of a programme or national vision, as evidenced by the appearance of the bilingual *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Pakeha-Maori (as a subject) benefited from increased Pakeha interest in taha Maori, and the greater acceptance of cultural diversity within New Zealand society. Some Pakeha writers were attempting to resensitise themselves to issues of ancestry and national and cultural identity, and this was reflected in some of the literature. In *Being Pakeha* (1985), Michael King maintained that he was 'in parts of his spirit, Maori' and that asserting 'the values and rituals of Maori culture' would be useful in coping with problems such as 'conservation and reconciling minority rights with those of whole communities'.¹⁰ Carol O'Biso, an American, in *First Light* (1987), described her spiritual and cultural transformation during her association with the Te Maori exhibition.¹¹ James Ritchie, in *Becoming Bicultural* (1992), also explored this transformative process, and how he empathised with Maori.¹² These interests arose partly out of the writers' desires to reinforce New Zealand Pakeha identity as unique, and long-prevailing ideologies that encouraged Pakeha to identify themselves as native to New Zealand. Meanwhile, Maori were asserting their traditional rights and seeking redress for past grievances through the Waitangi Tribunal whose role was to address Maori articulations of historical injustice. The reception of Pakeha-Maori in a modern society so dominated by Maori and Pakeha issues is a matter of great interest and is also the focus of this chapter.

In his novel *Monday's Warriors* (1990), the prominent novelist Maurice Shadbolt combined 'history, myth, sacrament, [and] ritual'. 'Between one luckless general and the next,' wrote Shadbolt, 'here is a fleck of fable in history's eye called Kimball Bent.'¹³ Shadbolt, one of New Zealand's most published authors, has produced four collections of short stories, several works of non-fiction and eight novels. *Monday's*

Warriors completed his trilogy on the New Zealand Wars (1845–1872), which included *The House of Strife* (1993) and *Season of the Jew* (1986), though the three novels are independent of each other in terms of character and location. *Monday's Warriors* appeared in bookshops alongside the Capper Press 1989 reprint of James Cowan's *The Adventurers of Kimble Bent*, a biographical work. The latter was based on Cowan's interviews with Bent about his thirteen years 'behind the lines' as a Pakeha-Maori from 1865, and Cowan's own observations and insights in the absence of any other authoritative Maori and Pakeha-Maori sources. Cowan traced Bent's transculturation (though Cowan himself does not use this term) and changing status from slave to armourer to healing tohunga, and sensationalised Hauhauism and rituals such as whangai hau (taking the heart of the first enemy slain in battle).¹⁴

In *Monday's Warriors*, a culture-crossing European is central to the story as Shadbolt reconstructs the Maori world during the British invasion of Taranaki, and traces the process of Bent's transformation from soldier to a member of the prophet-general Titokowaru's roving hapu. Through Bent, Shadbolt explores in compact and plain prose the difficulties facing people who attempt to fit into an alien culture and demonstrates how elements of Maori and Pakeha combine to transform Kimble Bent into a Pakeha-Maori. Cowan's Maori are flat, one-dimensional characters, but Shadbolt invents a quirky humanity for Bent's host Titokowaru and his lieutenants Demon, Big and Toa. In *Monday's Warriors*, Bent is not cast in the traditional role of Pakeha-Maori as mediator, nor recast as humble and powerless as in Cowan's biography, but rather as an assertive renegade with a price on his head. Bent repairs the guns of 'rebel' Maori, and is determined to kill his former regimental colonel as utu for his past mistreatment.¹⁵

In *Illusions* (1995), Peter Cleave asserts that *Monday's Warriors* was an exploration by Shadbolt of the world between 'the vulgar polarities' of Maori and Pakeha, and an extension of his interest in Pakeha characters in bicultural situations from his earlier books like *Among the Cinders*.¹⁶ W. H. Oliver, who wrote the entry on Kimble Bent for the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), read the novel as a commentary on the condition of the colonised and the colonisers. In a review of Shadbolt's book, Oliver argues that, symbolically, Shadbolt used Bent to link Maori resistance to the British with American independence, and through his supposed Amerindian descent,

to the fate of indigenous people in general.¹⁷ Oliver believed the appeal of *Monday's Warriors* lay in the Western novel's 'simple and powerful antithesis of both good and evil'.¹⁸ He maintains that Shadbolt employed Bent 'as a kind of Lear's fool, or a wry Greek chorus', to carry the weight of the action and to reflect upon it.¹⁹

Shadbolt's novel recycled images of Bent as a reliable inside eyewitness to an important event during the Taranaki War. Bent (through Cowan) first told the story of Titokowaru's adultery with the wife of a fellow chief and the subsequent fragmentation of his supporters. Belich in *The New Zealand Wars* and then Binney in *The People and the Land: Te tangata me Te Whenua* (1990), confirmed this account, so Bent became an authority for an accepted 'truth'.²⁰ Kendrick Smithyman, however, cautions that nothing is known about Bent except what Bent told James Cowan, and that Bent was demonstrably a liar.²¹

Shadbolt's work is not meant to be factual: it is a novel and the images of Kimble Bent which are presented cannot be regarded as 'historical truths'. Nevertheless, Shadbolt's readers may believe his images of Maori and Pakeha-Maori to be fact, and the nature of these images is therefore important as they contribute to the creation of stereotypes which affect aspects of modern-day New Zealand society. As David Lowenthal (1985) writes, the power of fiction is not to be underestimated:

Some novels use history as a backdrop for imaginary characters; others fictionalize the lives of actual figures, inserting invented episodes among real events; still others distort, add, and omit. As in science fiction, some fictional pasts are paradigms of the present, other exotically different; both invent pasts for readers' delectation. Yet historical novelists also declare intentions similar to historians', striving for verisimilitude to help readers feel and know the past.²²

Images of Pakeha-Maori as mediator achieved widespread and dramatic characterisation in Jane Campion's film *The Piano* (1993), which was viewed by many New Zealanders and continues to exert an influence on the contemporary New Zealand psyche. Campion, an Australian-based writer and film director, had previously produced two films, *Sweetie* (1989), and the award-winning *An Angel at My Table* (1990). Set in the nineteenth century, *The Piano* tells the story of Ada, a deaf-mute, who travels to New Zealand with her daughter and a piano. She is met on

the beach by her settler husband and Baines, a Pakeha-Maori who organises the Maori bearers. The piano cannot be taken to the settler's house and is abandoned on the beach. Baines buys the piano from Ada's husband and employs it in the process of her seduction. Her husband eventually intercepts a declaration of love from Ada to Baines and, enraged, chops off one of her fingers with an axe. The Pakeha-Maori and the mute woman escape by canoe. The piano is thrown overboard and the couple settle happily in a town.²³

In *The Piano*, Campion represents Baines as an insider/outsider, and mediator, who brokers the relationship between Maori and Pakeha. This connection is embodied in his partial tattooing. He speaks both languages, respects all communities, and his tribal ties allow him to enlist their help in spiriting away Ada and her child at the end of the film.²⁴ A settler subtype, the white man who has 'gone native', Baines arouses the suspicion of his fellow colonists who look askance at the mingling of the races.²⁵ In the second part of his article 'Imag(in)ing Our Colonial Past' (1996) Reid Perkins opines:

Such hybrid figures have both a particular role to play within a specifically New Zealand context, as mythic representations of palliative dreams about cultural blending, as well as a more generalised significance as local variants of the exoticised/eroticised rogue male.²⁶

Baines lives at the edge of both cultures and has a sex life well outside Victorian mores. He is unkempt and 'mutilated' with tattoos. He does not share the values of mainstream communities but he does enjoy autonomy and influence.²⁷ Stewart, Ada's husband, is aloof, acquisitive, uncomprehending; the type of depredatory colonist depicted in the writings of George Rusden and Dom Felice Vaggiolo. In *Illusions* (1996), Reid Perkins argues that in post-colonial inflected films like Geoff Murphy's *Utu* (1983) and Jane Campion's *The Piano*, there is a recurrent pattern cropping up of 'settler versus colonist', where narratives which naturalise and distinguish Pakeha culture are contrasted with behaviour representing an exploitive European colonial mentality.²⁸ Perkins maintains:

In *The Piano*, obviously, it is the hybrid figure of Baines, the most highly assimilated Pakeha character in any of these movies, who most clearly represents the position of the 'settler'. This is in contradistinction to Stewart,

wielder of that emblematic implement of the colonist, the axe . . . Unlike Baines, Stewart can understand neither the language nor the culture of the people he has come to live amongst. Relating to the land only as a potentially exploitable commodity, he is unable to comprehend why local Maori rebuff him in his desire to purchase more: 'What do they want the land for?' he asks exasperatedly, 'They don't do anything with it.' . . . 'How do they even know it's theirs?'²⁹

At the film's conclusion, Baines and Ada finally flee this intractable frontier, abandoning the rain- and mud-plagued pioneer project, relinquishing colonial guilt and avariciousness to begin a new life together in sunny Nelson.

Baines the Pakeha-Maori has antecedents in earlier New Zealand films. In his book *Naming The Other: Images of The Maori in Film and Television* (1994), Martin Blythe discusses a number of Pakeha who find themselves in 'interracial situations', such as Tom Sullivan in *Broken Barrier* (1952), David Manning in *Runaway* (1964), and Williamson in *Utu* (1983).³⁰ Cleave asserts that Campion, Shadbolt and others are now claiming Pakeha-Maori and ponders whether their interest is either a projection from these early films, or if it is simply a reaction to and extension of 'the Waitangi mood'.³¹

Extending the scope of the debate, Perkins argues that the character of Baines in *The Piano* had its origins in earlier British and American films set in colonial New Zealand: 'The narrative appeal of New Zealand as a remote land of refuge and second opportunities has a utility for a national myth of origin.'³² Perkins saw in the characters played by Jack Hawkins in *The Seekers* (1953) and Van Heflin who played Haslam in the film *Green Dolphin Street* (1947), a long line of Pakeha-Maori characters that stretched up to Harvey Keitel's Baines in *The Piano*.³³

[a] character-type whose ambivalently appealing touch of wildness has made him a favourite of romance narratives since at least Heathcliff.

While Keitel sports a moko as a way of coding him in this role, Van Heflin's Pakeha-Maori status is visually signified by means of a strangely hybrid form of dress: what is essentially the Stetson and buckskin of an American frontiersman, elaborately embellished with elements of Maori design.³⁴

Collectively, film and fiction and non-fiction writing once again helped bring culture-crossers to the notice of liberal New Zealanders in the 1990s, where renewed interest

in Pakeha-Maori and the popular appeal of dramas set in the colonial past ensured audience interest. In considering this new fascination with Pakeha-Maori, Cleave speculated that the appearance and 'instant mythology' achieved by the Pakeha-Maori Baines in *The Piano* was 'a sign that the community, local and international [is] finding the Pakeha-Maori to be a valid, "true" and interesting historical phenomenon'.³⁵

In *Captured by Texts* (1995), the Indian captivity scholar Gary Ebersole argues that representations of Europeans going native (including those that affirm the process and those that display abject horror at its possibility) are responses to basic human imaginings about identity loss or transformation.³⁶ For film enthusiasts internationally, during the 1990s, the appearance of culture-crossing Europeans in *The Piano* and American films such as *Dances with Wolves* (1990) and *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992) provided a vehicle for exploring the possibilities of identity transformation, opening up new possibilities for reimagination of personal and cultural identity.³⁷

At various times during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Pakeha-Maori receive more attention in clusters of texts. During the late twentieth century, Pakeha-Maori exercised a powerful influence on the imaginations of historians. Symbols of identity of a nation are of crucial importance to its people and were of even greater importance for the emerging Pakeha bicultural identity.³⁸ During the 1980s and 1990s, Pakeha-Maori were harnessed by some writers to provide a means of identification with and attachment to a bicultural past. In the aggregate, their definitions and statements indicate that images of Pakeha-Maori were once again being reconstructed as they were set up for yet another intermediary role.

