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**LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY, AND IDENTITY:**  
Referencing Maori in Biographical Collections

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## **Abbreviations**

- NA National Archives, Wellington.  
WTU Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.  
NZPD New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.

# Contents

	Page
Introduction .....	1
Chapter One – Form .....	9
Chapter Two – Sources .....	38
Chapter Three – Commodities .....	66
Chapter Four – Ideologies .....	91
Conclusion .....	121
Bibliography .....	125

## Introduction

This study will examine how Maori are textually represented in the construction of New Zealand. It will do this by comparing texts of collected biography, dating from the late nineteenth-century until the present. Obviously this use of Maori is not unique to reference biography, but this thesis will largely focus on the texts<sup>1</sup> at hand not the wider cultural practices that may lie behind them. The focus on the "text" at expense of "context" reflects the underlying belief that the making of the Maori culture has largely been a textual act.<sup>2</sup> Texts do not reflect wider political or academic procedures, they construct them. This thesis will look at this phenomenon in the specific location of the reference biography genre.

The texts chosen to form the basis of this study, may appear an arbitrarily selected group with very little that would encourage a natural comparative study. However, as the study progresses the affinities these works have in their modes of textual production will be illustrated. At this point it will be enough to state that these texts all collect together multiple biographies, in the broadest sense of the word, under a national title. Most are concerned with constructing a Maori biographical object in this textual site.

To examine the biographical construction of Maori, emphasis will be on a comparison between *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* of 1940 and *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* which has

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<sup>1</sup> "Text" in this study will take on a wider meaning than "book". Following Derrida, a text will be seen as going beyond the apparent borders of single entities to the other writings that inform the production of meaning in single writings. See, Derrida, Jacques, 'Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences', *Writing and Difference*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> This approach toward cultural invention can be broadly categorised as "constructivist". See, Tilley, Virginia, 'The Terms of the Debate: Untangling Language About Ethnicity and Ethnic Movements', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 20:3(1997), pp.497-522.

been published since 1990.<sup>3</sup> These two works are the major centres of academic and government attempts to use biography for nationalistic purposes. Other collections will also be used, including *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand*,<sup>4</sup> *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*,<sup>5</sup> *The Book of New Zealand Women*,<sup>6</sup> and collections ascribed to Cowan<sup>7</sup> and Gudgeon.<sup>8</sup> These other texts will largely be used to show similarities and differences to the *Dictionaries of New Zealand Biography* that are present in the body of collected biography as a whole. Book length biography is largely left aside in this study, except at points where they overlap with collected biography. Reference biography forms a distinctive genre that needs study in its own right.

Most of these collections are reasonably well known in the historiography of New Zealand but a brief introduction is necessary to locate them in the context of this study. Gudgeon's work carries two titles; *The Defenders of New Zealand* and *Heroes of New Zealand*. Published in 1887, in Auckland, it is a collection of military biographies. The subjects are all soldiers of various kinds -

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<sup>3</sup> Oliver, W.H. (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, vol.1, Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1870-1900*, vol. 2, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1992; Scholefield, G.H. (ed.), *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, (2 vols), Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940.

<sup>4</sup> *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Industrial, Descriptive, History, Biographical Facts, Figures and Illustrations*, (6 vols), Wellington: Cyclopedia Company, 1897-1906.

<sup>5</sup> McIntock, A.H. (ed.), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1966.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonald, Charlotte, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams (eds.), *The Book of New Zealand Women: Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991.

<sup>7</sup> Cowan, James, *Maori Biographies: Sketches of Old New Zealand: Descriptive Catalogue of Maori Portraits Painted by Herr. G. Lindauer*, Auckland: H. E. Partridge, 1901; *Book of the Maori Chiefs*, Wellington: Texaco Publications, 1933.

<sup>8</sup> Gudgeon, Thos. Wayth, *The Defenders of New Zealand: Being a Short History of Colonists Who Distinguished Themselves in Upholding Her Majesty's Supremacy in These Islands*, (alternative title, *Heroes of New Zealand and Maori History of the War*), Auckland: H. Brett, 1887.

volunteers, armed constabulary or imperial soldiers who fought in the land wars. Gudgeon wrote the work as a 'chronicle to their services, so that after-generations may look back with pride on the doings of their forefathers'.<sup>9</sup> Of the 94 entries that comprise the main section of the work, 11 are kupapa Maori. Most of these eleven are today recognised leaders of the kupapa armies. Major Kemp, Major Ropata, Renata Kawepo, Mete Kingi and Wiremu Katene are included.

*The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* is a massive work. Published by a private company between 1897-1906. It is made up of six volumes organised on a provincial basis. Some volumes run to over 1500 pages. The vast majority of entries are biography of living subjects. The amount of biography produced in these volumes far outstrips any other New Zealand text<sup>10</sup> but Maori biography are barely present in it. This can partially be explained by the fact the vast majority of biography were included on payment by the subject. *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* has multiple functions written into it. Chief among these is as an advertisement for potential immigrants.<sup>11</sup> These factors, coupled with the way discourses of "development", "settlement", and "progress" are arranged in the text leaves Maori occupying a peripheral textual space. This makes the work unique in terms of New Zealand reference writings. In most other collections appropriation of the indigenous is the key commodity in the writing a national text.

The two collections of James Cowan biographies are, in contrast to *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, totally devoted to Maori entries. One, the *Book of the Maori Chiefs*, is a give-away collection of six

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, title page. It has been described by one critic as a 'sacred object', to be placed along side the Bible in the home of the colonists, see, McEldowney, Dennis 'Publishing, Patronage, Literary Magazines', Sturm, Terry (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991, p.549.

<sup>10</sup> This gives this work present uses beyond that of other New Zealand reference biography, e.g., Morton, Madelaine, *Women Named in the Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, (microfilm), Auckland: New Zealand Society of Genealogists, 1986.

<sup>11</sup> *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol.1, v.

biography sponsored by Texaco. This can be seen in the light of a whole sub-species of textual productions that circulated Maori biographies through popular media such as calendars, post cards, newspapers and magazines between the wars.<sup>12</sup> These texts located a New Zealand nationalism in the presence of biography of Maori. *Sketches of Old New Zealand*, as the title suggests, makes similar use of the Maori object in constructing a text of New Zealand. These biographies are a companion to the Partridge collection of Lindauer sketches and paintings.

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* was sponsored by the Department of Internal Affairs as part of the centennial publications. Modelled on the British *Dictionary of National Biography*, it seeks to reconstruct New Zealand's past through 'information about any person who had significance in the dominion'.<sup>13</sup> Maori biography was key to this. The two volumes of the work include entries of people dead by 1940. A proposed third volume of living subjects was never completed because of disputes over payment, copyright, and content between the editor, G.H. Scholefield and the Department of Internal Affairs.<sup>14</sup>

*The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, dating from 1990, is best read as an update of the 1940 dictionary into the language of the present national discourse. Maori are the supreme site of nationalism in this work. Like its 1940 predecessor it was produced by central government to commemorate the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The first two volumes, published in 1990 and 1992 and loosely covering the periods 1769-1869 and 1870-1900, will be used for this study. By focusing on the first two volumes only, this study will largely be an account of biography of nineteenth-century Maori. This makes comparison with the 1940

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<sup>12</sup> E.g., Scholefield's 'Nga Rangatira' calendar with sketches by Henry Edwards.

<sup>13</sup> Scholefield, vol.1, xii.

<sup>14</sup> G.H. Scholefield to Secretary of Internal Affairs, 2/4/1949; Department of Internal Affairs internal memo, 17/6/1955; G.H. Scholefield to Secretary of Internal Affairs, 19/2/1962, IA1 62/9/2, NA.

*Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* possible as the vast majority of Maori entries in that volume "made their mark" in the nineteenth-century.

Between the two dictionaries of biography lies *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. This work is a standard national encyclopaedia, in three volumes, produced by the Department of Internal Affairs. Biography are interspersed among other historical and geographical entries. Published in 1966, Maori biography are self-consciously important to the text's make-up.<sup>15</sup> Like *The 1990 Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, the idea for the work lay with bureaucrats in Internal Affairs and was approved by cabinet.<sup>16</sup> This state sponsorship of the biographical text is one point where the genre's production varies from the original British model in New Zealand.

*The Book of New Zealand Women*, by contrast, had no direct government sponsorship. Some grants from university funds 'to assist research and writing'<sup>17</sup> helped fund the project. Like *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* it is concerned with the appropriation of the Maori biographical object. However, it forms a kind of 'alternative'<sup>18</sup> reconstruction of New Zealand history to *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. This is done through the construction of a 'women's experience' in its biography. All these texts are a combination of imported genres and local practices. Construction of Maori biography reflects this and therefore forms a good example of how New Zealand has imagined itself over the past one hundred years.

When this project is described to people, they respond invariably that it sounds like a literature thesis not a history one. However, this thesis is not located in the wrong academic site. The reason is simple. The jury may still be out on what history is, but it seems

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<sup>15</sup> *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol.1, x.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, ix.

<sup>17</sup> *Book of New Zealand Women*, inside title page.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, vii.

that the discipline of history is fundamentally concerned with constructing the effect of change through time in its text. Reference biography will be represented as changing over time in this thesis. When a Maori entry is read in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* there is some fundamental difference from the corresponding entry in the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. This may seem an obvious point but locating this change is problematic.

This thesis, therefore, is a search - a search for where the obvious difference seen in collected biography over time is best understood to reside. Chapter One will look for changes in textual form. Foucault wrote that history is the last resting place for anthropology.<sup>19</sup> Historical biography must be one of the most extreme disciplines of this. It is a textual form that relies on its ability to represent the traditional western concept of humanity - the individual - as narrative. This first chapter examines the narrative structure of the different texts of reference biography in New Zealand. It concludes there is no fundamental difference in structure between nineteenth-century and late twentieth-century production of Maori biography.

Chapter two will examine how "sources" are used in the construction of Maori. It will be seen that a relatively stable set of knowledges are continually transformed into Maori reference biography. How these sources are used will be the focus of this chapter. This combination of a reasonably stable set of narrative tactics and source material produces a relatively stable object - the Maori as "other". The indictment most commonly levelled against "postcolonialism" is its inability to conceive of a subject in terms beyond the "other".<sup>20</sup> Chapter three will illustrate this continuity in reference biography of Maori from Cowan through Scholefield and into the present. It may seem unfair to level the accusation of

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<sup>19</sup> Foucault, Michel, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1972, p.14.

<sup>20</sup> Bhabha, Homi, 'Minority Manoeuvres and Unsettled Negotiations', *Critical Inquiry*, 23:3(1997), pp.431-459, 437.

reference biography constructing an "other" in its text. It has been argued that history cannot conceive of its object in any way.<sup>21</sup> However this chapter will seek to illustrate how the stability of commodities used to represent the "Maori" are a specific "other"; the result of the form and historiography used in writing reference biography in New Zealand.

Maori reference biography maybe producing a text of the "other" but this is not producing a standard ideology over time. It will be argued that only in the political effect of biography can significant divergence be found in depictions of Maori. Chapter four will seek to illustrate different ideologies present in the texts. This will be done by showing how the metaphors of power are arranged around the Maori biographical object. It is only on this level that present biographical representation of Maori differs from what preceded it.

The methodology used in this thesis is a mixture of various writing on the nature of history and literature. If one basic assumption overrides the study it is Derrida's notion that writing does not directly signify non-textual objects. Instead literature connotes through transference and difference within the system of writing. The role of the historian is therefore, not to assess the accuracy of the representation of the object, but to read the metaphors of the writing to reveal the ideology present in textual production.

To do this various concepts of textual analysis have been employed in this thesis. Chapter one does not make large scale use of recent theory of biography. The issues raised in this discourse, such as whether biography is primarily fiction or non-fiction, the differences between literary and historical biography, or how biography reflects developments in the history of the concept of personality, are peripheral to the questions of the how and why the Maori is constructed as biography. Instead some narrative theory will be called upon to show how the texts of this study create a Maori "life". The narrative of the life is read as a kind of

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<sup>21</sup> A famous illustration of this is Derrida's critique of Foucault's writing on madness. See, Derrida, Jacques, 'Cogitio and the History of Madness', *Writing and Difference*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.

overarching metaphor, that provides a code which the reader recognises as mimicking a life.

Chapter two uses De Certeau's and other writings on the nature of historical production to inform the notion that "sources" are a process of constructing, privileging, and self justifying certain knowledges in Maori biography. Chapter three's use of theories of the "other" obviously owes a lot, indirectly, to the writings of Edward Said. He described *Orientalism* as 'a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience....In addition the Orient has helped to define Europe'.<sup>22</sup> If Orient is substituted for Maori and Europe for New Zealand, the basic premise of chapter three is well summarised. Closer to home, Bernard Smith's study of European textual experience in the South Pacific is a very early and helpful model for this kind of thesis. Chapter four's focus on the text as ideology borrows heavily from Foucault's and Bakhtin's concepts of "truths" as literary production.

The purpose of this thesis is to help shed some light on the construction of nationalism through the production of history in general and biography in particular. The relationship in New Zealand between government and academic production of knowledge is central to this process. The interest in government sponsored production of history reflects the belief that this process continues to be influential in the ways nationalism is imagined in New Zealand. The fundamentally political nature of using and producing "Maori" history is beginning to be acknowledged.<sup>23</sup> It is hoped this thesis will contribute to the process of historians being aware of the political ends they serve.

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<sup>22</sup> Said, Edward W., *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978, p.1.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., McHugh, Paul, 'Law, History and the Treaty of Waitangi', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 31:1(1997), pp.26-42.

## Chapter One - Form

This study's starting point is the assertion that Maori lives are not directly signified by language in the texts of this study. Instead, language is viewed as an endless series of metaphors that connote their object by deferring meaning to another language part.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, the texts under study here will be best understood by not trying to connect a biographical discourse with an historical or authorial presence outside of the text. Instead it is necessary to focus on how the presence in these biographies is a series of 'sign-substitutions',<sup>2</sup> that defer the representation of a signified object, by connoting difference from other language parts.<sup>3</sup>

These "sign-substitutions" interrelate on various levels. This chapter will examine three broad levels of language use in Maori reference biography. Invention of narrative is fundamental to each. On the first level, ways narrative space is created will be examined. Second, specific rhetorical tactics or tropes will be identified in the texts of the study. Finally, the role of "text" as a whole in contextualizing the Maori biographical narrative will be looked at.

Every biography functions in some way as a narrative. The short "reference" biographies that make up the collections under study in this thesis are best described as 'hyperreductionist microbiographies'.<sup>4</sup> They focus on an individual's 'high points' to create a life without the usual inter-relations of event, actor, time

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<sup>1</sup> Derrida, Jacques, *Of Grammatology*, London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1976, p.314.

<sup>2</sup> Derrida, Jacques, 'Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences', *Writing and Difference*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, p.280.

<sup>3</sup> See Barthes, Roland, 'The Imagination of the Sign', *Critical Essays*, Evanston: North-western University Press, 1972, for an account of how language acts as sign-system in connoting its object.

<sup>4</sup> Berger, Arthur Asa, *Narratives in Popular Culture*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997. p.172.

and location that are identifiable in other forms of narrative.<sup>5</sup> The same narrative strategies are used repeatedly in the Maori entries of reference biography.

The form a single biographical text takes in a *Dictionary of National Biography* is reasonably static. Most English language dictionaries follow the example of the original British dictionary in the structuring of the individual biography.<sup>6</sup> This British form has a genealogy in continental predecessors.<sup>7</sup> It seems that in this process of imitating the British model, a separate literary genre - the reference biography - has emerged in the English speaking world. The structuring of the life of the subject into narrative form is vital to this genre. Obviously, this is a synthetic process - an invention that aids in creating biographical lives. In examining how these lives are structured, it is necessary to identify the 'chronotopes'<sup>8</sup> - the devices used to represent time and space in literature - at work in the narratives of Maori biographical lives.

Biographies are nearly always voiced by a third person narrator, except when the impression of quoting from the subject's speech, song or writings is required. Third person narration has the effect of distancing the subject from the reader and thus creates an effect of objective representation.<sup>9</sup> An exception to third person narration is sometimes found in *The Book of New Zealand Women*. This is

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<sup>5</sup> See Bal, Mieke, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985. pp.13-44.

<sup>6</sup> See, Scholefield, G.H. (ed.), *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, ix; Oliver, W.H. (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, vol.1, Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; viii; Whittemore, Reed, *Whole Lives: Shapers of Modern Biography*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1989, pp.47-78; Sherrer, Johannah, "'The Most Amusing Book in the Language": The Dictionary of National Biography', *Distinguished Classics of Reference Publishing*, James Rettig (ed.), Phoenix: The Oryx Press, 1992.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, pp.54-55.

<sup>8</sup> See Bakhtin, M.M., 'Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel', *The Dialogical Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, Michael Holquist (ed.), Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1981, pp.140-142.

<sup>9</sup> Prince, Gerald, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative*, Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1982, p.13.

possible because the biographies are not always edited into the traditional dictionary of biography format. Sometimes words ascribed to the object's voice<sup>10</sup> or a conversation with a second person are used to voice the narrative of the biography.

Each biographical narrative is introduced with a title. This is near universal in New Zealand collected biography.<sup>11</sup> Whether the text is a collection of hero stories, a biographical catalogue, a dictionary of biography, an encyclopaedia of New Zealand, or a book of women, the text is broken up into a series of bold headings that name the object that the narrative below them will construct. This naming has several results. It physically marks off the biographical object as a singular entity. A title is a metonymic device that reduces various events of various lives to one fixed point - a named object.<sup>12</sup> Writing biography, and reference biography especially, relies on the ability of the narrative to construct a single life. Titles help to centre the entry, creating the effect of singularity needed in biography. They do this by delineating a person from historical contexts and the multiple narratives that cluster around a life.

Illustrative of this is the naming of Te Rangihwinui/Te Keepa/Major Kemp. Obviously whether the object is named Major Kemp<sup>13</sup> or Te Rangihwinui<sup>14</sup> locates the biography's ideological site.

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<sup>10</sup> This kind of approach to biography reflects the perceived need to reinvent the traditional forms of biography so women's experience can be more accurately represented. In the New Zealand context see, Cox, Shelagh and Macdonald, Charlotte, 'New Ways of Seeing?', *Biography in New Zealand*, J.O.C. Phillips (ed.), Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1985. Some examples of this kind of voicing of Maori "biography" can be seen in Binney, Judith and Gillian Chaplin, *Nga Morehu: The Survivors*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1986; Salmond, Anne, *Amiria: The Life Story of A Maori Woman*, Wellington: Reed, 1976.

<sup>11</sup> William Gisborne's text is an exception, see, Gisborne, William, *New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen 1840-1897*, London: Sampson Low, 1897.

<sup>12</sup> Derrida, Jacques, 'The Law of Genre', *On Narrative*, W.T.J. Mitchell (ed.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, p.76.

<sup>13</sup> Gudgeon, Thos. Wayth, *The Defenders of New Zealand: Being a Short Biography of Colonists Who Distinguished Themselves in Upholding Her Majesty's Supremacy in These Islands*, (alternative title, *Heroes of New Zealand and Maori History of the War*), Auckland: H. Brett, 1887, p.381.

More importantly the universal choosing of a single name reveals the biographical urge to unify the construction of human experience. Te Rangihwinui has multiple lives in his historiography. He is defender of Muaupoko mana, Maori separatist and loyal government soldier amongst other things. The multiple personalities of the object can partly be overcome by inventing a new name in the constructs of the reference genre. Thus Te Rangihwinui becomes Te Rangihwinui, Keepa<sup>15</sup> or Te Rangihwinui, Te Keepa.<sup>16</sup> In the same way Te Kooti becomes Te Kooti, Arikirangi Te Turuki<sup>17</sup> and Mete Kingi, Te Rangi Paetahi, Mete Kingi.<sup>18</sup> By locating alternative names in the textual site usually occupied by "first" names titles can help fix the singularity of the narrative.

Subtitles can perform a similar function to titles as a metonymic device in Maori biography. Maori objects are all subtitled with a tribal affiliation and one or more vocations in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Maori biography must be signified by having a limited number of tribes and vocations attached to a title. The tribalisation of the following biography is an obvious result of this subtitling. From the point of view of narrative construction, the listing of the life as "leader", "tohunga", "warrior", "woman of mana" gives the reader an easily locatable reading instruction. It signifies what kind of narrative will follow.

Gudgeon's text often subtitles his entries with summaries of the hero narratives that are collected together to form a biography. Major Kemp's entry lists what follows - 'Awarded the New Zealand cross for distinguished service-His quarrel with the government-Gallantry at the capture of Moturoa-Pursuit of Te Kooti'.<sup>19</sup> These

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<sup>14</sup> E.g., Scholefield, vol.2, p.194.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p.381.

<sup>16</sup> Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1991, p.246.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.194.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.239.

<sup>19</sup> Gudgeon, p.383.

subtitles form chronology by categorising and ordering the entry into a series of self contained narratives. This also points the reader to the text's function which is to display narratives of bravery under a title, thus creating a hero object.

Reference biographies are particularly interested in finding ways to mark spatial and temporal time in their narratives. Time is a vital component of reference biography. Johannes Fabian has argued that European representations of non-European people cannot reference its object without the use of time. He points to time relationships and markers that function as 'time-distancing devices'<sup>20</sup> within anthropology. These same factors can be seen at work in biographical texts of Maori.

Nearly every biography in the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* and every entry in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is framed by the dates which the subject lived between. This is a key device in creating narrative space within biography. Editors of collections often note the difficulties in determining "accurate" dates of Maori subjects<sup>21</sup> and cultural commentators have claimed a divergent concept of time in Maori and European culture.<sup>22</sup> However this is of secondary importance to the form a reference text takes. Reference biography, without exception, creates its object partly through the effect of linear, temporal time that dates construct. In the genre of reference biography dates are perhaps the most important narrative commodity used in the construction of a life.<sup>23</sup>

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, and

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<sup>20</sup> Fabian, Johannes, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1983, p.75.

<sup>21</sup> E.g., *People of Many Peaks*, viii.

<sup>22</sup> For some examples see During, Simon, 'Waiting for the Last Post: Some Reflections Between Modernity, Colonization and Writing', Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin (eds), *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-Colonialism and Post Modernism*, New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992, pp.29-31.

<sup>23</sup> See, Sherrer, p.58.

*The Book of New Zealand Women* subtitle their entries with dates in bold font. Exact date of birth is constructed where possible, events are dated, and death and burial are recorded. This interest in dates has two consequences. It aids in the making of a textual chronology that imitates the "real life" narrative of the biographical object. On top of this dates have the effect of artificially separating the object from the present moment of textual production and reading. Dates are an easily recognisable code that aid the imagining of the past.

Biographies of Maori subjects in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* are usually framed by an opening paragraph that suggests a birth date, place, parents and other ancestors and identifies a tribal affiliation. At the end of the biography a paragraph ascribes a place and date of the subject's death. The tangi, place of burial and the numbers and the names of children and spouses are often mentioned. This framing process helps create three of the essential elements of narrative - actor(s), time and location.<sup>24</sup> It also makes for a sense of narrative closure.<sup>25</sup>

A concluding paragraph can also project the subject's imagined presence into the future through the construction of a "legacy" or by the naming of descendants. This follows the example of the British *Dictionary of National Biography*. It can vary from Tawhiao<sup>26</sup> leaving a legacy of principles for "Tainui" to rebuild themselves, to Te Kawau<sup>27</sup> 'from whom are descended many Ngati Whatua people', to Te Rauparaha<sup>28</sup> whose legacy is as 'a great tribal leader....[who] changed the tribal structure of New Zealand'. The legacy paragraph can function as construction of tribal ancestry, fixing of academic

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<sup>24</sup> Bal, p.7.

<sup>25</sup> See, White, Hayden, 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', *On Narrative*, p.5.

<sup>26</sup> Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The Turbulent Years: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1870-1900*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1994, pp.145-149.