J. M. R. Owens, in his essay 'New Zealand Before Annexation' in *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (1981 and 1992), provided a baseline for other writers who cited this work in their own writings. He defined Pakeha-Maori as those who appeared to merge with their Maori hosts, images prefigured by earlier publications by writers like Harrison Wright. He questions the validity of the term as applied to traders who 'led a completely separate European existence':³⁹

The Pakehā-Māori in contrast rejected much of his European background: he usually married a Māori, accepted kin-group obligations, took part in warfare, as in the case of the whalers Dicky Barrett and John Love who helped Taranaki Māori defend Ngamotu against Waikato attacks in 1832, and sometimes cannibalism, as in the case of John Marmon.⁴⁰

Laurie Barber, in *New Zealand: A Short History* (1989), considered James Caddell and Jacky Marmon 'true' Pakeha-Māori because they 'exemplify assimilation to Maori culture'. He identified a second type who 'integrated with their Maori hosts but at least initially allowed their Pakeha culture to remain ascendant'.⁴¹ Barber's text did not represent Pakeha-Māori as 'between cultures', but recast them closer to Maori. Attempts by writers to formulate definitions for Pakeha readers were part of the ongoing textual struggle by historians to set Pakeha-Māori in a general historical framework. They were part of the rewriting of and renewed interest in the intertwining of Maori and Pakeha.

The way Frederick Maning continued to be drawn into such definitions was interesting. In *Unholy Trinity* (1997), Jack Lee considered Jacky Marmon 'Hokianga's only true Pakeha-Māori, settling among Maori on their terms'. 'His association with Hokianga Maori amounted to a total commitment.'⁴² Lee, however, questions Maning's entitlement to the epithet 'Pakeha-Māori', stating: 'Even Maning who credited the authorship of his book *Old New Zealand* to a Pakeha-Māori, was a European whose Maori wife and children seem to have had little influence over his activities or lifestyle.'⁴³ In *The Writing of New Zealand* (1993), Alex Calder seems to have built his definition of Pakeha-Māori around Keith Sinclair's 1959 definition. According to Calder, 'the book [*Old New Zealand*] is narrated by a Pakeha Maori – the term refers to a European, often a trader, who lived with Maori on Maori terms'. He cautioned, however, that while Maning 'comes across as a guileless raconteur, a sophisticated author is pulling his strings'.⁴⁴

Calder's writings on Frederick Maning are part of the new discussion on Pakeha-Māori as writers re-read the original texts. The historians of the 1980s and 1990s broke with the stereotypical images generated by Rusden, Reeves, Hocken, and Sinclair, that had represented Maning as the archetypal Pakeha-Māori and *Old New Zealand* as a reliable inside account of old-time Maori. Post-colonial perspectives are evident in current readings of Maning, in which writers now consider such questions

as: is Maning a satirist? what were his literary models? what historical truths does the text contain? is his writing all part of his tendency to exaggerate?

Colquhoun, in his 1984 thesis on Maning, acknowledged the assistance of Ruth Ross and observed, that, like himself, she found Maning a less attractive figure as more was discovered about his life and motivations.⁴⁵ Joan Fitzgerald linked Maning's narrative method (the device of a semi-literate Pakeha-Maori commentator) to Lawrence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.⁴⁶ Calder read *Old New Zealand* as an inside account, noting that Maning 'report[s] from a contact zone that has not yet been transformed into a colonized space.'⁴⁷ Belich had authenticated Maning as a valuable eyewitness in his *The New Zealand Wars* (1986), stating in a footnote that *Old New Zealand* was worthy of credence and not just a work of fiction.⁴⁸ In *Making Peoples* (1996), however, he warned that Maning's accounts were not always to be trusted.⁴⁹

In his essay on Maning in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), Colquhoun characterised *Old New Zealand* as 'a mixture of autobiographical anecdotes, racy descriptions and discussions of Maori history and customs', but contemporary scholarly interest in the text remains undiminished.⁵⁰ It continues to be read by students of New Zealand history and literature and remains a key source for descriptions of Maori and Pakeha-Maori life in early New Zealand.

A central issue for consideration is why many modern readers are still enthralled by *Old New Zealand* when other popular texts of the time have long lost their appeal for everyone but scholars. What underlying universalities exist in Maning's *Old New Zealand* that touch emotional and intellectual chords in modern readers as much as they did in earlier generations? Perhaps the fact that *Old New Zealand* has endured beyond the cultural context of the 1860s is attributable to its inherent archetypal and literary structures. It is the quintessential story of overcoming adversity by adaptation. It is a story of a man alone, a protagonist who finds a new identity in an exotic culture. The narrative derives much of its integrity from Maning's first-hand descriptions of exotic customs and his experiences of the ritual acts and patterns of Maori.

Old New Zealand's popularity reflects not only its literary excellence, but the enduring appeal of themes that continue to accommodate changing political and cultural circumstances and agendas. 'Man alone', adaptability, physical prowess, are integral themes of the work, and remain permanent themes both in New Zealand's literature and ways of life. Maning constructs a powerful and attractive character: shrewd, rational, courageous and resourceful, he invariably wins out against the odds, triumphing rather than merely surviving.

In the twenty-odd editions of *Old New Zealand*, a variety of editors' names appear in the introductions. In editions by Hocken (1906), Simon Carr (1996), and Calder (2001), the editors do more than simply outline the basic plot. Their analytical approaches substantially reorient the narrative by preserving and reinterpreting the text for the readerships of their era. This form of editorialising was evident from 1865 when the London publishers, Creighton and Scales, promoted the text as an authentic eyewitness account of 'the old time Maori'. In the 2001 edition, *Old New Zealand and Other Writings*, Calder promotes *Old New Zealand* as an important bicultural text reflecting the interests of modern readers in biculturalism:

Maning persuades us to see "sides" where there are only cultural borders, sometimes hard, more often permeable, with traffic running across them every which way. Maning comes from a border zone pakeha often dream about: if colonists on the whole brought too much of Europe with them, an adaptable minority – the beachcombers, the pakeha Maori – represent the possibility of better beginnings and quasi-indigenous styles of belonging.⁵¹

In whatever way it is interpreted, what is indisputable is that *Old New Zealand* remains one of the most widely read and quoted books on early New Zealand. It has had a marked impact on many subsequent histories and historians from Rusden to Belich, who invariably quote Maning when describing pre-annexation New Zealand.

While Calder and Lee disagree on the extent of Maning's particular transculturation, historians and anthropologists generally acknowledge that many identities can exist together and are provisional.⁵² Maning is now made to play the parts of a trader, writer, Maori, Pakeha, Briton, New Zealander, and valuable eyewitness alongside his image as satirical/political commentator and Pakeha-Maori. In considering the use by authors of historical identities in text, Hall and du Gay (1996) assert:

Though they [the authors] seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with which they continue to correspond, actually identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not “who we are” or “where we came from”, so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves.⁵³

Maning has been treated differently at different times by different authors and is now constructed by some modern writers as a manipulator, ruthless and self-seeking, but with great literary skills and a superlative sense of irony.

Maning's *Old New Zealand* is built around his self-constructions as a Pakeha-Maori and his writing always carries traces of his marginality. He was a prototype modern New Zealander, both Pakeha and Maori. Cleave noted that: ‘Aotearoa has crudities, vulgarities and repressions aplenty’ and ‘Pakeha’ and ‘Maori’ are ‘themselves crude categories, unexplored and unsophisticated’. In the words of Ignatieff, they are ‘pretend communities’.⁵⁴ Modern representations of Pakeha-Maori in works like *Monday's Warriors* and *The Piano* contest the ongoing nineteenth-century discourse of ‘savage’ and ‘civilised’ and the automatic affiliation of the former with Maori and the latter with Pakeha. They indicate shifting lines of demarcation of what is Maori and what is Pakeha, and what is regarded as positive or negative.

The works of Shadbolt and Campion are ‘late editions’, illustrating how New Zealanders continue to fashion Pakeha-Maori in a way in which they are made to carry an enormous weight of meaning. Today, as in the past, historians are still trying to set Pakeha-Maori in a general historical framework and change that framework by reinterpreting Pakeha-Maori and vice versa. Modern readings contend that Pakeha-Maori did not die out, and are part of an ongoing cultural dynamism. As historians come to terms with biculturalism, there are new ways of reading history and new literary angles being generated.

During the 1980s and 1990s, some New Zealand historians began calling for research and examination of the ‘in between’ in the relationship between Pakeha and Maori. Judith Binney observed that ‘the admixture of peoples is a cultural issue as yet little addressed in New Zealand’s historiography’. Erik Olssen maintained that settler

society, at least in the North Island, cannot be understood alone: 'the two distinct histories can only be understood both on their own terms and together, but they must now be studied in the distinct localities where Maori and Pakeha intermarried'.⁵⁵

The space where Maori and Pakeha intersect has become a fertile area of study for anthropologists and historians. Interest in biculturalism has seen historians and anthropologists such as James Belich and Anne Salmond become increasingly reflective about New Zealand's intercultural past. As explorations of the interstice have become a focus, Pakeha-Maori have burgeoned into a popular topic of research. Modern writers employ Pakeha-Maori in their texts to help offer fresh insights and a broader area of understanding about the way in which New Zealand society has been shaped.⁵⁶ These researches are timely, as New Zealand society becomes increasingly bicultural and the past needs more careful explanation to both Maori and Pakeha.

Explorations of Pakeha-Maori are now part of academic work on general cultural issues. Revised representations of Pakeha-Maori are not merely outcomes of academic concern, but are entangled in the social and political realities of modern New Zealand life. Interest in Pakeha-Maori has been fuelled by what some have described as the 'Maori Renaissance' of the 1980s, public interest in tikanga Maori and 'race relations', anxieties about claims before the Waitangi Tribunal, as well as the general focus on biculturalism.⁵⁷ These issues and anxieties have led writers to respond by taking a new look at the past that has helped shape the New Zealanders of today.

Today writers look at Pakeha-Maori differently to previous generations, as they have a fresh and different perspective on cultural issues. Subaltern studies and the growth of 'history from below' has encouraged explorations of the lives of ordinary, marginal men and women, and Pakeha-Maori have been added to this discourse as part of history's ever-expanding horizon.⁵⁸ Today, as in the past, professional historians are still trying to set Pakeha-Maori in a general historical framework or utilise culture-crossers in ways that reassess, reinterpret and/or transform conventional historical frameworks.

In attempting to treat the ‘making’ of both peoples equally, James Belich gave Pakeha-Maori space in *Making Peoples* (1996), the first of a two-volume general history of New Zealand.⁵⁹ Professor of History at the University of Auckland, Belich had previously written two bestselling books, *The New Zealand Wars* (1986) and *I Shall Not Die: Titokowaru’s War* (1989), and as assistant editor of the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* was familiar with the individual histories of many Pakeha-Maori. His discussions on Pakeha-Maori drew on history theses by Roger Wigglesworth, William Schaneil and Ronald McLean, early accounts of New Zealand by John Savage and Edward Markham, and the works of Robert McNab, Jack Lee, Harry Morton, and Ormond Wilson.