<sup>27</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.188-190.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, pp.270-276.

importance, or focus for present political concerns. It has a structural position legitimating the biography that proceeds it. From the point of view of narrative, legacy functions as a kind of summary explaining the narrated events that proceeded it. Legacy and explanation connote finish, they are a kind of post-mortem that aid in the construction of a sense of closure.

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* form is not as standardised as the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. However, the same basic narrative structure is evident. The 1940 biography basically divide into two structural categories. Short biography resemble obituary notices, on which they are often heavily reliant as a source. Many of these entries are only a100 words or less. The other longer entries more closely follow the received method of reference biography. The shorter entries were produced where a perceived lack of information existed and the relative unimportance of these entries against those of the longer entries.<sup>29</sup>

In these shorter entries the traditional biographical narrative is considerably shortened. Uriti,<sup>30</sup> for example, is introduced as a 'chief of considerable influence at Kororareka. He was a cousin of Pomare'. Then his character and attitude to British presence in New Zealand is noted. His participation in four events of national significance is constructed in two sentences. The date and means of Uriti's death form the closing sentence of the narrative. This kind of narrative is a reduced form of the usual biographical narrative. It has a recognisable beginning - the year of his birth is estimated - and end - his death. In between this framing it has a chronology of events to mimic the cycle of a life. No matter how reduced a biography becomes the invention of narrative is indispensable in trying to represent a real life.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See, James, G.F, 'Review of A *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, G.H. Scholefield, (ed.)', *Historical Studies; Australia and New Zealand*, 1:3(1940), pp.196-200.

<sup>30</sup> Scholefield, vol.2, p.413.

<sup>31</sup> White, 'The Value of Narrativity'.

Between the beginning and end a life is represented through various "events".<sup>32</sup> Although this process takes many forms, events are usually presented in chronological sequence. To understand how this process takes place Mieke Bal's differentiation of fabula and story is helpful.<sup>33</sup> Fabula refers to all implied events of the narrative and story to those actually represented in the narrative text. For example, in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Maori entries very little is usually said about the subject's childhood and adolescence but, even if there is no childhood in the subject's story, by starting the narrative at birth and jumping straight to adult life the "event" of childhood is implied in the fabula. How particular events are chosen from all possible events in the fabula sheds light on how a life is constructed as a biography.

One way the story is made from the fabula is to pick out the events from the subject's historiography deemed most important in their life, arrange them chronologically, and let them function as narrative without providing a narrative context or background.<sup>34</sup> In this approach to narrative the number of words given to each event indicates each event's importance in the story.<sup>35</sup> An example is the biography of Te Matenga Taiaroa in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.<sup>36</sup> Events mentioned include the first European record of contact with Taiaroa, Ngai Tahu campaigns against Ngati Toa, Rangitane, Te Ati Awa, and Ngati Tama, disagreements with whalers, Taiaroa's trip to Sydney, land sales and involvement in the King movement. These events are chosen out of all possible events of the fabula and form the story of Taiaroa's life. The process of selecting these events, arranging them chronologically and framing them with a "beginning" and "end"<sup>37</sup> creates a sense of time, which

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<sup>32</sup> On event see, Bal, pp.13-23.

<sup>33</sup> See, *ibid*, pp.5-7.

<sup>34</sup> On context/event see *ibid*, pp.129-133.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p.40.

<sup>36</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.121-124.

coupled with the name of an actor - in this case Taiaroa - creates a life.

Other biography choose events from the fabula in a more obviously selective way. Tawhiao's biography<sup>38</sup> uses events in a way subordinate to general statements about Tawhiao's character. The biography has a beginning "birth" paragraph and an ending "death" and "legacy" section but in between events are integrated into explanation.<sup>39</sup> Although this is done in a basically chronological order, the effect is to create a narrative that explains its subject through the use of metonymy rather than presents its subject in time "as it was". Tawhiao's biography is a narrative but by subordinating event to context and explanation, narrative is less to the fore than most other entries in the collection. The illusion of realistic representation is partially replaced by bringing interpretation more out in the open.

Embedded narratives<sup>40</sup> are usually used in the construction of a biographical entry. For example, the 1940 *Dictionary's* biography of Te Whiti<sup>41</sup> starts with the customary beginning and ending but the "advance" on Parihaka is constituted as a narrative in itself. Scholefield orders events leading up to Parihaka in a sequential chronology and relates them in a way that leads to a climatic conclusion. Here a self-contained narrative is used to construct a larger narrative. Embedded narratives highlight certain parts of the whole narrative and help to structure the events into an order of importance as they are read.

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<sup>37</sup> On beginning, middle and end in narrative see, Prince, *Narratology*, pp.150-154.

<sup>38</sup> Ballara, Angela (ed.), *Te Kingitanga: The People of the Kingitanga Movement Taken from the New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*, Wellington: Auckland University Press/Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, pp.54-60.

<sup>39</sup> Examples in Tawhiao's biography include Tawhiao as "visionary" shown in his prophecy in Taranaki in 1864 and Tawhiao as "pacifist" shown in adoption of Pai Marire in 1875.

<sup>40</sup> See, Prince, *Narratology*, pp.81-93.

<sup>41</sup> Scholefield, vol.2, pp.499-501.

Gudgeon's biographies are clearly a series of self-contained narratives pasted together. However, this tendency to join self contained narratives to form a whole is indispensable in most reference biography. For example, Te Matakatea's battles with Tuwharetoa<sup>42</sup> form an event in his biography but it also creates a self contained narrative space. It is dated at beginning and end. The narrative has a clearly structured start, when Taranaki went to assist Nga Rauru, and a finish, when Tuwharetoa avenged their deaths. In between events are constructed in a chronology.

Events are a key element in the narrative of biography even in an entry with a lack of emphasis on chronology. The character of the object, the historical context, and explanation rely on event to construct their life. Event in narrative is best understood as language that connotes the effect of change and process.<sup>43</sup> Events are read as a life when structured into a biographical narrative even if the central biographical object appears to be absent. Thus the life of "Ata-Hoe"<sup>44</sup> can be constructed through a series of changes - temporal, spatial and social. These textual shifts reflect the movement of a life, even if the events are not explicitly linked to the biographical actor.

The naming of an author within the texts of these studies can take various forms, all of which affect the structure of the biographical narrative. Authorial inscription takes two structural positions in reference biography. It can ascribe authorship of a whole work or it inscribes individual entries with authorship. One marks the unity of a book, the other the unity of a biography. A standard work of reference will have both an editor and contributors, each inscribed onto the text with an authorial inscription. An editor's name signals the kind of textual space being constructed, while the contributors name marks the unity of the biographical narrative it is attached to.

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<sup>42</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.210.

<sup>43</sup> See, Bal, p.13-18.

<sup>44</sup> Macdonald, Charlotte, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams (eds), *The Book of New Zealand Women: Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991, pp.23-25.

Thos. Wayth Gudgeon is inscribed as the author of the *Heroes of New Zealand* on the title page of the text. What follows is a collection of accounts taken from other sources, an introduction borrowed from an anthropologist, and appendices inscribed with the names of 'Kowhia Ngutu Kaka'<sup>45</sup> and 'Thomas McDonnell'.<sup>46</sup> The historical Gudgeon cannot be considered the "author" in the sense of the personality who "created" this "work". Instead the name Gudgeon is a structural device that marks off the book's frontiers from the wider discourse it is appropriating. It unifies the text in the same way a title does. Authorial inscription functions similarly in the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Only a few entries are inscribed with an authorial signature. The rest are unified under the name Scholefield on the cover and G.H. Scholefield on the title page and preface.

*The 1990 Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, and The Book of New Zealand Women* finish each biography with an authorial inscription. Foucault has noted the 'singularity of the author's name' in western writing is used in 'marking of the edges of the text'.<sup>47</sup> In these biographical entries the author's name serves this function. It unites the text to one point and marks the discourse above it with the status of a work produced by an academic. The author name is a narrative full stop and a sign 'characterising [the] mode of being' of the text. Maori language volumes of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* do not use the authorial name. Presumably this is a rejection of the western concept of the author that marks of the volume's "Maoriness".

Reference biography has its own grammar put to use in inventing a life. No matter how reductionist in scale the entry is, the biography still renders its object through a limited number of narrative tactics.

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<sup>45</sup> Gudgeon, p.491.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p.494.

<sup>47</sup> Foucault, Michel, 'What is an Author?', *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*, David Lodge (ed.), New York: Longman, 1988, p.201-202.

Reference biography has a universal desire to represent its object "accurately".<sup>48</sup> A narrated series of events, clearly framed by a recognisable beginning and end is the tactic used to imitate a real life. When a less chronological and event centred narrative is used a less realist object is imagined. These narrative tactics can be read as an accurate representation of a life because the reader knows *a priori* the narrative code that creates the space a biographical object is imagined in.<sup>49</sup> This ability to render reference biography through these narrative tactics is reliant upon tropes - the ability to represent a literary object through the processes of reduction, expansion and transference. —

Hayden White has been instrumental in displaying history writing's "poetics" through his examination of "tropes" in nineteenth-century European historiography.<sup>50</sup> Some theory of biography has closely followed White's theory of tropes in examining biographical production.<sup>51</sup> However, for the understanding of reference biographical texts, White's model is too static and deterministic to be of use.<sup>52</sup> More helpful is Roman Jakobson's study of tropes function in the production of realist novels.<sup>53</sup> Following Jakobson,

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<sup>48</sup> See, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, ix-x; Scholefield, vol.1, xii-xiii, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Industrial, Descriptive, History, Biographical Facts, Figures and Illustrations*, vol.1, Wellington: Cyclopedia Company, 1897, iv; and Sherrer, pp.58-59, for comment on British 'Editorial Standards'.

<sup>49</sup> See, Fish, Stanley, 'What Makes a Text Acceptable?', *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.

<sup>49</sup> White, Hayden, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination of Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1971, pp.1-42.

<sup>50</sup> Nadel, Ira Bruce, *Biography: Fiction, Fact and Form*, London: MacMillan, 1984, pp.151-182.

<sup>52</sup> See, Ankersmit, F.R., *Narrative Logic: A Semantic Analysis of the Historian's Language*, The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1983, pp.82-83; Kansteiner, Wulf, 'Hayden White's Critique of the Writing of History', *History and Theory*, 32(1993), pp.273-295; LaCapra, Dominick, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, Chapter 2.

<sup>53</sup> Jakobson, Roman, 'Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances', *Language in Literature*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1987, pp.95-104.

this study will identify how narratives of Maori biographical lives are produced through the interaction of metaphor, metonymy, and, metonymy's off-shoot, synecdoche.

Reference biography, like all writing, functions as metaphor - it transfers "meaning" from one signifier to another.<sup>54</sup> On top of this a metaphor can function as an over riding reference point that structures a narrative. Metonymy and Synecdoche function on a level secondary to metaphor. They organise metaphors into a narrative text. This is done either by referencing the whole of an object in terms of a part or the part in terms of the whole (synecdoche) or constructing an object in terms of an attribute, cause, or effect of the object (metonymy).

These two language strategies - synecdoche and metonymy - correspond to the two traditional styles of writing biography - the "energetic" life and the "analytic" life.<sup>55</sup> The energetic model lists the deeds and other expressions of the person, in temporal sequence. Historical reality is not depicted as creating the life only reflecting it. Synecdoche is the trope employed to create this form of biography. An analytic biography invents its life under series of categories, with less emphasis on temporal sequence; deeds are secondary to explanation. Metonymy is the main trope used in this kind of biography. These two tendencies in writing biography will be seen to be constantly at work in the texts of our study.

Jakobson describes realist novels as;

Following the path of contiguous relationships, the realist author metonymically digresses from plot to the atmosphere and from the characters to the setting in space and time. He is fond of

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<sup>54</sup> Derrida, Jacques 'Force and Signification', *Writing and Difference*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, p.8; Ricouer, Paul, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, p.7.

<sup>55</sup> Bakhtin, pp.140-141.

Synecdochic details.<sup>56</sup>

This will also serve as an adequate model to understand the reference biography of this study, if "plot" is understood in terms of narrative structure. Synecdoche and metonymy are indispensable to the construction of reference biography. They seem to be able to turn what Park Honan calls the diachronic structure (the events of the life) into synchronic structure (the traits, manners, ideas etc. of the subject)<sup>57</sup> without necessarily appearing to reference them.

A biography can be constructed out of "synecdochic details". Events are constructed into a narrative as a part of a life. They are read as an adequate representation of a person because they have the ability to "stand in" for the whole life cycle, the object's character, and the historical context. Bal comments on this kind of narrative;

The selection of components is based upon the contiguity of the elements of the contents. This means that the presence of some elements implies the absence of others. The missing detail can be filled in by the reader. General characteristics imply specific characteristics [or] ...the latter represent the former. The object is to convey knowledge.<sup>58</sup>

Te Moananui's biography in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*<sup>59</sup> is a typical example. The whole biography is a series of dated events in chronological order, focusing on tribal relationships over land in the Heretaunga. Details like Te Moananui attending a King meeting or refusing payments from the crown for the Te Matau-a-Maui block create the wider context of resistance to Crown

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<sup>56</sup> Jakobson, p.111.

<sup>57</sup> Honan, Park, 'The Theory of Biography', *Novel*, 13(1979), pp.109-120, 111-112.

<sup>58</sup> Bal, p.133.

<sup>59</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp. 211-213.

purchasing. Te Moananui's 'huge commemorative tangi' is a synecdoche of his standing as a great tribal leader.

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* also tends to use synecdoche. The text aimed to produce factual, non 'critical' biographies, in the manner of the British *Dictionary of National Biography*.<sup>60</sup> The preface of the British dictionary states that its biographies aim to be 'full, accurate and concise' and 'exhaustive and authoritative'.<sup>61</sup> To make a concise yet exhaustive, full yet accurate effect in a biography, the ability of a represented part of a life to stand in for the represented whole is paramount. The biography of Taiporutu will serve as a typical example of this rhetorical tactic in *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. The entry reads;

He was with the Waikato taua which took Pukerangiora (1831) and was at the attack on Ngamotu (1832). On 6 Aug 1836 he was one of the special leaders in the feint ordered by Waharoa to ambush the Ngati-Whakaue venturing out of a pa on lake Rotorua....Wetini led 80 of Ngati-Haua...to fight for the Maori national cause in Taranaki.<sup>62</sup>

This selection of events creates the movement necessary to represent a life. The battles recorded construct a 'notable warrior' and the context of the King movement is brought to the fore in explaining Taiporutu. Even though Kingitangi is only signified through the incidental metaphor of 'national cause', this can connote the king movement as historical context through the process of reduction and expansion that synecdoche provides.

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<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Secretary of Internal Affairs to Dictionary of New Zealand Sub-Committee, 27/10/37, IA1 64/137, NA; cf. Scholefield, xii - xiv.

<sup>61</sup> Lee, S. and L. Stephen (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol.1, London: Oxford University Press, 1917, lxvi.

<sup>62</sup> Scholefield, vol.2, p.359.

Gudgeon offers limited series of events out of which he fashions both individual character and a Maori character as a whole. The concern with dating events and other normal biographical tactics seen in his entries of Pakeha are usually absent in his Maori entries. Instead, a few individual narratives are collected together and these "stand in" for the bravery, loyalty or other characteristic of the kupapa leaders. In the biography supposedly on Paora Hape,<sup>63</sup> a short narrative of the speech Hape gave at his death comprises nearly the whole biography. The message contained in the speech is for Hape's people to never try to resist the Pakeha. By this process Hape's life is integrated into a greater whole - the idea that it is futile to resist the Pakeha - through the representation of a part. Kemp's bravery was often instrumental in saving 'native allies from defeat'<sup>64</sup> One account of his actions is sufficient to represent this construction of Kemp.

The reductionist tactics of synecdoche are equally matched by the expansionist tactic of metonymy in reference biography. Wiremu Katene's<sup>65</sup> life is explained as being 'so illustrative of the Maori character'. Using a story of a question Katene asked captain Gudgeon, that had two supposedly incompatible answers, the Gudgeon text explains Katene's changing of sides in the land wars as a result of the "Maori character". Maori character is constructed through the expansion of one representation of an event so that Maori are represented in terms of this one attitude. Through the literary strategy of metonymy the problem noted by many writers of biography - how to relate the life to the wider social environment - is circumscribed.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Gudgeon, p.261.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p.385.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, pp.153-154.

<sup>66</sup> E.g., Clifford, James, "'Hanging Up Looking Glasses at Odd Corners": Ethnobiographical Prospects', *Harvard English Studies 8: Studies in Biography*, Daniel Aaron (ed.), London: Harvard University Press, 1978, pp. 45-46.

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* Te Whiti<sup>67</sup> shows metonymy at work in constructing a life. Events like imprisonments, meetings, and civil disobedience are expanded into the explanatory metanarrative of the 'advancing economic claim of the Pakeha'. Te Whiti is given a context and the life is rendered in terms of this causal effect. We can see a similar rhetorical strategy in the entry of Ropata Wahawaha.<sup>68</sup> A single event from the narrative, when Ropata 'killed a Hauhau Chief in single combat with a stone mere', is arranged to show that Ropata 'made a name for himself as a resolute, skilful and ruthless leader' and in turn this was evidence of his loyalty 'to the Queen's side against the Hauhau'. The Scholefield text relates parts to the whole to build an interpretation of a life.

Metonymy is an organising tool that is used as a device to encode a biographical object with "meaning". For example, Te Peeti Te Aweawe's biography in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*<sup>69</sup> is contextualized with the opening paragraph stating his actions were a response to both 'musket warfare and colonisation' and Te Aweawe following in the tradition of his 'ancestors who emerged as leaders'. From this perspective Te Aweawe's life events, such as lodging land claims against Ngati Raukawa and fighting along side the government in Taranaki, are integrated into and explained by a wider context.

All the entries in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* are subtitled under various "rubrics"<sup>70</sup> such as "warrior", "assessor", "woman of mana". This can be used as a metonymic device that selects and manipulates events to signify the life of the subject as "warrior" or "leader" or whatever. In doing this a life is explained by the categorical term and events are employed to illustrate them. Actual events that appear to directly relate to these titles may be

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<sup>67</sup> Scholefield, vol.2, pp.501-502.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, pp.256-257.

<sup>69</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.157-158.

<sup>70</sup> Bakhtin, p.141.

few in the narrative,<sup>71</sup> but the tactic expands the object into these categories of explanation.

Jakobson's designation of metonymy/synecdoche and metaphor as language "poles" gives insight into the structuring of language in reference biography. Both tendencies are present in any one biography but one or the other will be the dominant language mode. In any *Dictionary of National Biography* metonymy/synecdoche is to the fore in the majority of entries. In Cowan's collections, however, metaphor predominates in structuring the narrative to connote the biographical object.

Metaphor has a twin function in Cowan's work. It assimilates the subject matter into a European-reader context. It also allows Cowan to represent Maori in aesthetic terms. The first function can be seen in the constant representation of leaders in terms of European gentry. For example, they are referred to as the 'old order',<sup>72</sup> part of a 'kingly line'<sup>73</sup> and 'aristocratic'.<sup>74</sup> Te Rauparaha is represented by the common metaphor of 'The Napoleon of the South'.<sup>75</sup> These metaphors invent Maori political interaction in signifiers that transfer their represented object into terms of European power relationships. In doing this they create a European object for European consumption. Similarly, Julia Martin's biography is subtitled with an analogy to Grace Darling.<sup>76</sup> Again meaning ascription (Martin as hero) is attempted by deference to a European

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<sup>71</sup> McRae, June, 'Review of *People of Many Peaks*', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 26:2(1992), pp. 205-206.

<sup>72</sup> Cowan, James, *Maori Biographies: Sketches of Old New Zealand: Descriptive Catalogue of Maori Portraits Painted by Herr. G. Lindauer*, Auckland: H. E. Partridge, 1901, p.10.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

<sup>75</sup> Cowan, James, *Book of the Maori Chiefs*, Wellington: Texaco Publications, 1933, p.1; cf. Buick, T. Lindsay, *An Old New Zealander, or, Te Rauparaha the Napoleon of the South*, Christchurch: Capper Press, 1976, which appears to be a source for Cowan.

<sup>76</sup> Cowan, *Sketches*, p.53.

prototype. These kind of metaphors go beyond being normal signifiers and take on a structural role of organising the biography for reader reception.

Cowan's *Sketches of Old New Zealand* is a companion volume to a collection of Lindauer's portraits.<sup>77</sup> Therefore, Cowan has a desire to represent his subject in aesthetic terms as well as historical. The most common metaphor used is the 'specimen'.<sup>78</sup> This metaphor locates the reader as the collector and the subject as the collected. Through this process the Cowan text tries to preserve a representation of "old" Maori in the face of cultural change that was perceived to be taking place at the time of textual production.<sup>79</sup>

Metaphors in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* text can also go beyond the usual function of a metaphor as a word. In these situations a metaphor provides a context for the biography to be constructed in. The metaphor of the kingly "line" is employed throughout the three Te Heuheu entries that follow one another in volume one of the *Dictionary*.<sup>80</sup> The construction of whakapapa is represented through this metaphor and the "line" is shown to have continued to 'the present day'. A time when Tuwharetoa were without a strong central leader is represented in language similar to the biblical language that described the time before Israel had a king.<sup>81</sup> This metaphor constructs the importance of Tuwharetoa

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<sup>77</sup> Latter reprints of the works were published as Lindauer, Gottfried, *Pictures of Old New Zealand : The Partridge Collection of Maori Paintings*, Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1930; Graham, J. C., *Maori Paintings: Pictures from the Partridge Collection by Gottfried Lindauer*, Wellington: Reed, 1960.

<sup>78</sup> E.g., biography of Paul Tuhaere, *Sketches*, p.42.

<sup>79</sup> This concern can be read throughout his work, for example see the biography of Erurea Pautone, *Sketches*, pp.17-18, which states Pautone was one of the last of the truly "old" style chiefs who was left at the time of his death; Cf. Phillips, J.O.C., 'Musings in Maoriland, or was there a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand', *Historical Studies*, 20:1(1983), pp.520-535, which locates Cowan in a nationalistic scholarship that believed the Maori were dying out. A record of them needed to be created, therefore, and circulated amongst the public.

<sup>80</sup> *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, pp.447-449.

<sup>81</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.167.

hapu looking to the Heuheu "line" for leadership and the depiction of the Te Heuheu as hereditary "paramount chiefs".

Irony is an uncommon trope to employ in the writing of biography.<sup>82</sup> However hints of it can be detected in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. For example, in the biography of Te Kooti<sup>83</sup> a source can be quoted, without qualification, that stated 'Te Kooti "should be got rid of"'. The overall effect, in this revisionist history of Te Kooti, is to turn the tables on the source and use it to say exactly the opposite of what it appears to state. Instead of being got rid of, Te Kooti, should be highly valued in the reconstruction of history. Irony like this is best understood as a kind of metaphor - making its object through a process of counter transference.

Language is not an opaque tool used to represent a Maori life. In the texts of this study, metaphors are often employed with ideological effect. They are in turn structured into a narrative, through metonymy or synecdoche, in a way that closes off the possibility of multiple readings of a life. This structuring of narratives is vital in the process of creating a "life". Reference biography however employs another level of structural devices that attempt to organise entries into a whole text. These need to be examined in the process of understanding how biographical collections imagine a life. In the case of the texts in question for this study, multiple biographies are collected into single collections. These biographies are partly ascribed meaning through various contextualizing strategies - prefaces, introductions, categorising indexes, visual signifiers, and historical/ethnological essays. These attempt to function by instructing the reader in how meaning should be attached to the individual biographies and how to read the text as a whole.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> See, Nadel, p.159 ff.

<sup>83</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.194-201.

<sup>84</sup> Prince, Gerald, 'On Narratology', *French Literature Series 17: Narratology and Narrative*, A. Maynor Hardee and G. Henry Freeman (eds), Columbia SC, University of South Carolina Press, 1990. Prince contends that in the construction of narrative texts 'any narratologically descriptive statement

The structuring of the text through the use of an introductory preface or essay is a tactic common to all the reference works of this study. The language used in many of them is remarkably similar. This points to the common literary structure that these works share. Prefaces or introductions assign to the text a genre and then place the text in a position within the genre.<sup>85</sup> The genre established around the Maori biographical object effects the way the "life" is read. It does this through transference of the singular entry into the "reading-instruction" of the whole text which a preface provides.