Making Peoples was a single-author (but rather larger) survey of the past in the tradition of Reeves and Sinclair.⁶⁰ Pakeha-Maori make regular appearances in this text of sixteen chapters and 484 pages. Divided into three sections, ‘Making Maori’, ‘Contact and Empire’, and ‘Making Pakeha’, Pakeha-Maori are set in the middle section which focuses on Maori and Pakeha interaction to 1890. In the preface, Belich states his intention of producing a general history that would challenge and reinterpret the New Zealand past. The exploration and exposure of myths is central to his text, and in ‘Contact and Empire’ Belich challenges the dualistic and antagonistic dichotomies of Maori-Pakeha, emphasising their affinities and their ongoing interaction and exchange. In contrast to texts with assimilationist and integrationist agendas that advocated the acculturation of Maori, Belich sees the binaries of Maori and Pakeha, coloniser and colonised, as oversimplified and inherently adversarial polarities.⁶¹ His text offers an alternative to the story of racial and cultural domination and resistance with a history of co-operation and compromise.

In the aggregate, Belich’s images of Pakeha-Maori offer provocative alternative perspectives. Reeves and Sinclair confined Pakeha-Maori to low-status fugitives, while their traders retained predominantly European values. Belich’s Pakeha-Maori, by contrast, are specifically those who ‘converted in reverse, quite wholeheartedly’ as Maori as well as some of the ‘specialist traders’.⁶² Pakeha-Maori are central to his view of New Zealand history and an integral part of his discussions on the ambiguous nature of New Zealand identity. He suggests that national bicultural and regional identities can exist together and that modern New Zealanders carry three main

identities: as New Zealander, as Maori or Pakeha, and, say, as Aucklander or Cantabrian. Unlike the characterisations offered by Reeves or Sinclair, Belich's Pakeha-Maori have multifaceted identities: as tribesmen, renegades, trading intermediaries, court jesters; and as Irishmen, Americans or Tahitians.

Belich's discussions of identity place most emphasis on the tribal identities of nineteenth-century Pakeha-Maori. Challenging gendered and Eurocentric constructions of this heterogeneous group, Belich includes a full-paragraph mini-biography of Charlotte Badger who lived with a rangatira at the Bay of Islands, describing her as New Zealand's first white woman and a Pakeha-Maori.⁶³ His male examples include the white Ngai Tahu James Caddell, the tattooed white Ngati Kahungunu showman Barnet Burns, and the cannibal white Nga Puhi Jacky Marmon. Belich also emphasises racial diversity, giving space to Jem the Tahitian, a Bengali Lascar, the Spaniard José Manuel, Hans Tapsell the Danish Pakeha-Maori, and the American military deserter Kimble Bent.⁶⁴

The chapter 'Contact and Empire' depicts the diverse realities of Pakeha-Maori existence. Just as this middle section balances the European discovery of New Zealand with the Maori discovery of Europe, so Europeans join Maori communities just as Maori join European ones.⁶⁵ Belich's Maori are never passive victims of colonial expansion and he puts them in control of trade, while the Europeans who were adopted into their communities are characterised as 'middle men' and 'court jesters'.⁶⁶ The creation of catchy new terms is part and parcel of Belich's exuberant approach to writing. In their reminiscences, James Burns, Captain Harris, and Frederick Maning recalled the uproar they caused in their respective communities when they inadvertently transgressed laws of tapu, but Belich does not clarify his use of the term 'court jester', simply creating images of fools or clowns in the mind of the reader. Such a term devalues their skills as tribal artisans and translators and their equally important role in assisting Maori to come to terms with both Europeans and Europe. The dichotomy between myth and history is one of the strongest themes running through *Making Peoples*, but in attempting to be provocative with terms like 'court jester', Belich perhaps inadvertently recreates Maning's comic self-image.

Pakeha-Maori emerge as part of Belich's quest to challenge accepted versions of the past. He views these people and many living New Zealanders as evolving from a cultural interaction that is permanently ongoing. Unlike Reeves and Sinclair, Belich accords Pakeha-Maori and their descendants a life beyond annexation. His discussions explore issues pertinent to bicultural identity, reflecting in particular important shifts in current Pakeha attitudes to interracial marriage. Dispensing with the notion of 1840 as a point after which crossing cultures ceased to be important, Belich argues that marriage alliances dominated Maori-European relations before 1840 'and were quite important after it'.⁶⁷ He refers to 'scores of cases', though he confines his specific examples to 'José Manuel, Ngati Porou's Pakeha' who 'made five successive marriage alliances' and Thomas Halbert, 'known as Henry VIII' who 'made six'.⁶⁸ He additionally reports the comment of the culture-crossing gentleman rover, Edward Markham, who described how it was '“not safe to live in the country without a chief's daughter as protection”'.⁶⁹ This focus on cross-cultural marriage alliances is part of Belich's unravelling of some of the myths about contact and settlement.

How does Belich read Maning and other earlier accounts of Pakeha-Maori? He is familiar with the history of individual Pakeha-Maori and the considerable amount of recent writing on culture-crossing that has become available. His representations of culture-crossing 'ex convicts' and 'sailors' carries a resonance of low-status Europeans abandoning their own alienated condition, entering a fuller, more harmonious existence among Maori. Here, Belich locates his Pakeha-Maori more within the tradition of cross-cultural refugees, as opposed to the agents of civilisation approach favoured by Reeves. Within this framework, however, Pakeha-Maori once again become privileged as witnesses to events and authentic lifeways of nineteenth-century Maori.⁷⁰ In *The New Zealand Wars* (1986), Belich accepts Kimble Bent's explanation of adultery for Titokowaru's loss of mana and tapu during the Taranaki Wars. Belich considered Bent's account 'fairly convincing'. Evaluating Maning's narrative of the Northern War of 1845, Belich maintains that 'on several important issues, it is more accurate than the received version'.⁷¹

In *Making Peoples*, Belich continues to utilise Pakeha-Maori as important eyewitnesses to the past. Maning conveys the ineffectiveness of European law in

northern New Zealand by the 1860s and is used to illustrate a popular settler view of Maori, stating ‘we must... conquer them and thereby save them’.⁷² Belich is aware of Maning’s agenda in writing *Old New Zealand* and his tendency to exaggerate: ‘The most famous trader, author Frederick Maning, wrote of beating Maori in wrestling matches; Edward Markham saw him being beaten by them, and an underlying resentment of Maori dominance pervades Maning’s writings.’⁷³ Unlike Reeves and Sinclair, Belich is not convinced by Maning, taking a more cautious approach to *Old New Zealand* while approving Maning’s *History of the War in the North* as a reliable account. He does not represent Maning as the archetypal Pakeha-Maori, nor does he heap praise on *Old New Zealand* as the authentic text on pre-European Maori but, rather, indicates its problematic nature.

The image of Pakeha-Maori as renegade is part of Belich’s representations. Human societies are always suspicious of those who live beyond their borders and sense of understanding.⁷⁴ Belich registers an awareness of the contemporary consequences for those who transgressed the codes of European colonialism by going native. Yet in his writings Pakeha-Maori thrive, in contrast to the suspicion and repression surrounding them in their own day. The Pakeha trader Gilbert Mair, he claims: ‘was contemptuous of a colleague Hans Tapsell, who accepted his conversion to Maori. He [Tapsell] put himself on a footing with the chiefs, allowing his hair and beard to grow long, having himself occasionally tapued and calling himself King.’⁷⁵ Belich also describes British attempts to credit Maori successes during the New Zealand Wars to Irish deserters. He concludes that such claims were nonsense, but that such men did have ‘disturbing potential’.⁷⁶

As its title indicates, the recurring theme in *Making Peoples* is the construction of peoples. As part of his quest to overhaul accepted versions of the past and to make New Zealanders a nation, Belich examines the growth of what he terms the ‘hybrid’ communities: in the Foveaux Strait region, the ‘little Franco-Maori communities’ at Banks Peninsula and the Bay of Plenty, and the trading, timber and whaling stations, where Maori and Pakeha were linked by marriages.⁷⁷ He terms marriage ‘the cement of old New Zealand’ and an ‘alternative method of ethnic relations to the dynamics of empire’.⁷⁸ Belich considered Ngai Tahu Maori families the closest New Zealand came to developing a biculture like the Métis of Canada or the Griqua of South

Africa. Incorporating demography into his explanation, Belich viewed the decline of Maori to their low point of 42,000 in 1896 in the context of this growing mixed-race population. He argues that the 'swamping' by European settlers subordinated Maori and marginalised them, but even in the south did not completely assimilate them or destroy their group identity.⁷⁹

Images of Pakeha-Maori were part of Belich's attempt to place renewed emphasis on New Zealand's past. He takes biculturalism very seriously and *Making Peoples* is part of a whole new discourse on how to read the past. During the 1980s and 1990s many liberal Pakeha New Zealanders tried to resensitise themselves to issues of ancestry and biculturalism. Culture-crossing Europeans and hybrid communities have become a fundamental part of this discourse. Along with Judith Binney and Anne Salmond, Belich was part of this first major overhaul of New Zealand history since the writings of Sinclair and Oliver.

There is a dialectical process at work in *Making Peoples* as Belich's fresh, broad perspectives on Maori-Pakeha interaction impact on his representations of Pakeha-Maori, a category for which he creates a new narrative frame. Belich's images of Pakeha-Maori as middlemen, tribesmen, court jesters, renegades, and founders of the new mixed race celebrate their diversity. His images of Pakeha-Maori are inclusionist rather than exclusionist and are multifaceted rather than one-dimensional. He effectively promotes a group with a psychology of identity that is uniquely New Zealand. Represented as people who straddle the cultural divide, Belich's Pakeha-Maori carry considerable symbolic weight. Extending the image of Pakeha-Maori beyond isolated individuals living in Maori communities to the Pakeha-Maori communities and mixed-race tribal groups was part of Belich's attempt to define historical processes while redefining New Zealanders by seeking a common past.⁸⁰

As discussed in Chapter Four, some late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers attempted to fashion a Pakeha New Zealand identity and a claim to indigenisation by reconstructing selected Pakeha-Maori such as Maning and Barrett as founding fathers of the nation. Today, many Pakeha still imagine themselves as a collectivity, mainly in terms of their differences from Maori and their differences from Britons. During the 1990s, the refashioning of New Zealand identity involved

claims to indigenisation by writers like King who imagined a collective Pakeha identity in terms of their commonalities with Maori. In his quest to make a nation, Belich portrays Maori and Pakeha cultures originating with ‘migrant ships’ voyaging through ‘dangerous seas’. He argues that each culture values kin above all, and commenced the pattern of intermarriage that continues today.⁸¹

Like Cowan in the early twentieth century, Belich in *Making Peoples* conceptualises and affirms the intertwining of Maori and Pakeha as important in nation-making, a crucial shift in textual representations of our nineteenth-century past. Belich, like Thomson in 1859, argues for a past in which Maori and Pakeha interaction was characterised more by accommodation than conflict. The text is an attempt to reshape its readers’ understanding of New Zealand history. Its many challenges, questions, and reinterpretations also reflect the way growing numbers of modern writers are beginning to think about the past. Belich’s emphasis on the intertwining of Maori and Pakeha is a textual strategy which collapses features of cultural difference by constructing a shared past for a substantial number of New Zealanders.⁸² He believes that bicultural identities and behaviours have been important in the process of New Zealand’s nation-making, and *Making Peoples* offers the Maori and Pakeha descendants of Pakeha-Maori a message of empowerment and encouragement.

Rather than being marginalised, subordinated, or missing in action, culture-crossers are central characters and the subject of much discussion in *Between Worlds* (1997) by Anne Salmond. The text followed *Two Worlds* (1993) which highlighted the differences between the worlds of Maori and European in the period 1642–1772. *Between Worlds*, in contradistinction, emphasises their interconnections and carries the history to 1815,⁸³ drawing on a wide variety of contemporary texts, manuscripts and newspapers, Pakeha-Maori narratives and modern scholarly texts.

Salmond organises her text around the different categories of Europeans who interacted with Maori: explorers, sawyers, sealers, whalers, and missionaries. The geographical focus is on successive contact areas at Hauraki, Murihiku and the Bay of Islands, locations where cross-cultural interaction was frequent and far-reaching and where the first foreigners settled permanently or semi-permanently in Maori communities. Salmond does not employ the term ‘Pakeha-Maori’ in this text, perhaps

because the term originated among Maori only in the late 1820s, which is beyond the period dealt with in *Between Worlds*.

As with *Making Peoples*, Salmond's *Between Worlds* is a bicultural version of encounter which represents culture-crossing as a normative process in New Zealand. Her robust and lucid prose skilfully balances European ballads, sketches and quotations with Maori waiata, chants and proverbs. Salmond's 'cross culture strategists' and their descendants are represented as an important element in the new process of Pakeha and Maori identity formation. A Professor of Maori Studies and Anthropology at the University of Auckland, Salmond has long been the meeting point between two cultures.⁸⁴ Like Belich, she employs culture-crossing Pakeha and Maori as tools to help project a personal vision of New Zealand history. She represents pre-1815 first settlers not only as mediators of meaning between the cultures but as founders of the new southern mixed race, maintaining that: 'Many sealers (including some Indians as well as Europeans) made their way into local communities, where they married and mated, beginning a "cross race" population in the far south and shaping the distinctive cultural history of that region.'⁸⁵

Salmond's representations of culture-crossers focus on their role as mediators of meaning. They are an invaluable part of Maori acculturation to the European world. Thomas Taylor, George Bruce, and Jem the Tahitian mediate meaning between Maori and seamen but Salmond also sees cross-cultural history as a two-way process. What is innovative about her approach is her emphasis on the way in which European and Maori were transformed as their lives intermingled in 'fighting, friendship, gift exchange, talk and sex'.⁸⁶ Those identified in the present study as Pakeha-Maori are at the forefront of this transformation process, and Salmond's emphasis on their mediating functions illustrates their adaptability and competence.

The title *Between Worlds* posits a third space, and 'cross-culture strategists' are central to Salmond's thesis that events up to 1815 are best comprehended as taking place in a middle ground between these worlds. She maintains that from the 'pae' or borderland where understandings are negotiated by trial and error, new ways of living began to emerge:

as visits by European vessels became more frequent and finally commonplace, the idea of a middle ground for action seems to fit. *Between Worlds* echoes the idea of the 'pae' in Maori – that edge or horizon between earth and sky, worlds of light and darkness – where people and ancestor gods enter into exchanges that separate and bind them. The pae is a place of action, where history is made.⁸⁷

Salmond's notion of the middle ground echoes earlier writings of the American historians Bernard Bailyn and Richard White, though there is no evidence in the footnotes that she was influenced by them. Bailyn (1988) termed the British North American colonies 'the exotic far western periphery, a "marchland" of the metropolitan European culture system'.⁸⁸ White (1991) argues for a space he calls 'the middle ground' or the place 'in between cultures peoples and in between empires and the nonstate world of villages'.⁸⁹ Salmond's emphasis on an 'intercultural past' parallels the views of James Axtell who maintains that 'when two peoples meet, they invariably become part of one another and their histories are henceforth intertwined'. He maintains that both cultures are indelibly marked by the acculturation that such contact entails.⁹⁰

Salmond finds culture-crossing Europeans a rich source of images and metaphors and they also coalesce in her text as the pawns of ambitious rangatira and the victims of unscrupulous Pakeha. Salmond puts Maori in control of the culture-crossing foreigners in this period, who do not manipulate events. Rather, they are manipulated by Maori who worked out their own strategies for dealing with Pakeha: 'Honekai in the south or Te Pahi in the north were cross-cultural strategists' who married their daughters to acquire fighting men and intermediaries.⁹¹ Thomas Taylor at Hauraki, George Bruce at the Bay of Islands, and Jem the Tahitian at North Cape are kidnapped by avaricious sea captains. George Bruce was taken off to England where strangers mocked his tattoos. 'Boundary crossing,' Salmond believes, 'was a dangerous game, and some people did not survive it.'⁹²

Constructions of white masculinity were central to the gendered discourse of frontier settlement. Traders such as Maning and Barrett had often been represented as 'real men' who carved out spaces on the frontier, paving the way for subsequent waves of European colonists.⁹³ In pre-annexation New Zealand, several European women also crossed cultures to live in Maori communities. They included Charlotte Badger who

lived with a chief at the Bay of Islands for about ten years, and Anne Morley who survived the massacre of the *Boyd*'s passengers and crew.⁹⁴ Mary Bell lived for two years among Ngati Toa and Elizabeth Guard for six months as a captive of Ngati Ruanui. Although Salmond does not engage in speculation about the experiences of transculturated European women in Maori communities she does acknowledge the presence of Charlotte Badger at the Bay of Islands and Anne Morley at Whangaroa.

Salmond attempts to use contemporary Maori oral accounts as evidence but most of her research is based on written evidence from Europeans and Pakeha-Maori. She does, however, set a baseline for historians wishing to deal with Pakeha-Maori as eyewitnesses to key events in Maori places. The culture-crossing American, John Bessant, and Jem the Tahitian, for instance, explain the reasons for the Maori attack on the *Boyd* at Whangaroa Harbour in 1809. The reminiscences of Hans Tapsell provide a description of the subsequent European punitive expedition against the chief Te Pahi and his people at the Bay of Islands.⁹⁵ Salmond is nonetheless mindful of the contexts from which these accounts derive. As 'told to' accounts, they were retrospective and evolved through a process involving a teller and an editor who selected and structured their reports.⁹⁶

Between Worlds represents culture-crossers as important and reliable inside eyewitnesses to events and Maori lifeways before 1815. The text employs an impressive array of primary material based on their narratives or reminiscences and Salmond subjects these to critical analysis. Thomas Taylor outlines religion, cosmology, agricultural and sexual practices among Ngati Paoa at Hauraki in the 1790s. George Bruce describes Ngapuhi notions of tapu, their tangihanga rituals and myths of creation, and human life at the Bay of Islands. James Caddell of southern Ngai Tahu is cast as a 'key source of de Blosseville's description of the Foveaux Strait people' as important as any contemporary Maori eyewitness:⁹⁷

Caddell's close knowledge of the people around Te Moana-ki-Rakiura is reflected in this description [of death rituals, fighting techniques, health, dress and modesty], which is rivalled up to this point only by the account of northern lifestyles given to Philip Gidley King by Tuki-tahua and Huru-Kokoti in 1793.⁹⁸

The accounts vary in length, but, as insiders, culture-crossers are ideal narrative vehicles for Salmond's purpose, which was to admit Pakeha readers to Maori lifeways in a way that was dramatic, effective and accurate.

In a review of Atholl Anderson's *The Welcome of Strangers* in *Landfall* in 1990, Giselle Byrnes maintains that: 'Maori traditional history often lacks any chronological reference beyond whakapapa and it is impossible to understand the logic of events without understanding the personal connections between those involved.'⁹⁹ In constructing Pakeha-Maori as important tribal members, Salmond places a great deal of emphasis on their kinship ties and the genealogies of their wives and chiefs. Like Belich, Salmond emphasises the intertwining of Pakeha and Maori and their common links. She maintains that Europeans were regarded as 'members of another if peculiar kinship group'.¹⁰⁰ Their Maori kinship ties and group obligations are powerful images of identity:

Caddell had, in fact, married into one of the key families of Foveaux Strait. Honekai [Caddell's patron] was a son of Te Hau-Tapunui-o-Tuu, a Ngaai Tahu chief who had been responsible for making a lasting truce with Ngaati Mamoe; and grandfather to the notable Ruapuke chief Tuhawaiki. Atholl Anderson reports that Tokotoki, [Caddell's wife] was daughter to Honekai's brother Purerehu, and thus Honekai's niece rather than his daughter (the same term, 'tuahine,' being used for both daughter and niece in Maori).¹⁰¹

Greg Denning was enthralled by Salmond's inclusion of Maori perspectives. He considered 'the supreme grace' of Salmond's *Between Worlds* her use of Maori concepts of whakapapa and utu, tapu and Maori language to enlarge places of cultural encounter and 'every aspect of native agency in her story'. He suggested that there is yet a further cross-cultural perspective to be developed beyond what Salmond achieves:

The next step in between worlds studies I think will be to begin, not with waves of intruders but with native places, not as a Before or an After, but as a Now in the past. That will help us see the aboriginality of the encounter.¹⁰²

British and Pakeha colonial constructions of bicultural Pakeha-Maori and Maori frequently equated with degeneration, while monocultural Europeans were equated with order and civilisation. During the 1980s and 1990s, however, the number of Maori Treaty claims and broader cultural assertiveness engendered anxieties about

identity among Pakeha which again encouraged some writers to claim ‘indigeneity’ for Pakeha. Belich’s and Salmond’s constructions of Pakeha-Maori as tribal people with Maori whakapapa and kinship relations will give impetus to the current drive to articulate Pakeha as a form of indigenised whiteness, a Pakeha reconstruction of tangata whenua ‘the people of the land’.¹⁰³

Belich and Salmond are revisionist historians and their representations of Pakeha-Maori as mediators, cross-cultural eyewitnesses, and forefathers of a new mixed race were part of their efforts to rewrite New Zealand history in more inclusive ways.¹⁰⁴ Their texts have had a major influence on present-day reimaginings of Pakeha-Maori. Texts like *Making Peoples* and *Between Worlds* indicate that writers have not yet finished with Pakeha-Maori, who continue to be given an enormous weight of meaning in this process. The texts of Belich, Salmond, and my own texts *Pakeha Maori* (1999) and *Captured by Maori* (2004), are late editions. They affirm Pakeha-Maori as historical subjects of cultural significance.

Pakeha have responded to Maori ‘assertiveness’ by questioning their own identity and this is fundamental to conditions of postcoloniality which includes an ongoing negotiation of identities. While New Zealand national identity is defined mainly by Pakeha, some liberal Pakeha have sought a common identity with Maori.¹⁰⁵ Bicultural identity is built on elements of Maoritanga and Pakehatanga, and Pakeha-Maori have the potential to provide powerful symbols of that identity. Today, it has become possible for Pakeha-Maori to be ancestors of both indigenous people and Pakeha, rather than marginals forgotten by both. Lowenthal has written:

[h]istory is continually revised to take account of subsequent events and to be comprehensible to new generations....[h]istorians deliberately reinterpret the past through the lenses of subsequent events and ideas. Both history and memory engender new knowledge, but only history intentionally sets out to do so.¹⁰⁶

In New Zealand, the shifts in views of the past that have taken place are reflected in fiction, film, music, history texts, and museology. Each culture or group tries to define its distinctiveness in a complex world where various cultures compete. New Zealand generally identifies its uniqueness as a tourist destination by promoting indigenous Maori culture.¹⁰⁷ Summarising the interplay between Maori and Pakeha, James Liu

argues for ‘a more open approach from Pakeha to the insights on self-identity that Maori offer, and the continued development of biculturalism’.¹⁰⁸ Irihapeti Ramsden (1994) has asserted:

They [Pakeha] are becoming, not yet, but they will become indigenous. In another hundred years or so they will have their own way of looking at the world which truly speaks of their experience here.¹⁰⁹

The National Museum of New Zealand (Te Papa) currently has on display an enlarged self-portrait by the Ngati Kahungunu Pakeha-Maori Barnet Burns. With his facial moko and mixture of European and Maori costume, Burns reflects the current interest of Pakeha in Pakeha-Maori as they struggle towards their own bicultural identity and imagine themselves as native to New Zealand.