Individual biographies produced for the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* project have been contextualized in various forms. Biographies of Maori have been placed in up to six different collections.<sup>86</sup> The textual function the biography performs changes depending on the context it is put in, even if the words of the biography appear not to change. In the limited discourse of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* publications since 1990, Maori objects have been put to use in the construction of many and varied texts.

First they can be put to use in the construction of a national identity in the form of a *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Various textual codes need to be constructed into the collection to form this genre. This process is signified in the introduction of volume one of

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can become a springboard for reading, any technical feature can lead to the construction of meaning, any "how" can give rise to "why", p.3.

<sup>85</sup> White, Hayden, 'The Context in the Text: Method and Ideology in Intellectual History', *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987, p.198.

<sup>86</sup> E.g., Te Tuhi biography, *Te Kingitanga*, pp.69-72; Oliver, W.H. (ed.), *Nga Tangata Taumata Rau, 1769-1869*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin/ Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, pp.309-310; *People of Many Peaks*, pp.281-283; Orange, Claudia (ed.), *Mapihi Kahurangi - Prized Treasures: Illustrated Biographies from Nga Tangata Taumata Rau*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1993, pp.54-58; *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, pp.510-511, Oliver, W.H (ed.), *A People's History: Illustrated Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1992, pp.224-244.

the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Several languages are used to do this. The *Dictionary* is identified as 'history' and through historical investigation a 'broad and various image of New Zealand society'<sup>87</sup> will be created by looking at the past through individual lives. On top of this the introduction names the work as 'reference'.<sup>88</sup> The introduction promises to deliver 'reliable information about well known people' in the period the work covers. To help create this discourse of "reference" comparisons to previous "reference" works are made.<sup>89</sup>

The preface of the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is also identified as 'representative'.<sup>90</sup> This is a metonymic device. The individual's lives are left to "stand in" for the representation of a whole nation. It is also an attempt to give more space to women, Maori, working classes and include a more representative regional spread than is usually done in 'such publications'.<sup>91</sup> Through these tactics a more accurate 'way of looking at the past'<sup>92</sup> will be created. The same signifiers of a nationalistic text are found in the introduction to volume two of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. The goal of the work is both 'a reliable reference text but also insight into the scope of New Zealand society'.<sup>93</sup> A 'representiveness'<sup>94</sup> in ethnicity, gender, region and activity is promised in the selection of subjects. These languages used to preface reference biography perform a structural function - they

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<sup>87</sup> *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, x.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, vii.

<sup>89</sup> Volume 1 of the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* mentions the *British Dictionary of National Biography*, *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, and *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, x.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, vii.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, vii.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, ix.

<sup>93</sup> Orange, Claudia (ed.), *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 2, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1992; 1900-1920, vii.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, vii.

point to the narratives that follow as accurate representation of nation.

This naming of the text as representative and accurate is the standard tactic of reference work prefaces. The effect of this language is further enhanced by constructing it over against previous reference works. *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* describes its biographies as 'authentic notices', that make up a 'standard work of reference', and represent the 'interests of the entire population'.<sup>95</sup> A few decades later the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* preface noted the deficiencies in method of the *Cyclopaedia* in compiling biographies. The 1940 *Dictionary* constructs its own 'accuracy' and representiveness over against the kind of biography in the *Cyclopaedia*.<sup>96</sup> The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* sees itself as being more self-conscious than previous reference biography<sup>97</sup> and 'an effort to modify the traditional character of such publications'.<sup>98</sup> These constructions of teleology are a key tactic in having the biographies they preface read as fact.

National dictionaries of biography and national encyclopaedias are essentially an act of codification.<sup>99</sup> They seek to construct together an encompassing set of knowledges. They see themselves as a site capable of containing all the vital statistics knowable of any nationally important historical figure. National dictionaries of biography refrain from 'reflection' or 'interpretation',<sup>100</sup> preferring instead to be read as 'factual compilations'.<sup>101</sup> The titles of "dictionary" and "encyclopaedia" betray the text's reading

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<sup>95</sup> *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1, iv-v.

<sup>96</sup> Scholefield, vol.1, xii-xiii.

<sup>97</sup> *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, vii.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, ix.

<sup>99</sup> See Whittemore, p.56.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, p.57.

<sup>101</sup> Scholefield, xii.

instructions. Dictionaries are arbiters of meaning, fixing the facts and collecting together every object relevant to their discursive function.

Maori biography are of up most importance in this context of constructing a text that represents the whole nation. This use of Maori biography is signified in the introductions of the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. It is stated that 30% of the dictionary entries in volume one are Maori and that this reflects a 'characteristic of nineteenth century New Zealand...that Maori were a distinctive and numerous society'.<sup>102</sup> In the preface to volume two an eighth of the entries are ascribed as Maori.<sup>103</sup> The prefacing of the Maori object in terms of statistical representiveness, is an assertion of accurately translating the nation into biographical object. It masks the constructing of the Maori site as nationalist icon.

*The Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, and the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* arrange their texts in columns. The use of columns is borrowed from micro-lexical dictionaries and newspapers - two textual forms that limit themselves to the recording of facts. Like a word dictionary, these texts also arrange their objects alphabetically. This again encodes the text in the semiotic of fact by arranging entries through the supposedly neutral, non-classifying ordering of the alphabet. The order of the entries should be read as having no significance of hierarchy.<sup>104</sup>

The same biographies used to create a "National Dictionary of Biography" can also be used to 'bring Maori history to the people'.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, vii. On this essentialising of "Maori" experience in reference biography see below, chapter 3.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*, vol.2, vii.

<sup>104</sup> McArthur, Tom, *Worlds of Reference: Lexicography, Learning and Language From the Clay Tablet to the Computer*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p.108.

<sup>105</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, cover description.

All Maori entries from the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* have been placed in separate "Maori" volumes, both translated into Maori language as *Nga Tangata Taumata Rau* (vol.1-3) and in English as *The People of Many Peaks* and *The Turbulent Years*. These volumes attempt to use biographies to illustrate a pan-Maori experience.<sup>106</sup> The introduction to *People of Many Peaks* states the volume is a 'significant contribution in the field of Maori history'.<sup>107</sup> The "Maoriness" of the text is signified by mentioning the 'tribal authorities', 'Maori advice' and 'Maori writers' involved. The fact the majority of biography in this volume are ascribed to Pakeha authors is not mentioned. The collection is said to have 'representatives' from most 'tribal groups'.<sup>108</sup> This encoded representiveness found in the text is used to produce a universal Maori history.

In *The Turbulent Years* a different strategy is used to construct "Maori history". A context for the biographies is created by an introductory essay that constructs a history of dramatic change in Maori life between 1870-1900.<sup>109</sup> This attaching of an essay to the text functions as a further reading instruction. An account of "Maori history" coupled with references for further reading provides the discursive context for the biographies to be interpreted in.

The "Maori" volumes of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* project use devices of form, often visual as well as literary, to construct their objects' Maoriness. Covers imitate flax weaving and

<sup>106</sup> One reviewer alludes to the 'singularity of Maori life in New Zealand' that these texts produce and sees them as a 'revival and improvement' of nineteenth-century Pakeha collaborations with tangata whenua in the production of Maori history, McRae, pp. 205-206.

<sup>107</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, vii.

<sup>108</sup> Some "tribal groups" are better represented than others. Twelve biography are ascribed to Ngai Tahu while iwi, like Ngati Maniopoto and Ngati Awa, that could be historically reconstructed as having equal political importance and being stronger numerically than Ngai Tahu in the period covered by the volume, have one each. Others, like Ngati Rangatahi, that could easily be constructed as a distinctive tribal group in the nineteenth-century with a "representative" history are not included at all.

<sup>109</sup> *Turbulent Years*, vii.

"traditional" Maori spiral designs are represented on the covers. This appropriation of indigenous visual forms has a long history in Western literary representation of non-European peoples. It has often been read as an attempt to add an aura of authenticity in creating an "indigenous text".<sup>110</sup> In *The Turbulent Years* whakapapa diagrams are incorporated into some biographies, as are family photographs. Pieces of narrative edited out of English language biographies are sometimes included in the Maori language versions. Authorial inscriptions and source references are shifted to the back of the text in Maori language volumes, instead of following the entry as in the English language volumes. This is part of a code constructing Maori biography as collective knowledge by depersonalising the original English textual structure.

Recently attempts have been made to construct a tribal identification by using *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* material.<sup>111</sup> *Te Kingitanga: The People of the Maori King Movement* uses a variety of signifiers to construct a Tainui identity through the use of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* material. The work was funded by the Tainui Trust Board to commemorate the signing of the 'Waikato Tainui Raupatu Claims Settlement Act' into law.<sup>112</sup> Tribal identities of the biographical subjects are often amended in this volume to include Tainui as a tribal affiliation. Te Tuhi is named as a 'Tainui' leader in *Te Kingitanga*, whereas the same biography in volume one of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* names him as a 'Waikato' leader.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> See, Goldie, Terry, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literature*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993. p.50.

<sup>111</sup> Besides *Te Kingitanga*, see a forthcoming Ngai Tahu volume.

<sup>112</sup> *Te Kingitanga*, p.28. The act was called only the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act when passed in parliament. This expansion of 'Te Kingitanga' into 'Tainui' is present throughout this collection.

<sup>113</sup> *Te Kingitanga*, p.69 and *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, p.510. Similarly, Tamati Ngapora, p.69 and p.309; Te Wherowhero, p.33 and p.524; Tawhiao, p.55 and *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.2, pp.509-511; Mahuta, p.75 and Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1900-1920*, vol. 3, Wellington: Auckland University Press/Department of Internal Affairs, 1996, pp.319-322; Te Rata, p.103 and pp.513-515.

An introductory essay on Kingitanga further helps construct a Tainui identity. The author states that 'traditionally' the Maori people did not view themselves as a single people but had 'links...based on traditions of descent from the crews of founding canoes'.<sup>114</sup> The constant infighting between 'Tainui' hapu/iwi are explained through the metaphor of 'a river delta, taking different courses but heading in the same direction'.<sup>115</sup> The use of Kingitanga biographies in the construction of Tainui is made explicit in the conclusion of the essay. A link is made between Kingitanga attempts at having confiscations redressed and the 1995 "Tainui" settlement with the government.<sup>116</sup>

Like *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Cowan's text is prefaced with metaphors of structure that aid in the connotation of the Maori object. Cowan introduces his *Sketches of Old New Zealand* by naming it as a 'descriptive catalogue'.<sup>117</sup> This points to the fundamentally aesthetic function of the Maori biography that follow. Cowan believes both his written text and the collection of portraits it accompanies are 'marvellously faithful' representations<sup>118</sup> of 'native peoples of the old school' who are part of the 'finest aboriginal race known'.<sup>119</sup> He signifies the subjects of his biographies as belonging to one of either three categories: native warriors, sages or chieftains.

Cowan's *Book of the Maori Chiefs* is encoded with a very different reading style than his *Sketches* in its introduction. However, the

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<sup>114</sup> *Te Kingitanga*, p.4.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, p.20.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*, p.28.

<sup>117</sup> *Sketches*, title page.

<sup>118</sup> On Lindauers work and "accurate" representation see Bell, Leonard, *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*, Wellington: Reed, 1980. pp. 62-69; *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840-1914*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1992, pp.195-221.