¹ David Colquhoun, 'Pakeha-Maori: The Early Life and Times of Frederick Edward Maning', (unpublished MA thesis in History, University of Auckland), 1984.

² Judith Binney, 'Heritage of Isaiah: Thomas Kendall and Maori Religion,' *NZJH*, 1, 2 (October 1967), pp. 124–47.

³ Ruth Ross, 'Maning, Frederick Edward', in *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, pp. 400–402.

⁴ See [Roger](#) McLean, 'Dickie Barrett: Trader, Whaler, Interpreter'.

⁵ Kate Riddell, 'A Marriage of Races? Aspects of Inter-marriage, Ideology and Reproduction on the New Zealand Frontier' (unpublished MA thesis in History, Victoria University, Wellington, 1996).

⁶ Ivan Kerbel, 'Notorious: A History of Kororareka and the New Zealand Frontier, c. 1800–1850', (unpublished MA thesis in Literature, University of Auckland, 1998).

⁷ Hamish Bremner, 'Masking Identity in Geyserland: Homi Bhabha and Frantz Fanon Guide Alfred Warbrick Through the Hot Lakes District', (unpublished MA thesis in New Zealand Studies, University of Auckland, 1999), p. 107.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17. According to Elleke Boehmer, 'postcolonial literature is that which critically scrutinizes the colonial relationship'; Boehmer cited in Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', p. 90. Belich, for example, attended Oxford University during the 1990s, and will have been familiar with and aware of postcolonial perspectives.

⁹ Anthony Hubbard, 'Pakeha-Maori: A Hidden History', *Sunday Star-Times*, 6 June 1999, p. C6.

¹⁰ Michael King, *Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), pp. 186–208.

¹¹ Carol O’Biso, *First Light* (Auckland: Reed, 1987).

¹² James Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural*.

¹³ Maurice Shadbolt, *Monday’s Warriors* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990).

¹⁴ James Cowan, *The Adventures of Kimble Bent*, pp. 135, 137. Shadbolt also drew on contemporary settler texts like W. K. Howitt’s *A Pioneer Looks Back Again* (Auckland: Oswald Sealy, 1945) and James Belich’s history *I Shall Not Die: Titokowaru’s War 1868–9* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1989).

¹⁵ Maurice Shadbolt, *Monday’s Warriors*, pp. 37, 72.

¹⁶ Peter Cleave, ‘Old New Zealand, New New Zealand’, *Illusions*, 24 (October 1995), p. 14.

¹⁷ W. H. Oliver, review of, *Monday’s Warriors*, by Maurice Shadbolt in *Landfall*, 1 (March 1991), p. 110.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁰ Judith Binney cites Belich, loc. cit, in *The People and The Land: Te Tangata Me Te Whenua, An Illustrated History of New Zealand 1820–1920* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1990), p. 136, and note

2b on p. 344. See also James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and The Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986), pp. 272-273.

²¹ Cited in Oliver, review of *Monday's Warriors*, p. 108.

²² David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 224.

²³ Peter Cleave, 'Negotiating and Constructing the Pakeha-Maori in "The Piano", "Monday's Warriors" and elsewhere', in *From the Depot – Takirua: Some Essays on Film and Theatre in Aotearoa-New Zealand* (Palmerston North: Campus Press, 1998), pp. 61–71, especially the summary on pp. 63-64.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²⁵ John Izod, 'The Piano, the Animus and the Colonial Experience', in *Jane Campion's The Piano*, edited by Harriet Margolis, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 91.

²⁶ Reid Perkins, 'Imag(in)ing Our Colonial Past: Colonial New Zealand on Film from "The Birth of New Zealand" to "The Piano"', *Illusions*, 25, Part Two, (1996), p. 18.

²⁷ Cleave, 'Old New Zealand, New New Zealand', p. 13.

²⁸ Reid Perkins, 'Imag(in)ing Our Colonial Past', Part Two, pp. 17 -18.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³⁰ Martin Blythe, *Naming The Other: Images of The Maori in Film and Television* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1994), pp. 158 -70, 235-248.

³¹ Peter Cleave, 'Negotiating and Constructing the Pakeha-Maori', p. 57.

³² Perkins, 'Imag(in)ing Our Colonial Past', p. 10.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Cleave, 'Old New Zealand, New New Zealand', p. 14.

³⁶ Gary L. Ebersole, *Captured by Texts: Puritan to Post-Modern Images of Indian Captivity* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), p. 193.

³⁷ *Dances with Wolves* (1990); *The Last of the Mohicans* (1990).

³⁸ Raj Vasil, *Biculturalism: Reconciling Aotearoa with New Zealand* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1988), p. 17.

³⁹ J. M. R. Owens, 'New Zealand Before Annexation', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, second edition, edited by Geoffrey W. Rice (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 47.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Laurie Barber, *New Zealand: A Short History* (Auckland: Century Hutchinson, 1989), pp. 36-37.

⁴² Jack Lee, *An Unholy Trinity: Three Hokianga Characters* (Northland: Northland Historical Publications Society, 1997), p. 2.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Alex Calder, *The Writing of New Zealand: Inventions and Identities* (Auckland: Reed, 1995), p. 49.

⁴⁵ Colquhoun, 'Pakeha-Maori', p. 2.

⁴⁶ Joan Fitzgerald, 'Images of the Self: Early New Zealand Autobiographies by John Logan Campbell and Frederick Edward Maning', *JCL*, 22 (1988), pp. 16–22; cited in the *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English* (1998), p. 575.

⁴⁷ Alex Calder, *The Writing of New Zealand*, p. 11.

⁴⁸ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, pp. 117, 134.

⁴⁹ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), p. 466, n. 79.

⁵⁰ David Colquhoun, 'Frederick Edward Maning', *DNZB*, vol. I, p. 266.

⁵¹ Alex Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and Other Writings* (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), Introduction, p. 2.

⁵² In his 1985 assessment of Maori and Pakeha culture and his own identity, Michael King concluded that he was simultaneously Pakeha, New Zealander, Irish, Scottish, European 'and, in parts of [his] spirit, Maori'. Michael King, *Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), p. 186.

⁵³ Stuart Hall, Introduction: 'Who Needs "Identity"?', in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, eds, *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996), p. 4.

⁵⁴ Cleave, 'Old New Zealand, New New Zealand', p. 14.

⁵⁵ Judith Binney, review of *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines Under The British Crown* edited by Ann McGrath (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1995), *NZJH*, 30, 1 (1996), p. 87; Erik Olssen, 'Where To From Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-Century Historiography of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 26, 1 (1992), p. 66, cited in Hamish Bremner, 'Masking Identity in Geyserland,' p. 10.

⁵⁶ These revised readings of Pakeha-Maori can be traced to the 1960s and 1970s in the writings of Ormond Wilson who represents them as 'in between' category and as 'a third class' of New Zealander. Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke. A Quarter Century of Upheaval* (Dunedin: McIndoe, 1985), p. 90.

⁵⁷ Lynda Dyson, 'The Construction and Reconstruction of "Whiteness" in New Zealand', *British Review of New Zealand Studies*, 9 (December 1996), pp. 56–58, 93.

⁵⁸ Claudia Bell, *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), p. 9. The work of the Indian scholar Dipesh Chakrabarty is noted in the Introduction. Writers from this subaltern studies group including Guha, Bhabha and Spivak have attempted to construct an alternative account of imperial domination. Subaltern studies are now the focus of some New Zealand scholars in History.

⁵⁹ James Belich, *Making Peoples*; Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', p. 90, called *Making Peoples* 'the first major restatement by a single hand of the entire historical experience in the New Zealand archipelago since the short histories by Oliver and Sinclair'.

⁶⁰ Jeanine Graham, review of *Making Peoples, Landfall*, by James Belich 192 (Spring 1996), p. 320.

⁶¹ Paul Meredith, 'Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *He Pukenga Korero*, 4, 2 (Autumn 1999), p. 12.

⁶² Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 132.

⁶³ Ibid; pp.132-133.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 132, 138-139, 172, 185, 243.

⁶⁵ Barbara Brookes, review of *Making Peoples* by James Belich, *NZJH*, 31, 2 (October 1997), p. 271.

⁶⁶ Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp. 132.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 252.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 172.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ These ideas are informed by Reid Perkins, 'Imag(in)ing Our Colonial Past', p. 21.

⁷¹ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and The Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, pp. 117, 134.

⁷² Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 156.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 185-186.

⁷⁴ Moana Jackson, 'Criminality and the Exclusion of Maori', in *Essays on Criminal Law in New Zealand* (University of Waikato: Maori Bibliography, 1990), pp. 23–24.

⁷⁵ Evelyn Stokes, *A History of Tauranga County* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1980), p. 55, cited in Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 185.

⁷⁶ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 243

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 129, 131, 136.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 172.

⁷⁹ Ibid; pp.249-251.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.256.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp.158, 172. The image of Maori and Pakeha voyagers had previously been explored by Michael King in *Pakeha. The Quest for Identity* (Auckland: Penguin, 1991), p. 9, where King maintains: 'we were all immigrants to these islands, our ancestors boat people who arrived by waka, ship or aeroplane.'

⁸² Brookes, review of *Making Peoples*, *NZJH*, 31, 2 (October 1997), p. 270

⁸³ Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773–1815* (Auckland: Viking, 1997); *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642–1772* (Auckland: Viking, 1993).

⁸⁴ John Owens, review of, *Between Worlds*, by Anne Salmond, *Landfall*, 196 (Spring 1998), p. 306.

⁸⁵ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p. 313 .

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸⁸ Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).

⁸⁹ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region 1630–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. x.

⁹⁰ James Axtell, *The European and The Indian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 24.

⁹¹ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p. 516.

⁹² Ibid., p. 367.

⁹³ ‘Dyson The Construction and Reconstruction of “Whiteness”’, p. 59, n.103.

⁹⁴ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, pp. 360-361, 383-384.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 324.

⁹⁶ This sentence is informed by June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), p. 151.

⁹⁷ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, pp. 310, 326, 358–59, 369, 381, 453.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 311.

⁹⁹ Giselle Byrnes, review of *The Welcome of Strangers: an ethnohistory of southern Maori AD 1650–1850*, by Atholl Anderson, *Landfall*, 197 (Autumn 1999), p. 148.

¹⁰⁰ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p. 307.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 309–310.

¹⁰² Greg Denning, review of *Between Worlds* by Anne Salmond, *Australian Historical Studies*, 112 (April 1999), p. 177.

¹⁰³ These ideas are informed by Dyson, ‘The Construction and Reconstruction of “Whiteness” ’, p. 55.

¹⁰⁴ Klaus Neumann, Nicholas Thomas and Hilary Ericksen, *Quicksands: Foundational Histories of Australia and New Zealand* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1999), pp. xv–xxii.

¹⁰⁵ See also Jock Phillips, *A Man’s Country?* pp. 192, 288–89.

¹⁰⁶ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 214.

¹⁰⁷ Senka Bozic Vrbancic, ‘Maori and Tararua: Colonial Representations of Maori and Croatians on the Gumfields, 1880–1940’ (unpublished MA dissertation in Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1998), pp. 7–8.

¹⁰⁸ Liu, *New Zealand Identities*, pp. 16–17, 69–88.

¹⁰⁹ Irihapeti Ramsden, ‘Doing it for the Mokopuna’, in *Vision Aotearoa: Kaupapa New Zealand*, edited by Witi Ihimaera (Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books, 1994).

Concluding Remarks

This thesis has charted the history of an idea; that is, the representation of images of Pakeha-Maori, those men who lived (some for a lifetime) at the interstices of cultural contact, often thriving at the in-between zones, or in Greg Denning's terms between the "island" and the 'beach'. Each chapter in the study centres on one or more major writers, their representation of Pakeha-Maori and considers some of the influences that helped shape these representations.

Chapter One, 'Negotiating and Constructing Pakeha-Maori in A. S. Thomson's *The Story of New Zealand*', discussed this text as the first major retrospective view of Pakeha-Maori after annexation. It maintains that Thomson represented Pakeha-Maori as a unique episode in our history, a distinctive type of 'settler'. Thomson was the first writer in New Zealand to gather historical records on Pakeha-Maori, creating a history and a place for them in New Zealand history. Thomson provided foundational images for Pakeha-Maori, laying the basis for the ways in which many subsequent historians would represent them. The chapter confirms that Thomson was the first historian to make regular use of the term 'Pakeha-Maori' and that the term entered widespread usage in New Zealand literature with the publication of *The Story of New Zealand* and Maning's *Old New Zealand*.

Chapter One also confirms that Thomson represents Pakeha-Maori as anachronisms and writes about them in the past tense. Thomson was anxious to show how the decline of Pakeha-Maori coincided with increased European immigration and

settlement and he employed dubious statistics to plot this process. Thomson was a military man as well as a doctor, and he wrote in a genre that incorporated imperial world views made up of particular military and racial ideas that glorified order and progress. This perspective demanded that the demise of Pakeha-Maori be predicted, described and condoned. Thomson's writing on Pakeha-Maori reflects the tropes of discovery and salvage and the way he constructs his subjects as definite entities that could be known and symbolically possessed by European readers. Thomson was thereby able to control in text a class who lived 'outside' European society and law and who were notoriously uncontrollable and unpredictable.

Chapter One concludes that Arthur Thomson's *The Story of New Zealand* was an influential text. Reprints are still available in public libraries and it is cited in bibliographies of historians from Rusden to Belich (though his judgements are not accepted uncritically). Thomson's images of Pakeha-Maori as an admixture of vanishing savages and pioneers of progress influenced many later writers by reinforcing in their minds the whole canon of stereotypes about them.

Pakeha-Maori themselves were agents in the weavings of perceptions of this 'class'. As runaway convicts and sailors, many shunned European contact. Others knew their stories were marketable and wrote about or dictated their experiences. Chapter Two, 'Constructing a Pakeha-Maori Self in F. E. Maning's *Old New Zealand*', concludes that, while A. S. Thomson opened large vistas on Pakeha-Maori, Maning closed them down. Anxious to re-enter the new world of settler New Zealand and obtain an official post in Governor Grey's administration that recognised his knowledge of Maori, Maning constructed a Pakeha-Maori identity in *Old New Zealand* that was acceptable to British readers generally and his prospective employers specifically.

Chapter Two maintains that Maning's extensive use of Maori language and his connections with Maori at Onoke are markers of a bicultural hybridity that was still real in 1863. It argues that, in the tradition of the trickster, Maning employs exaggeration and satire as part of a subtle and sophisticated resistance that is both anti-Maori and anti-Pakeha. *Old New Zealand* illustrates how those who partially assimilated as Maori created problems of boundaries, while (with a few exceptions) those who fully assimilated achieved total invisibility and were lost.

Chapter Two concludes that *Old New Zealand* remains a problematic text. It is part diary, autobiography, and political tract, a narrative for adults, and a boy's own adventure story that still allows readers opportunities for imaginative identity transformation. Frederick Maning symbolises the epic struggle of the bicultural settler on the pre-annexation New Zealand frontier. Maning's narrative provided lessons of adaptability, resourcefulness and courage in the face of difficulty. These themes are still significant in New Zealand literature today, and have resonated down through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for generations of New Zealanders. The publishing history (five editions between 1863 and 1900 and at least fifteen editions thereafter, plus numerous abridgements in anthologies) tells the story of the success of Maning's *Old New Zealand* and its subsequent evolution into one of New Zealand's classic texts.

Chapter Three, 'White Savages and Culture-Crossing Pioneers', explores the general histories of New Zealand of the second half of the nineteenth century. It concludes that these texts reflected a concern to impose a structure and order on New Zealand's past and to present it in a systematic fashion. These texts treated Pakeha-Maori as a distinct type of culture-crossing settler and an important phase in New Zealand history. Pakeha-Maori became one of colonial New Zealand's persistent obsessions, allowing Europeans in the aftermath of the New Zealand Wars to redefine themselves in terms of their differences from Maori and their differences from Britons. Maning died in 1883 leaving behind *Old New Zealand* and a Pakeha-Maori character colonial writers and readers were comfortable with. This section maintains that scholarly representations of Pakeha-Maori in the New Zealand histories of this period were shaped by Maning's *Old New Zealand* and to a lesser extent the works of Craik and Thomson.

At the end of the New Zealand Wars, the physical struggle was replaced by a textual one. As historians attempted to redefine the cultural and social boundaries, Pakeha-Maori became a contest of interpretation. While Pakeha-Maori remained a recognisable entity, Rusden, Bourke, Moss, and Sherrin began to reconstruct the traders Maning and Barrett, normalising or Europeanising them as part of a useable settler past. This refashioning had ideological significance, confirming the legitimacy

of colonising Britons, and identifying/emphasising Maori as a subordinate group requiring the benefits of civilisation. Refashioning Pakeha-Maori as European settlers helped writers assert an Anglo-centric interpretation of New Zealand settlement, reclaiming the past by making it clear who was Maori and who was Pakeha. By the turn of the century, the image of Pakeha-Maori as civilising British settler was firmly entrenched in the literature, reflecting deep-rooted anxieties about issues of race, class and identity in New Zealand.

Chapter Three confirms that appropriation of Pakeha-Maori was part of the process of indigenisation, whereby settler society incorporated or applied indigenous components to itself, thereby transforming Europeans from aliens to indigenes. It concludes that contested images of Pakeha-Maori as white savages and pioneering settlers arose from the ways different writers used them to articulate myths of settlement. As agents of progress, Pakeha-Maori helped to advance British culture among the indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand. As white Maori, Pakeha-Maori could be employed to help create an imagined indigenous ancestry and a sense of Pakeha history as something distinctive.

Chapter Four, 'Pakeha-Maori and National Identity', examines the representations of Pakeha-Maori at a time when the first generation of New Zealanders was coming to terms with national identity. It contends that in the decades following the publication of Reeves' *Long White Cloud* (1898), Pakeha-Maori were utilised by some historians as part of the effort to publicise a colourful past, to help produce the idea of New Zealand as a nation and define Pakeha in terms of their differences from Britons. These texts called on Pakeha-Maori to illuminate early Maori-Pakeha relations and Pakeha settler heroism, revealing the extent to which Pakeha-Maori were part of efforts to promote a distinctive New Zealand past.

The chapter traces the influence of Frederick Maning's *Old New Zealand* on these representations of Pakeha-Maori and concludes that, for many writers of the period, he embodied settler adaptability, hard work and physical prowess. By emphasising these qualities and his Pakeha-Maori status, Maning was distinguished from the British heritage and cast as an indigenous national character. The discussion also maintains that the early decades of the twentieth century were a time of consolidation

in representing Pakeha-Maori. As writers like McNab and Buick endeavoured to push New Zealand history back beyond the Treaty of Waitangi, Pakeha-Maori were given a place in New Zealand history.

Dualistic images of Pakeha-Maori as white savage and civilising trader in these histories can be interpreted as a sign of settler guilt, and reflect persistent ideologies of Victorian race discourse and the doctrine of 'fatal impact'. Attributing pre-annexation Maori social dislocation and population decline to white savages bent on self-gratification permitted Pakeha writers to identify with and lay claim to Maning, Barrett, and Tapsell as founding fathers of the colony. The biographies and autobiographies of Maning, Rutherford, Bent, Tapsell, and Perrett published and republished alongside the general histories of New Zealand in this era continued meanwhile to offer Pakeha readers opportunities for imaginative identity transformation and new ways of looking at race relations by contrasting their own values with those presented by Pakeha-Maori as being Maori. Chapter Four suggests that, in the first half of the twentieth century, Pakeha readers preferred to interact with Maori and Pakeha-Maori through books. Appropriating Pakeha-Maori helped writers define a past for Pakeha. A Pakeha-Maori heritage could help New Zealand become a nation with a distinctive culture and past.

Chapter Five, 'Manipulating Symbols: Representations of Pakeha-Maori in the Works of James Cowan', discussed Cowan's biographical works on Kimble Bent and Hans Tapsell and his short story anthologies which contain a number of Pakeha-Maori tales. In *The Adventures of Kimble Bent*, Cowan used the term Pakeha-Maori as a metaphor for a 'decivilized outlander'. Cowan's imagery projects Pakeha-Maori as criminals, deserters, outcasts, and rebels who reject the benefits of civilisation to follow an instinctive life among Maori. Bent, for instance, is drawn fully into their world. Cowan's Pakeha-Maori representations were ambivalent however. Hans Tapsell, for example retained European dress and behaviours while living in a Maori environment, so for Cowan, Pakeha-Maori could also maintain contact with Europe and Europeans, and facilitate change among Maori.

Chapter Five confirms that Cowan's principal genre was a narrative form that shifted between formal history and the yarn, a mixture of fact and fiction aimed at the male

audience he believed would empathise with his views. Like Thomson and Maning, Cowan was able to utilise his extensive knowledge of Maori and Pakeha-Maori to write about them. Between Maning's *Old New Zealand* and Cowan's works, Pakeha-Maori were textualised by writers who had never interacted with them. Cowan's writing represents new perspectives, as he discusses post-colonisation Pakeha-Maori in detail, and has a whole vision of New Zealand history.

Chapter Five concludes that, like Belich in the twentieth century, Cowan looked again at Pakeha-Maori and accorded them an important place in contact history which opened up new perspectives on them. Cowan's Pakeha-Maori tales were also part of a pattern in which late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers turned to Maori culture for a past in which they could feel 'at home'. Cowan's culture-crossers provided an important historical association with the land. His Pakeha-Maori helped people the landscape with myth and meaning and a sense of history and tradition, different from the cultural traditions that linked Pakeha New Zealanders with Britain. The Pakeha-Maori past could provide a sense of indigenous history for Pakeha while serving as an intermediate step in the shift from the primitivism and timelessness of ancient Maori to the modernity and progress of settler New Zealand.

Chapter Six, 'Representations of Pakeha-Maori in Post-Second World War Writing', concludes that the decades of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were a phase of scholarly writing inside and outside the universities. The major expansion of interest in New Zealand history, the influence of Pacific research and writing at the Australian National University, Canberra, and Boasian notions of the equality of cultures in culture contact scholarship helped create and reflect a widespread interest in New Zealand's early culture-crossing Pakeha, a shift in perception about Pakeha-Maori, and a revision of the roles they were given in the short general histories of Morrell and Hall, Sinclair, and Oliver.

The short general histories of the 1950s and 1960s represented Pakeha-Maori as a colourful but insignificant phase in New Zealand's past. These texts were written at a time when Maori were migrating to the cities and asserting their cultural identity.¹ During the post-war period Pakeha-Maori remained an elastic term, defined according to the individual agendas of the writers. For historians like Sinclair and Oliver, who

were involved in progressive political and social campaigns, the issues of mixed race and mixed-race communities were not issues of the past but of the present and future.

The short general histories indicated that while Pakeha-Maori had become established as distinctive characters in the settlement of New Zealand, nineteenth-century ideologies of race and class remained firmly in place. The emphasis placed on Pakeha-Maori as obstacles to progress, their destructive influence on Maori, and their confinement to the pre-annexation period reflected notions of fatal impact prevalent at the time.² Sinclair's emphasis on the negative impact of all Pakeha-Maori types was part of the wider concern with rewriting New Zealand history and re-evaluating the effects of European colonisation.