<sup>119</sup> *Sketches*, i.

biographical material within the two works appears to be similar. The introduction is written by someone other than Cowan himself, presumably a writer from the text's sponsor - Texaco Oil Company. The introduction states in New Zealand there is a 'complete amenity and understanding between native inhabitants and the White population' and this displays the 'wisdom of British rule and the intelligence of the Maori people'.<sup>120</sup> The introduction also compares the leadership qualities of Maori leaders with the 'business leadership' Texaco has shown and it lists Texaco's benefits to the New Zealand nation.<sup>121</sup> Although this is obviously an attempt to use things "Maori" to help show how much Texaco has become 'part of [New Zealand's] national life', the contextualizing of Cowan's biographies also assimilates Maori into an American context. Tawhiao is represented on the cover in a pictorial style used to represent indigenous American "chiefs" and the Americanism 'big chief' is used.<sup>122</sup>

The semiotics used in contextualizing Cowan's text betray a complex inter-relation of various codes - the American pioneer myth, the benefits of global capitalism, and the inherent good found in the colonisation of New Zealand. This is an obvious example of how meaning in Maori biography is deferred through contextualizing strategies, that help transfer meaning onto other metaphors. The Maori biographical object is not only a narrative invention it is further manipulated by the whole structure of the text it is placed in. In the same way, the language that prefaces the 1940 and 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, the lay out of the entries, and the visual signs in the collections are structural metaphors, constructing an interpretative context for the biographical entries that they are placed around. Whether in a small collection of Cowan's biography or a *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, the "Maori" object is manipulated for textual effects that are completely

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<sup>120</sup> *Book of Maori Chiefs*, i.

<sup>121</sup> They are employment, installing petrol pumps, investing half a million pounds and 'becoming part of the national life', *ibid*, ii.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*, inside back cover, where Texaco petrol and oil are described as the big chiefs of 'your car's energy needs'.

separate from the "real" object outside of the text. It may seem strange to think of Cowan's pamphlet sized collections of biography in the same category as a modern dictionary of biography but the rhetorical tactics used in constructing the Maori object are similar.

In constructing the Maori biographical object, reference texts adopt a variety of rhetorical devices, some are peculiar to the Maori object, others are standard narrative tactics of all reference biography. The tropes of metonymy/synecdoche are central in this process. They allow a constructed part of the "Maori" in a European textual site to represent the whole Maori. This elision between the Maori object and the structure of the reference genre provides the textual site where an "other" can be imagined. Reference biography has the necessary means to imagine an object, both appropriated into the dominant discourse and shown to be different from it. The Maori biographical object is a construction of literature. However, this constructing or imagining of the Maori is not done out of a void. The way the Maori object is reconstructed out of the existing historiography will be the subject of the next chapter.

## Chapter Two - Sources

In the previous chapter the literary form a reference biographical text takes was said to explain much of how a "life" is constructed. This chapter examines how pre-existent knowledges of the Maori are shaped into this form. The source material used in the construction of Maori biography should not be viewed as creating the biographical object. The narrative structure of reference biography transforms these materials into something different from the original text. Biography writing does not allow a mere collecting of sources - various texts can not be juxtaposed, as some believe,<sup>1</sup> without being shaped by the biographical process into a single narrative. Constructing sources in reference biography of Maori represents two processes at work simultaneously. On the one hand it represents the genres search for the specific narrative commodities needed to depict a life. On the other, it reshapes these materials into something divorced from the original source.

This chapter will show that the Maori biographical object's construction is dependent on the colonial production of knowledges of the indigenous. Reference biography of pre-twentieth century Maori has drawn heavily on the early works of the Polynesian Society scholars. These works, it will be argued, have formed a kind of defacto canon. Despite the academic community's best efforts it is yet to be put aside. Neither tribal histories nor the use of "the oral tradition" have freed the need of the biographer to be directly or at least indirectly dependent on the works of Percy Smith, Eldson Best, and other connected scholars. Reference biography needs texts that can be translated into its discursive practice. The singularity of narrative in these texts provide the knowledges necessary to construct biography.

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<sup>1</sup> See, Binney, Judith, 'Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 21:1(1987), pp.16-28; *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Auckland: Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books, 1995, pp.1-11.

Simon During has argued that textual New Zealand is a series of attempts to translate the untranslatable - to transfer indigenous knowledges into European discursive practices.<sup>2</sup> This left a text constituted in terms of the dominant partner in the exchange of knowledges - the European. In the exchange of knowledges between European and Maori the "text" of the indigenous has been profoundly transformed, to the point of disappearance. This has left a 'silence' in terms of knowledge of the indigenous in the dominant textual sites. This is the case with much of the knowledges present in reference biography. Biography has gone back to histories that clearly "mistranslate" the "Maori" object into its discourse. An alternative narrative has not been produced. Oral and documentary "sources" still construct lives within the European discursive limits of biography. They do so in a way complementary to the received narratives, not as an alternative to them.

The use of the original text in biographical reconstruction is an extremely complicated process. If Percy Smith acquired a narrative from a native land court judge,<sup>3</sup> it has already undergone multiple transformations of political context, textual site, and interpretative modelling before it is reappropriated, in interaction with other sources, into the form of biography. The narrative cannot be expected to perform the same function it might have in the land court, let alone signify some non-textual "Maori" presence. Biography is best understood, therefore as a series of translations of texts from pre-existing textual sites into the form of reference biography. It is not a matter of uncovering "primary" sources that are a "trace" of a Maori life left behind.

Through these translations the Maori "other" is imagined. Chapter three of this thesis argues that in many ways the biographical representation of Maori has remained reasonably stable through the history of New Zealand. This, partially, is the result of the translation of colonial knowledges from one site to another. This

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<sup>2</sup> During, Simon, 'Post Colonialism', *Beyond the Disciplines: The New Humanities*, K.K. Ruthven (ed.), Canberra: Australian Academy of Humanities, 1992, pp.92-94.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island Prior to 1840*, New Plymouth: Polynesian Society, 1910, p.542.

chapter will examine several areas of source material; late 19th and early 20th century ethnohistories, Cowan's war history, mid-20th century "tribal" histories, newspaper obituaries, Native Land Court testimony and oral sources. How these knowledges are shaped into biography is the subject of this chapter.

Around the turn of the century many scholars believed the "Maori race" was dying out.<sup>4</sup> A concerted effort was made by scholars connected with the Polynesian Society to collect the 'origins, histories, myths, beliefs'<sup>5</sup> and cultural practices of various iwi.<sup>6</sup> Some of this work was sponsored by the government.<sup>7</sup> These kind of texts are useful in imagining the biographical object because they collect competing, localised histories into one 'real history'.<sup>8</sup> These works are key sources for both the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, especially volume one,<sup>9</sup> and Scholefield, while Cowan

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<sup>4</sup> This is part of a wider European "depopulation" ethnographic discourse, that believed colonialism had upset the functional cultural equilibrium of indigenous society. Therefore colonised peoples were, at least culturally, doomed to extinction. See Stocking, George W., 'Paradigmatic Traditions in the History of Anthropology' *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992, p.358.

<sup>5</sup> Best, Elsdon, *Tuhoe, The Children of the Mist : A Sketch of the Origin, History, Myths, and Beliefs of the Tuhoe Tribe of the Maori of New Zealand, With Some Account of Other Early Tribes of the Bay of Plenty District.*, (2 vols), Auckland: Reed, 1996.

<sup>6</sup> See, Sorrenson, M.P.K., *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years*, Auckland: Polynesian Society, 1992, pp.11-51.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., White, John, *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions*, (7 vols), Wellington: Government Print, 1887-1890; for White's relationship with the government see, Reilly, Michael, 'John White: The Making of a Nineteenth-Century Writer and Collector of Maori Traditions', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 23:2(1989), pp.157-172. Although predating the formative work of the Polynesian Society, John White is heavily connected to their discourse.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *History and Traditions*, p.39; Smith also wanted to take his collected traditions and 'weave them into a continuous history', p.105.

<sup>9</sup> Volume one was put together under the pressure of time to meet the 1990 150 year commemoration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In subsequent volumes the editors and authors have had more time to construct alternative sources to compliment these sources. These ethnohistories are also indispensable for the pre-contact and early contact biography that make up much of volume one.

synthesises some of the work and approaches of these scholars into his biography. "Real history" is what reference biography needs to construct its singular, chronological and comprehensive narrative.

The use of these knowledges makes for an ambiguous biographical discourse. The persistence of the use of these sources by academics into the present connects the present production of reference biography to the colonial enterprise. Many postcolonial commentators have called into question the use of such ethnological or anthropological material because of its production under the conditions of colonialism.<sup>10</sup> However, despite their continual deconstruction in recent times they provide a source for nineteenth-century Maori that cannot be overlooked, especially in the production of biography.

An obvious example of the place these ethnohistories play in the construction of biography is Elsdon Best's relationship with Tuhoe history. Best's work has been critiqued from various angles in the last decade.<sup>11</sup> During has read Best in a long tradition of ethnology that tries to preserve real Maoridom against Europeanised modern Maori movements. Sissons has tried to untangle the living tradition of Tuhoe oral history from Best's work. Reilly feels the Best text should be reappropriated by Tuhoe and turned against the colonising project in the tradition of intellectual resistance promoted by Spivak. Others have held up Best as an example of the kind of text that needs to be abandoned in the writing of genuine tribal history. In the writing of Tuhoe reference biography, however, Best is indispensable.

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<sup>10</sup> E.g., Owusu, Maxwell, 'Ethnography of Africa: The Usefulness of the Useless', *American Anthropologist*, 80:3(1978), pp.310-334.

<sup>11</sup> See, During, Simon, 'Waiting for the Post: Some Relations Between Modernity, Colonization, and Writing', *Past the Last Post: Theorising Post-Colonialism and Post Modernism*, Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin (eds), New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992, p.32; Reilly, Michael, 'An Ambiguous Past: Representing Maori History,' *New Zealand Journal of History*, 29:1(1995), pp.19-39; Sissons, Jeffrey, *Te Waimana, The Spring of Mana: Tuhoe History and the Colonial Encounter*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1992, pp.1-21.

Prior to the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* little Tuhoe biography was included in the collections of Maori biography.<sup>12</sup> The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* has two references ascribed to Tuhoe,<sup>13</sup> Gudgeon, Cowan and *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* have none.<sup>14</sup> The first two volumes of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* have included five biography categorised as Tuhoe, all of which list Best as a reference.<sup>15</sup> Even in the making of 20th century biography of Tuhoe women Best is often used as a source.<sup>16</sup>

Te Purewa's biography is a good example of the relationship between Best and the reconstruction of Tuhoe biography. It does not slavishly copy Best but it is heavily reliant on Best both for chronology and the construction of Te Purewa's character. At points the biography virtually copies Best word for word. *The Dictionary*

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<sup>12</sup> A book length biography of Rua Kenana has also been produced. See, Binney, Judith, Gillian Chaplin, and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His community at Maungapohatu*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1979.

<sup>13</sup> One is Te Mautaranui, Scholefield, G.H. (ed.), *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.2, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, p. 76. Curiously Best is not listed as a source, although Scholefield did occasionally use him for non-Tuhoe biography. Scholefield relies extensively on S. Percy Smith and hence the mass of Nga Puhi and Taranaki iwi biography in his work but perhaps the "dense" nature of Best's work made it less accessible as a source to Scholefield and accounts for the lack of Tuhoe in his dictionary. The other is Rua Kenana, *ibid*, vol.1, p.457. Rua is mentioned in Best (e.g., vol.1, p.606) but again is not used as a direct source by Scholefield.

<sup>14</sup> This is not surprising for Gudgeon as Tuhoe were not generally kupapa or *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* because they were not considered commercially or politically successful. Cowan's disinterest is perhaps explained by Tuhoe's isolation and small numbers.

<sup>15</sup> See, biography of Mihi-ki-te-kapua, Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1991, pp.46-47; Te Ngahuru, *ibid*, pp.214-216; Te Purewa, *ibid*, pp. 234-238; Tamarau Waiari, Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The Turbulent Years: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1870-1900*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1994, pp.126-128; Te Whenuanui, *ibid*, pp.185-188.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., biography of Pinepine Te Rika, Macdonald, Charlotte, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams (eds), *The Book of New Zealand Women: Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991, pp.519-522; biography of Te Akakura Ru, *ibid*, pp.660-663.

of *New Zealand Biography* entry states of Te Purewa's character: 'Some saw him as a "atua whakahaehae" (terrifying demon). He had a forceful character and it was most unwise to offend him.' Best writes 'Te Purewa I. was a man of forceful character and was a most unsafe person to offend....He was termed an *atua whakahaehae*'.<sup>17</sup> At points the biography follows Best in historical explanation. Te Purewa's involvement in a battle between "Arawa" and "Waikato" is explained in both Best and *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* as being the result of Te Purewa's maternal connections with Arawa.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the dating and chronology of the battle follow Best.

At other points however there is noticeable divergence between the two accounts. A successful battle at Taupo is a result of Te Purewa's leadership in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* but he is only mentioned as one of many Tuhoe leaders at the battle in Best, where success is because of the actions of the tohunga Te Uhia.<sup>19</sup> In *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Te Purewa is attributed with making peace between Tuhoe and Ngati Tuwharetoa, Te Arawa, Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Awa and Ngati Pukeko. Best is slightly less bold in connecting all this peace to Te Purewa. For example he does not mention Te Purewa in relation to the "treaty" with Tuwharetoa. In Best it is the work of two other leaders.<sup>20</sup>

It has been noted that Best has synthesised divergent and competing histories into one "Tuhoe" history.<sup>21</sup> Tuhoe history is virtually inseparable from his work. Recent biographers, therefore, start with the Best text and enhance the mana of their subject by

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<sup>17</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.238; Best, vol. 1, p.394.

<sup>18</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.237; Best, vol.1, p.473.

<sup>19</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.235; Best, vol.1, pp. 450-457.

<sup>20</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp. 237-238; Best, vol.1, p.455.

<sup>21</sup> See, Sissons, pp.13-15; Reilly, 'Ambiguous Past', p.19. In this way Best's work is a precursor of the "tribal" histories that followed later in the 20th century.

addition from other sources - oral histories, Land Court minute books, private manuscripts, historical imagination. In this way Te Purewa is constructed as a 'Tuhoe leader'<sup>22</sup> rather than a leader of any other tribal constructions.

The work of S. Percy Smith<sup>23</sup> has also played a key role in the construction of Maori biography. Other than Cowan's *New Zealand Wars*, Smith's *History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast* is the most commonly acknowledged source in Maori reference biography. This, despite the fact the "authenticity" of its sources and writing has been questioned in recent historiography.<sup>24</sup> His narratives and whakapapa still seem to dominate parts of Taranaki, Muriwhenua and some Tainui histories.<sup>25</sup> The reason why his work is often indispensable in the writing of Maori biography can be seen by quoting a passage out of his *History and Tradition*. Smith states his work is put together 'with a view to eliminating errors in the Native histories, and bringing the discordant data into the semblance of real history'.<sup>26</sup> By reinscribing his various collected "traditions" with the logic of "real history", Smith makes available the kind of singular narrative accounts needed to imagine the Maori biographical object.

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<sup>22</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.234.

<sup>23</sup> See especially, Smith, S. Percy, *History and Tradition; Maori Wars of the Nineteenth-Century: The Struggle of the Northern against the Southern Maori Tribes Prior to the Colonisation of New Zealand in 1840*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1910.

<sup>24</sup> See, Reilly, Michael, 'John White: An Examination of His Use of Maori Oral Tradition and the Role of Authenticity', MA Thesis in History, Victoria University, Wellington, 1985, p.357; Simmons, D.R., *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Maori*, Wellington: Reed, 1976; Smithyman, Kendrick, 'Making History: John White and S.Percy Smith at Work', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 88:4(1979), pp.375-418; Sorrenson, M.P.K., *Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1990.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., O'Regan, Tipene, 'Old Myths and New Politics: Some Contemporary Uses of Traditional History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 26:1(1992), pp.5-27, 11-13; Ballara, Angela, 'Pakeha Uses of Takimutanga: Who Owns Tribal Tradition?', *Stout Centre Review*, 3:2(1993), pp.17-21, 20.

<sup>26</sup> *History and Tradition*, p.39.

The language of Smith is sometimes appropriated straight into the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* text. Parore Te Awha's biography<sup>27</sup> reads: 'Parore Te Awha was described by the ethnologist S. Percy Smith as 'a fine stalwart man, beautifully tattooed, whose mana over his people was very great'. This tactic of quoting Smith's account is common in transmitting earlier accounts of Maori character and appearance into the modern reference biography. Smith is referred to with the authoritative term "ethnologist" that inscribes his writing with the authority necessary to accurately depict Parore. By using Smith's language a romanticised Maori object is carried over into the present text.

More common than direct reliance on Smith's language is a reliance on Smith's narrative structure. Smith's work is frequently referenced as a source in the 1940 and 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. However, Smith's work also often acts as the key source for certain narratives, even if the Smith text is not referenced. Some examples of this can be seen in the biographies of the 19th-century Nga Puhī leaders, Patuone and Hongi.

According to The *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Patuone took part in the 'great war expedition' of Nga Puhī, Te Roroa and Ngati Toa to the south of the North Island in 1819-1820.<sup>28</sup> Although the author does not list Smith's *Maori Wars* as a reference,<sup>29</sup> it is hard to think of this narrative originating anywhere other than from Smith's account. The biography includes the often repeated story of the taua seeing a ship in Cook Strait, possibly the Russian ship captained by Bellinghausen. This provided the reason why Te Rauparaha decided to migrate to the Wellington area.<sup>30</sup> This story<sup>31</sup> comes from Smith's 'Maori account'<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp.88-90; Smith, *Maori Wars*, p.24.

<sup>28</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.97.

<sup>29</sup> Instead the text references "primary" sources and later twentieth-century histories, *ibid*, p.99.

<sup>30</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.97.

<sup>31</sup> Smith, *Maori Wars*, p.107.

of the expedition which he claimed was given to him by John White.<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, the Hongi Hika biography in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* has an account of the battle of Moremonui between parts of Nga Puhi and Ngati Whatua. It is given much significance in explaining Hongi's life.<sup>34</sup> Most of the points made about this battle follow Smith's account.<sup>35</sup> *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* entry states two of Hongi's brothers were killed. This caused him to have a strong desire for utu on the Ngati Whatua hapu involved and at the same time he became convinced of the usefulness of muskets. All these events and explanations closely follow Smith's account.

Smith's work *History and Tradition of the West Coast Maori of the North Island Prior to 1840* is frequently used in the making of Maori biography. The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is directly dependent on Smith's *History and Traditions* for large tracts of material in much of its biography. Te Puoho's biography<sup>36</sup> is typical of this. The whakapapa construction connecting Te Puoho to the crew of Tokomaru, establishing relationships with 'Ngati Awa', and descent through to Huria Matenga is taken directly from Smith.<sup>37</sup> The dating and explanation of Te Puoho's movements in the lower North Island and upper South Island and his participation in the 'Ohariu Massacre' of Muaupoko are taken, often word from word from Smith also.<sup>38</sup> The ill fated Ngati Tama expedition on the West Coast of the South Island is a reduction of the account Smith

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p.97.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p.96.

<sup>34</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.15-16.

<sup>35</sup> Smith, *Maori Wars*, pp.31-49. Smith writes that his account derives from various "native" informants who recounted the story of the battle to Pakeha, see, pp.31-32 and p.40.

<sup>36</sup> Scholefield, vol.2, pp.187-188.

<sup>37</sup> Smith, *History and Traditions*, p.543.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.442 and 542.

gives.<sup>39</sup> Nearly all of Smith's Te Puoho material was collected from one testimony at a land court hearing.<sup>40</sup> Neither Smith or Scholefield have any cause to be sceptical of any of the details of this account because it provides the singular narrative account needed for their respective enterprises.

Recent reference biography does not directly appropriate Smith to the degree that the 1940 *Dictionary* did. However Smith's narrative can be identified in many of the Maori entries of the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. This is especially the case for Maori located in the south-west of the North Island. This dependence is due to a lack of access to alternative sources and the difficulty in untangling the "history and traditions of Taranaki" from Smith's accounts. Te Matakatea's<sup>41</sup> biography is an example of this.

The reconstruction of the early years of Te Matakatea in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is an edited and reduced version of Smith's accounts. The Taranaki battle with "Waikato" at Maru follows Smith in date, place, and chronology. The migration of the majority of Taranaki following the battle, the numbers left behind under Te Matakatea occupying Te Namu, and the trading of flax for muskets are also carried over from Smith.<sup>42</sup> Te Matakatea as the marksman supreme during the battle of Te Namu has its roots in the *History and Traditions*.<sup>43</sup> The *Harriet* incident is a neat reduction of Smith's two accounts,<sup>44</sup> that notes the burning of Te Namu and Waimate being fired on. The killings and plunderings ascribed to Taranaki and Ruanui are edited out of the account. Like Tuhoe history and Best, this Taranaki biography appropriates the

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, pp.542-551.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.295 and 542.

<sup>41</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.209-211.

<sup>42</sup> Smith, *History and Traditions*, pp.418-419.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, pp.501-505.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, pp.524-537.

narrative structure of Smith to produce biography but edits and adds for mana-effect.

John White is a less popular source than Smith but *The Ancient History of the Maori* does become the dominant narrative within some biography. An example of this is Tama-i-hara-nui's biography in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. The biography is reliant on White's narrative from beginning to end. White in turn took his narrative of Tama-i-hara-nui straight from J.W. Stack.<sup>45</sup> The biography states that common people could not look on Tama-i-hara-nui's face, that the inter-hapu warfare in and around Banks Peninsula in the early 1800's was started because someone wore Tama's dog skin cloak, and that he was captured by Ngati-Toa and tortured to death at Kapiti by the wives of leaders he had killed at Kaiapoi.<sup>46</sup> All these details follow White's account.

The work of Smith, Best, White, and many others connected to them have been vital to the construction of Maori biography since their first appearance around the turn of the century. This is because they contain narratives and genealogies that are often not accessible anywhere else to scholars. This happens even if the uncontested status as authoritative works no longer apply to them. Their importance can be seen by the number of times they are referenced and the dependence of biographies on their narrative accounts in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, and the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. These sources are particularly important for biography because they collected various traditions and assembled them within a chronology, series of dates, and unified narrative structure. This imagining of "Maori" history in line with Western historical practice provides the kind of narrative commodities that can be translated into biography.

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<sup>45</sup> Stack, J.W., *Tales of Banks Peninsula*, Akaroa: H.C. Jacobson, 1893.

<sup>46</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.131-133.

James Cowan's work of 1923, *The New Zealand Wars*<sup>47</sup> is another important source for biography of Maori. Its colonist premises and lack of modern historical method have been noted<sup>48</sup> but this work has been constantly called upon as a source in all reference biography since 1940. It has been noted that earlier writings on Maori connected their discourse to a European scholarly tradition.<sup>49</sup> Cowan however, was self-consciously nationalistic. Scholefield felt Cowan 'did more than anybody to make New Zealand known to New Zealander's' and 'Cowan's work belonged in a peculiar manner to New Zealand'.<sup>50</sup> This creation of a national scholarship has often been derided as mere "journalism".<sup>51</sup> However, it has become vitally important to writing Maori reference biography because it integrates the Maori subject into the national whole.

A biography like Titokowaru's in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is dependent on Cowan as a source. For example, the decision to abandon Tauranga-ika is reconstructed and explained from material taken from Cowan.<sup>52</sup> This despite the fact the author's stated dislike of Cowan's writing style and ideological

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<sup>47</sup> Cowan, James, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, (2 vols), Wellington: W.A.G. Skinner. 1922-1923.

<sup>48</sup> Belich, James, *I Shall Not Die: Titokowaru's War, New Zealand, 1868-1869*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1989. p.103; Booker, Anthony James, 'The Centennial Surveys of New Zealand'. BA Honours Research Exercise, Massey, University, 1983, pp.55-58; Phillips, J.O.C., 'Musings in Maoriland, or was there a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand', *Historical Studies*, 20:1(1983), pp.520-553, 533; 'Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footy on Saturday Afternoon: Reflections on 100 Years of New Zealand Historiography', *New Zealand Journal of History*. 24:2(1990), pp.118-134, 123.

<sup>49</sup> See, Byrnes, Giselle, 'Savages and Scholars: Some Pakeha Perceptions of the Maori 1890-1920's', MA Thesis in History, University of Waikato. 1990.