Chapter Seven, 'Belich, Salmond and Beyond: Post-Colonial Representations of Pakeha-Maori', argues that the 1980s and 1990s saw a much more sustained volume of scholarship on Pakeha-Maori by writers interested in the social and cultural history of New Zealand. It considers the academic theses of Colquhoun, Wigglesworth, McLean, Riddell, Kerbel, and Bremner and concludes that the interstice or 'inbetween' in the relationship between Maori and Pakeha continues to be acknowledged and symbolised by their use of the term Pakeha-Maori.

This section asserts that *Monday's Warriors* and *The Piano* were part of the growing Pakeha interest in biculturalism and affinity with Maori and/or the New Zealand environment. Pakeha-Maori give New Zealand history distinctiveness which fits in with claims to nation making. Modern bicultural identity built on elements of Maoritanga and Pakehatanga have the potential to provide powerful symbols of identity. Today it is possible for Pakeha-Maori to be ancestors of both Maori and Pakeha rather than marginal, forgotten, or devalued by both.

The last section of this chapter examined the ways James Belich and Anne Salmond have employed Pakeha-Maori in their texts *Making Peoples* (1996) and *Between Worlds* (1998) to offer new insights about the way in which New Zealand society has been shaped. It concludes that these new explorations and representations were not merely outcomes of academic concern, but ones entangled in the social and political realities of modern New Zealand, particularly public interest in tikanga Maori and

race relations, anxieties about claims before the Waitangi Tribunal, and general interest in biculturalism. Modern writers like Belich and Salmond look at Pakeha-Maori differently, as, today, historians have new perspectives on cultural issues; and as subaltern studies and the growth in 'history from below' has encouraged the exploration of the lives of ordinary, marginal men and women, Pakeha-Maori have been reconceived in the general historical framework.

I conclude that the histories of Belich and Salmond employ Pakeha-Maori to help illustrate the entangled Maori-Pakeha past. Their images indicate that writers have not yet finished with Pakeha-Maori, who continue to carry an enormous weight of meaning in contemporary historiographical discourse. Their texts affirm that Pakeha-Maori have not died out but are part of an ongoing cultural dynamism in New Zealand/Aotearoa.

The milieu of the pre-colonial Pakeha-Maori era has been discussed in some detail in my own texts, *Pakeha Maori* (1999) and *Captured by Maori* (2004). The present study has consequently examined colonial and modern representations from the 1850s to the 1990s and has concentrated not on Pakeha-Maori themselves, but on how they were imagined by British and Pakeha authors, the genre they were represented in, the words used to describe them, the spaces they occupied in the minds of nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers, and the metaphors used by these writers to map these spaces for their readers.

This study has examined how British and Pakeha writers have depicted, explicitly or implicitly, European or Pakeha males and females who to a greater or lesser extent crossed over to, into, and towards Maori culture. It has considered why Pakeha-Maori were marginalised by some colonial writers who in their general histories suppressed the complex identities of Pakeha-Maori and excluded them from the narrative of New Zealand history. The study has considered texts in which writers claimed for themselves the designation 'Pakeha-Maori' once reserved for outcasts, or consistently represented them as British settlers or Pakeha founding fathers who retained their European values and lifeways. It has made informed speculations about the ways various modern writers have represented Pakeha-Maori in text to promote

and reflect the current interest in biculturalism and how these images operate in non-fiction literature as well as in a fiction text and a film.

In this study, the main hypothesis is that the histories of New Zealand change as the attitudes of the writers towards the past change. The study confirms that historians read the same sources in different ways, so the textualisations of Rutherford, Maning, Tapsell, Barrett, Marmon, or Bent, for instance, reflect changing views. The writings show that there is not just one interpretation of Pakeha-Maori and that images change depending on the era, cultural politics, literary issues, interests, and ethnicity of the authors. Attitudes to any European sojourning among Maori present a complex picture as many writers disapproved of anyone 'going native', yet admired Pakeha-Maori like Maning or Barrett who successfully crossed boundaries in pursuit of profit, and non-Pakeha-Maori, like Earle and Best, who successfully crossed in pursuit of knowledge.

Wide reading of scholarly colonial texts and post-colonial theoretical texts was undertaken, contributing to knowledge by providing a major new overview of wide-ranging discourse, though it has not been exhaustive in detail. The study commences one hundred and forty years ago with the publication of A. S. Thomson's *The Story of New Zealand* (1859) and concludes with James Belich's *Making Peoples* (1996). It has explored a broad timeframe and numerous non fiction texts for statements and judgements about Pakeha-Maori, looked at the backgrounds and grand designs of selected writers, and how they have utilised Pakeha-Maori as subjects.

Specifically, by reviewing general histories of New Zealand and related texts including Victorian travel books, Pakeha-Maori narratives, anthologies, biographies autobiographies and local histories, this study has confirmed the relationship between the ways Pakeha-Maori were represented and the genre they are represented in. This study has also confirmed that representations of Pakeha-Maori are always mediated by cultural forms and processes so this thesis is a history of attitudes toward Pakeha-Maori as expressed in texts. It has examined the interactions between textualised representations of Pakeha-Maori and ideology and concludes that the conjunction of ideology and reality resulted in multiple images of Pakeha-Maori which suggests the

extent to which images of Pakeha-Maori could be accommodated within colonial and post-colonial frameworks.

Under the general rubric that historical interpretations change over time, this thesis has made two further claims: first, that Pakeha-Maori can be considered indicators of the wider state of 'race relations' in New Zealand; and second that interest in Pakeha-Maori has, for the last 150 years, coincided with interest in nation making and national identity.

By giving attention to how historians attempted to understand and explain Pakeha-Maori in the eras and in the language of colonialism and post-colonialism, the thesis additionally confirms that the term 'Pakeha-Maori' was used subjectively to illuminate the wider views the writers had about race relations or cultural interaction. Villified by missionary writers as degenerates in the pre-colonial era and as white savages during the New Zealand Wars when Maori were perceived as a threat, images of Pakeha-Maori serve as an accurate barometer or litmus test for Maori-Pakeha relations in different eras. Rehabilitated by traveller-observers like Thomson who were dependent on Maori and Pakeha-Maori during the Wakefield colonisation period and reconstructed as important settler ancestors by cultural nationalist writers from the end of the nineteenth century when Maori population and power were in decline, the thesis has also revealed how, in this age of biculturalism and multiculturalism, Pakeha-Maori are now being appropriated by modern writers who represent them as bicultural figures.

Much of the critical literature considered in this study has been affected by and created out of the current 'postcolonial movement', where scholars (both in New Zealand and elsewhere) are turning their attention to the various ways in which Europeans have attempted to validate their presence in settler societies; how they have sought to efface their role as colonisers; and how they have been marginalising and appropriating many aspects of indigenous identities. A great source of inspiration for scholars in New Zealand has come from the work of Peter Gibbons, whose ideas on 'cultural colonisation' have encouraged historians to re-think the meaning of colonisation in the New Zealand context; most notably with the argument that colonisation was not a discrete chronological phase in the linear and progressive

development of 'the nation', but rather an ongoing process that continues into the present. Gibbons provocative suggestion that the project of national identity is itself a type of colonising device has been particularly influential.³ This thesis is part of this cultural and intellectual turn and has engaged with this rapidly expanding postcolonial literature through a multidisciplinary approach.

This study follows several excellent research papers and theses that have now been produced on individual Pakeha-Maori but there is scope for more research in this area. Pakeha-Maori enter New Zealand history each time the story of New Zealand is told and retold. They live on through the texts and theses that continue to be written about them. In breadth and scope, this thesis illustrates but by no means exhausts the topic and the understanding of Pakeha-Maori. It does, however, elucidate the extent to which Pakeha-Maori have remained an important feature of New Zealand historical literature. More significantly, it reveals the way Pakeha-Maori have a place which influences the general interpretation of New Zealand history and the history of interpretation.

The invention and representation of Pakeha-Maori has been a prolonged process that has engaged the imaginations and energies of many writers. This study confirms that Pakeha-Maori have remained a persistent presence in our non-fiction literature. From the first published biography of John Rutherford in 1830 to the modern history texts of Belich, Salmond, and King, the anthologies of Denning, Lamb, and Calder, and in film and fiction by Campion and Shadbolt, the contested image of Pakeha-Maori remains a significant subject. Pakeha-Maori continue to provide plenty of scope for research. Scholarly and public interest in them remains undiminished and their characterisations endure in the works of A. S. Thomson, Frederick Maning, William Pember Reeves, and James Cowan, which remain available in our public libraries.

The textual representation of culture-crossing Pakeha is part of the general narrative of New Zealand history. There are, however, inconsistencies and discrepancies in the use of the term 'Pakeha-Maori' throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The question of when and why people draw a line between culture-crossers who were or who were not termed 'Pakeha-Maori,' reflects the views of historians who wrote from different perspectives in different eras. Modern historians have begun to label

many early culture-crossing Europeans as Pakeha-Maori for the first time, so labelling someone Pakeha-Maori is not a random or arbitrary exercise but one that consistently reflects changing social and ideological positions over time.

This study establishes that, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, writers of well-read general histories and related texts created a textualised Pakeha-Maori through persistent, changing and shifting images and metaphors. The thesis has been concerned with these images, imagery and clusters of images. An array of dominant images have been identified in the literature: drunken degenerates, respectable traders, ethnological specimens, white savages, cultural intermediaries, noble British or New Zealand pioneers, historical anachronisms, helpless captives, threatening renegades, romantic frontiersmen, comic figures, quasi-indigenous New Zealanders, valuable inside eyewitnesses, marketable symbols of a colourful past, and harbingers of a bicultural future. These images have frequently centred around specific Pakeha-Maori: the Taupo 'specimen', Frederick Maning, Charles Marshall, Richard Barrett, Hans Tapsell, Barnett Burns, John Rutherford, James Caddell, Kimble Bent, and Jacky Marmon, who have been discussed in the preceding chapters.

In each era, Pakeha-Maori remained open to historical interpretation and revision and as authors consciously or unconsciously sought to resist or refuse the ambiguous nature of these figures they were rendered in simplistic rather than complex terms. Dominant images of Pakeha-Maori often fall into two broad categories in the colonial texts: those who were acceptable to Pakeha society and those who were not. Bad Pakeha-Maori were those who, close to Maori, rejected, resisted or failed to meet Pakeha norms, standards and expectations. Good Pakeha-Maori retained their European values and, often dignified and entrepreneurial, were easily incorporated into Pakeha myths of contact and settlement.

Generally, one set of images achieved ascendancy over the others depending on the author and the era, and those opposing images, by the very fact of their opposition, helped images of Pakeha-Maori to evolve. The thesis demonstrates that 'Pakeha-Maori' *was* and *is* an image crowded with judgements, values, illusions, and moral postures that have required it to carry an enormous weight of meaning. Images of Pakeha-Maori are kaleidoscopic, but not random, as the elements which made up the

patterns of their lives and identities as bicultural people were constantly renegotiated by nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers. Consequently, in describing Pakeha-Maori, the historians often illuminated, perpetuated, or contradicted the textual imagery of their predecessors and their peers

Pakeha-Maori were never completely subjugated or truly silenced by the process of colonisation. They have left a body of literature, though it has often been appropriated by writers to highlight normality on either side of the ethnic divide and a sense of separate Maori and Pakeha identity. H. E. Maude pointed to the unique value of beachcombers as a source of knowledge for historians, for their accounts have the value of actual experience.⁴ Modern historians like Olssen and Belich and anthropologists like Salmond, Cleave, and Anderson, have turned to Pakeha-Maori for similar reasons and because the narratives Pakeha-Maori have left are now considered part of New Zealand literature. We have repatriated Captain Cook and non-Pakeha-Maori culture-crossing travellers like the artists Earle and Angas, and made them honorary Kiwis. Their stories are republished alongside Maning in anthologies of 'indigenous' New Zealand literature, illustrating the way in which literature moves and changes.

While anthropologists have demonstrated that oral peoples quite self-consciously preserve history through oral tradition, historians have become increasingly aware that literate peoples (including historians themselves) are prone to myth-making.⁵ This thesis illustrates the way Pakeha writers have understood and told the story of Pakeha-Maori. It shows how these writers have used literature to make sense of Pakeha-Maori, deploying language and imagery to shape and reflect them within imperial, national, regional, ethnic, and bicultural stories. This thesis is part of the ongoing study and reinterpretation of the New Zealand past undertaken by modern Pakeha writers such as Leonard Bell, Martin Blythe, Reid Perkins, Peter Cleave, and Alex Calder, who have attempted to show the way Maori and/or Pakeha-Maori have been represented in text and film. Their writings are part of a general discourse about biculturalism which itself is an idealised and highly problematic term.

Judith Binney maintains that history is the shaping of the past by those living in the present. She argues that the 'telling of history' in oral or written forms 'is not, and

never has been, neutral' as it always reflects 'the priorities of the narrators and their perceptions of their worlds'.⁶

All histories derive from a particular time, a particular place, and a particular cultural heritage. The life of any good written history in Western European culture may itself be only ten to 15 years before its subject matter is liable to be reinterpreted by another generation of writers.... Historical rewriting conveys an inevitable subjectivity, as well as a new objectivity, which enables people to see the past, and the present, afresh.⁷

Images of Pakeha-Maori in New Zealand non-fiction texts never occur in a vacuum. That images of Pakeha-Maori have not remained static over time is perhaps the best evidence for their function in serving changing European and Pakeha needs.

Edward Said has argued that it is not possible to access the past as it was and that every account is a reading of a construction.⁸ The texts representing Pakeha-Maori were created through a combination of different contextual elements such as the authors' life experiences, interests, and other writings. Ideology and the publishing market were also primary concerns for these writers, and as they evolved in historical and literary representations, Pakeha-Maori incorporated the changing preoccupations and symbols of Maori, Pakeha, and Maori-Pakeha New Zealanders. At various times, exaggerated images of villainous, idle, captive, comic, savage, mysterious, industrious, rebellious, and heroic Pakeha-Maori were employed, inspired by particular agendas. Images of Pakeha-Maori reflect the eras and their ideologies; pre-colonial, post-colonial, and modern and were constructed to suit the aims of their creators.

Having reviewed numerous definitions of the term 'Pakeha-Maori', it is clear that there is no complete agreement as to the nature of the term and that it remains open to new interpretations. Use of the term in newspapers declines in the late nineteenth century, suggesting that it fell into disuse. The change from common verbal usage to confinement largely in texts indicates a shift in perceptions of Pakeha identity, including greater confidence in that identity. Throughout the twentieth century the term was not widely used by New Zealanders but has remained an active term in the literature, the most recent definition provided by Calder in *Old New Zealand and Other Writings* (2001):

It is fitting that our most famous ‘Pakeha Maori’ embodies so many contradictions. Both halves of that doublet are coinages of the nineteenth century. They are words, as Greg Denning might say, from the beach: pakeha – a European, an unknown quantity, a stranger from the sea; Maori – normal, un-weird, the people of the land. Putting the two together is the subject, and the problem, not only of these texts, but of New Zealand as a society founded on settlement. I can also say that a ‘pakeha-Maori’ is an historical term for a European, usually a trader, living as a Maori among Maori: not so much a person who has ‘gone native’ as someone at home between cultures, a canny intermediary between ship and shore.⁹

Within the last generation Pakeha-Maori and their mixed-race descendants have become the subject of several biographical Master’s theses. What other related lines of research could others follow in other times and places? Journalists have always found Pakeha-Maori stories ideal fillers for Sunday newspapers. During this study I have drawn attention to articles and serialised articles on Marmon, Marshall, Maning, and Perrett, and to how Cowan’s newspaper histories were recycled in his books. A diligent researcher could follow these articles on Pakeha-Maori.

It would also be possible for researchers to trace, through whakapapa and the Maori Land Court records, many so-called Pakeha-Maori who are not recorded in the published literature. Pakeha-Maori who appear in many New Zealand romance and adventure novels would also be worthy of attention. Nineteenth-century culture-crossing Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Negroes in New Zealand would make a similarly fascinating study. Chapter Four linked Pacific and American captivity narratives with the New Zealand captivity tales of James Caddell, John Rutherford, Elizabeth Guard, Caroline Perrett and others. This captivity theme has been explored recently in *Captured by Maori: White Female Captives, Sex and Racism on the Nineteenth Century New Zealand Frontier* (2004).

In *White Blackfellows* (1950), Charles Barrett considered white blackfellows, beachcombers, and Pakeha-Maori to be similar types.¹⁰ It was not until the 1980s and 1990s, however, that Pakeha-Maori have been transformed by a growing sense among scholars of a global reach, conscious perhaps that similar phenomena occur on all middle grounds. This trend is illustrated after 1978 when the Alexander Turnbull Library obtained the manuscript of the culture-crossing sealer John Boulton. In *The*

World of John Boulton (1979) the Begg brothers represented the sealer as an important local character and an important eyewitness to southern history. June Starke, who edited the manuscript for the Turnbull Library, however, represented Boulton in her book, *Journal of a Rambler* (1988), as an international wanderer and saw his manuscript as part of nineteenth-century published and unpublished travel literature.¹¹ In *Pakeha Maori* (1999), I emphasised Boulton's biculturalism and described him as a Pakeha-Maori, a term the Beggs and Starke do not use.¹² Thus a previously hidden text has been put into circulation in three ways over three decades by three sets of editors who have different attitudes and perspectives.

Harry Morton viewed Pakeha-Maori as the equivalent of Pacific beachcombers or the French and Scottish traders of North America. Denning, Lamb and Calder view the Bay of Islands as just another location in the Pacific, while Belich and Binney see culture-crossing as a two way process in which foreigners entered the Maori world as much as Maori travellers entered the world of Europe. Their texts mark an important change as Pakeha-Maori become transculturites and transfrontiersmen instead of being New Zealand-centred, indicating that Pakeha-Maori and non Pakeha-Maori culture-crossers are being moulded to fit global grids, types and archetypes

Pakeha-Maori have been a cultural battlefield for Pakeha and they have been used by historians in general and specific ways, often as a barometer for Maori-Pakeha relations. The study has shown how their presence has helped establish and subvert the binary oppositions of Pakeha and Maori, savage and civilised, which were fundamental to racial classifications in nineteenth-century New Zealand. Today, historians view the nineteenth-century past as inhabited by all our ancestors.¹³ In nineteenth-century Aotearoa/New Zealand, the ancestors of Maori and Pakeha were linked and Pakeha-Maori are now textualised to illustrate this intertwining. We now make readings of the past that are different and that were not apparent before the texts of Sinclair, Salmond, Binney, and Belich. Pakeha-Maori now appear to have multiple roles in our society as eyewitnesses to the past and as the mutual ancestors of Maori and Pakeha. Writings about Pakeha-Maori can help overcome divides between Maori and Pakeha by reminding us of our entangled bicultural ancestry. Such writing also reminds many New Zealanders, both Maori and Pakeha, living today of their bicultural heritage.

This thesis has shown how representations have affected imaginings about who Pakeha-Maori are, what New Zealand is, has been, and could be, in the realms of possibility. These ideas and imaginings of Pakeha-Maori affect where Maori, Pakeha, and mixed-race New Zealanders see their own place in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The more we know about the meeting of people along the cultural boundaries that made up New Zealand's early frontiers, the better chance we have to understand the origins of our anxieties and hopes and perhaps deal with each other more humanely.¹⁴

The narratives of John Rutherford, Frederick Maning and Charles Marshall are allegories about man and civilisation. Thomas Kendall and Moengaroa, James Caddell and Tokitoki, and Elizabeth Guard and Oaoiti are models for wider views about our common humanity. As international travel and communication becomes easier, Pakeha and Maori New Zealanders remain a culture-crossing people. As tourists interact with Maori, and Maori and Pakeha intermarriage continues, New Zealand remains a land of cross-cultural encounters. Pakeha-Maori have much to contribute to a deeper understanding of New Zealand history and the character of New Zealand society. The increase in subject matter about Pakeha-Maori is helping alter our ideas about what constituted New Zealand's past and the nature of its future. As Howard Keene observed in his review of *Pakeha Maori*, entitled 'Merging of Two Cultures', in the *Christchurch Press*: 'After all, those who switch cultures not only raise fascinating questions about our personal identities, they also raise questions about our identity as a nation.'¹⁵

Finally, as intercultural history has become a growing area of research and 'history from below' explores the lives of ordinary marginal men and women, Pakeha-Maori have not vanished but enabled New Zealanders to find multiple heritages instead. Whereas people once called others 'Pakeha-Maori' to devalue them, today Pakeha-Maori are being rehabilitated as significant Maori and Pakeha ancestors. In a period when some Pakeha are trying to emphasise bicultural aspects of New Zealand society, these culture-crossing progenitors constitute important historical ancestors, role models we can call upon to foreshadow a more harmonious future. Within this broader issue lies the question of which Pakeha-Maori are celebrated, and which of their various qualities and behaviours will be praised by writers of the next

generation. Considering the status of beachcombers, Maude concluded that in all societies there are cast-offs.¹⁶ Culture-crossing Pakeha are today being given a much wider role in our history, and those who were once the cast-offs of New Zealand's past, may yet become our founding fathers and mothers.

¹ Assimilationist policies were evident in the Hunn Report (1960) and the ‘pepperpotting’ of state houses. It was Maori who, in the 1970s, through hikoi and Tu Tangata demonstrated that assimilation was not going to happen.

² See, for instance, Alan Moorehead’s influential text, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767–1840* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1966).

³ Peter Gibbons, ‘A Note on Writing, Identity and Colonisation in Aotearoa’ in *Sites: A Journal For Radical Perspectives on Culture* 13 (1986), pp. 32-39; ‘Cultural Colonization and National Identity’, *NZJH*, vol. 36, no.1, April 2002, pp. 5-18; ‘The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History’, *NZJH*, vol. 37, no.1, April 2003, pp. 38-49.

⁴ Bill Pearson, *Rifled Sanctuaries: Some Views of the Pacific Islands in Western Literature to 1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1984), p. 60.

⁵ Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998), p. 26.

⁶ Judith Binney, ‘Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History’, *NZJH*, 21, 1 (April 1987), p. 28.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 20-21.

⁹ Alex Calder, ed., *Old New Zealand and Other Writings* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2001), p1.

¹⁰ Charles Barrett, *White Blackfellows: The Strange Adventures of Europeans Who Lived Among Savages* (Melbourne: Hallcraft, 1948), p. 57.

¹¹ June Starke, ed., *Journal of a Rambler: A Journal of John Boulton* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 7.

¹² Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, pp. 49, 123.

¹³ Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland: Auckland University Press and Bridget Williams, 1995), p. 5.

¹⁴ These sentences are a paraphrase from June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), p. xv.

¹⁵ Howard Keene, 'Merging of Two Cultures', review of *Pakeha Maori: The Extraordinary Story of the Europeans who Lived as Maori in Early New Zealand*, Christchurch Press, by Trevor Bentley, 26 June 1999, p. 13.

¹⁶ Cited in Pearson, *Rifled Sanctuaries*, p. 60.

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