<sup>50</sup> G.H. Scholefield to PM Fraser, 15/9/1943, Scholefield Papers. MS-papers 0212, WTU.

<sup>51</sup> E.g., Olssen, Erik, 'Where to From Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-Century Historiography of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 26:1(1992), pp.54-77, 57.

<sup>52</sup> Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, vol.2, pp.291-292; *The Adventures of Kimble Bent*, Christchurch: Capper Press, 1975, pp.256-257; cf. biography of Titokowaru, *People of Many Peaks*, pp.320-326; and Belich, pp.227-246.

perspective.<sup>53</sup> The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* had a similar explanation based on the same source.<sup>54</sup> This example points to the sources needed to construct "Maori biography" being quite limited for the professional historian.

Alternatives to these European produced narratives are often not accessible or easily appropriated into the reference biography genre. Titokowaru is explained through the Kimble Bent oral account transmitted via Cowan's written text. Bent may or may not have had a grasp on the reasons for Titokowaru's actions. Either way, this transference of knowledges from textual sites is a series of political acts totally divorced from the presence of the non-textual "Titokowaru". Modern biographers of Maori are forced into imagining their objects with the aid of texts whose validity they question. This produces two levels of Maori biography - one partially carries over the commodities of representation from the earlier accounts and the other transforms those texts into the current ideology of Maori scholarship.

Recent biography of Te Kooti illustrate these two levels of imagining. The political tone of its sources is not carried into the present biographical object. The narrative commodities; events, dates, names, places, chronology are. Te Kooti biography show the limits of oral histories in the construction of Maori biography. In the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Te Kooti entry, Cowan is followed without fail in events, explanation and ideology.<sup>55</sup> No oral sources are referenced. Cowan took the majority of his Te Kooti material from Pakeha soldiers accounts, especially Mair and Porter's. An account closely linked to a colonising political programme and historical framework is therefore to be expected. The 1990 *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*, by contrast,

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<sup>53</sup> E.g., *ibid*, p.103.

<sup>54</sup> Scholefield, vol. 2, pp.387-388.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, vol.1, pp.374-376; cf. Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, vol.2, pp.222-243. A similar approach can also be seen in the likes of the book length biography, Ross, W. Hugh, *Te Kooti Rikirangi: General and Prophet*, Auckland: Collins, 1966.

reinvents the political tone of the object. The events of the life, however, still largely appear to be dependent on similar sources to the ones Cowan used. For example the rejection by Mair of Te Kooti's peace proposal at Paiaka follows Cowan in date, place, character and relative importance.<sup>56</sup> Much celebrated use of oral history lies behind *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Te Kooti entry.<sup>57</sup> This is more a political tactic, attempting to give the colonised object a voice of its own within the traditional Pakeha narrative. However, the narrative is still a product of a long colonial and academic historiography of Te Kooti and this renders the project impossible. Te Kooti is still a European "other".

From the middle of this century, book length "tribal histories" began to be produced. John White and Percy Smith wrote "Maori history", "Maori tradition", or "Maori Wars". These tribal historians, by contrast, wrote "Tainui", "Te Arawa", or "Te Whakatohea" history. Many of these works betray a debt to the scholars of the Polynesian Society, seen in the use of Great Migration narratives, but further tribalise these received histories into localised accounts. Like Best and Tuhoe biography, these works often become the received starting point for constructing a life.

A good example of "tribal history" and its effects on the construction of biography is Leslie Kelly's *Tainui*.<sup>58</sup> Te Wherowhero I's biography in the first volume of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* shows dependence on Kelly's work. Kelly's work synthesised some oral histories of 'the elders of the tribe' into European time and space. His chronology, dating, placing and explanation is largely dependent on Smith.<sup>59</sup> Kelly's desire to construct a singular Tainui history means he creates histories in where Tainui unity often overrides iwi and hapu conflicts. This is

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<sup>56</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.194-201; cf. Cowan *New Zealand Wars*, vol.2, pp.389-391.

<sup>57</sup> Binney, *Redemption Songs*, pp.1-11.

<sup>58</sup> Kelly, Leslie. G., *Tainui: The Story of Hoturoa and His Descendants*, Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1949.

<sup>59</sup> E.g., *ibid*, pp.316-324.

used to explain why Te Rauparaha spared Te Wherowhero's life in Taranaki in 1820.<sup>60</sup> *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* follows this explanation rather than allowing for a more complicated set of political interactions within Tainui at the time.<sup>61</sup> Dating, ordering, and placing of battles also follow Kelly.<sup>62</sup>

For reconstructing Tuwharetoa biography the work of Grace<sup>63</sup> is indispensable. Like Kelly, Grace's history of Tuwharetoa incorporates localised knowledges into the constructs of the previous generation of scholars. Tuwharetoa is invented in the light of the Great Migration story and the Aryan Maori thesis.<sup>64</sup> These basic narratives are overlaid with knowledges taken from 'tribal records', 'family manuscripts' and Native Land Court minute books to create a Tuwharetoa history. The biography of Tukino IV in volume two of *The New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*<sup>65</sup> shows the debt reference biography of Tuwharetoa has to Grace's work. The biography relates and explains the complicated set of relationships between Te Kooti, Tukino IV and the King leaders in language lifted out of Grace.<sup>66</sup> Tukino's famous refutation of Te Keepa at a Land Court hearing in 1882 also follows Grace exactly.<sup>67</sup> The 1940 *Dictionary of Biography* shows a debt to Grace at points. The 1940 *Dictionary* predates the publication of *Tuwharetoa* so this represents the passing on of unpublished information.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p.346.

<sup>61</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.310-312.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Kelly, pp.324-325, 336-339.

<sup>63</sup> Grace, John Te H., *Tuwharetoa: The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District*, Wellington: Reed, 1959.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p.18.

<sup>65</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp.155-157.

<sup>66</sup> Grace, pp.488-490.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p.461.

<sup>68</sup> E.g., biography of Te Herekieke, Scholefield, vol.1, p.381; cf. Grace, pp.241-242.

Stafford's work<sup>69</sup> plays a key role in the construction of biographies linked to the tribes around Rotorua. Stafford saw himself as collector of Te Arawa traditions, not writer of one "logical" account.<sup>70</sup> However, his work is structured as a singular chronological narrative, with particular attention to "Arawa" interaction with Pakeha. It is not a collection of divergent histories. A biography like Tohi Te Ururangi's<sup>71</sup> is inseparable from Stafford's history. For example, an incident from the battle of Mataipuku, dated August 1836 in both accounts, is rendered in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*;

Tohi Te Ururangi rallied his men, who were being pursued across the Utuhina stream. Tohi turned and faced his pursuers. One Ngati Haua leader, Raerae was wounded by a shot fired by Te Arawa. Without hesitation Tohi sprang back across the creek and put Raerae to death with his tomahawk. This caused Ngati Haua to pause in their pursuit long enough for many Te Arawa survivors to escape

This section is borrowed nearly word for word from Stafford.<sup>72</sup> The reliance on the discourse of Stafford as a source has several effects. Tohi is described as fighting for Te Arawa, not Ngati Whakauae or any other construct of political identification. This reflects Stafford's singular Te Arawa historical construction. Stafford's emphasis on bravery, inspiring leadership and a romantic rendering of violence is carried over into the biography of Tohi. However,

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<sup>69</sup> Stafford, Don, *Te Arawa : A History of the Arawa People*, Wellington: Reed, 1967.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, v.

<sup>71</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.326-328.

<sup>72</sup> Stafford, p.247, reads; 'One of the leading men of Ngati Haua, a chief called Raerae, was wounded by a shot fired from the Arawa side. Without a moments hesitation Tohi sprang across the creek and finished him off with his tomahawk. This minor incident caused Te waharoa's men to pause in their pursuit'.

what is a 'minor incident' in Stafford is a key event used for metonymic effect in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.

Obituaries form an important source of material for Maori biography. The narrative structure of an obituary closely resembles a biographical entry in a reference work.<sup>73</sup> The two genre, therefore produce the same kinds of information - birth date, chronology of important events, family information, and date of death. This makes obituaries an important place to gather knowledges to be reinscribed as biography.

Scholefield's biographical technique relied heavily on newspaper obituaries.<sup>74</sup> He saw them as 'irrefutable statements' that formed the 'essential starting point' of a biography.<sup>75</sup> This use of newspaper obituaries flowed from the belief that in writing biography in New Zealand there was a lack of reliable family information.<sup>76</sup> Scholefield's 'essential starting point of all biography was the actual date of death'.<sup>77</sup> Obituaries were the first place it was looked for. Where possible, they form the narrative outline of his Maori biography in *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.<sup>78</sup> The number of times this was possible for Maori entries was limited by a lack of access to Maori language newspapers.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Berger, Arthur Asa, *Narratives in Popular Culture, Media and Everyday Life*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997, p.172.

<sup>74</sup> This is not surprising considering Scholefield had worked as a journalist, had access to most New Zealand english language newspapers, and showed a considerable interest in the history of newspapers in New Zealand. See, Scholefield, G.H., *Newspapers in New Zealand*, Wellington: Reed, 1958.

<sup>75</sup> 'Manuscript of Autobiography, 1877-1963', Scholefield Papers, MS-Papers 0212, WTU.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. This tendency for death to be the focus of narrative has been noted in biography in general, e.g. see, Cockshut, O.A.J., *Truth to Life: The Art of Biography in the Nineteenth Century*, London: Collins, 1974, p.41.

<sup>78</sup> E.g., biography of Henare Kaihau, Scholefield, vol.1, p.448; cf. *NZPD*, 186 (1920), p.15.

<sup>79</sup> Common sources of Maori obituaries such as *Te Wananga* are never used.

The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* also makes wide use of knowledges transferred from obituaries. Over half the Maori entries of volume 2 reference obituaries as a source. Unlike the 1940 *Dictionary*, however, they do not hold the status of 'irrefutable statements'. The obvious point that obituaries shape a narrative of the deceased to represent the subject in a positive light is acknowledged by the editors.<sup>80</sup> This widespread use of a type of source material that's validity is questioned is similar to the use of Percy Smith's writings. Obituaries provide the necessary narrative commodities to construct reference biography.

The biography of Taiwhanga<sup>81</sup> serves as an example of this. His obituary in the *Evening Post* adopts a condescending stance to Taiwhanga's political activity.<sup>82</sup> This enables Taiwhanga to be represented as unthreatening to the ideological perspective of the *Evening Post*. This is in contrast to the ideological tone of 1990's biography. Despite the obvious divergence between the kind of political text being produced, the *Evening Post* obituary provides much of the events and chronology for *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* entry. Taiwhanga's bridge building exploits and his second marriage are events borrowed from the *Evening Post* account. Ihaka Te Tai Hakuene's biography<sup>83</sup> shows a similar reliance on an obituary. His Te Rarawa connections, his first wife's 'delicate health' preventing him becoming a clergyman, receiving the chiefly mantle from his father, his second marriage, and information on his eldest son are all taken, often word for word from a *Church Gazette* obituary.<sup>84</sup>

Issues of land alienation, retention, and contestation are of particular importance in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. This obviously reflects developments in the wider

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<sup>80</sup> Interview with Angela Ballara, Wellington, 15/8/1997.

<sup>81</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp.120-124.

<sup>82</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 November 1890.

<sup>83</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp. 179-181.

<sup>84</sup> *Church Gazette*, July 1887.

historical profession.<sup>85</sup> Two kinds of biography have been written that relate the subject to issues of land tenure. One is usually written by descendants of the subject, using oral sources, the "tribal" histories mentioned above, and evidence given in Native Land Court hearings. It is especially concerned with ascribing pieces of land with mana whenua over and against other iwi or hapu. Interaction with government is vital to this sub-genre because it is linked to attempts to gain government acknowledgement of claims to land.

This form of biography has an obvious precedent in the book length biography of Mokena Kohere.<sup>86</sup> This work has a series of footnotes referencing the claims of 'my people'<sup>87</sup> to certain blocks of land. The work was written with state funding and the encouragement of Scholefield. Te Aweawe's biography<sup>88</sup> in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is a good example of this kind of biography. It appears to be written largely from oral sources, by a Rangitane leader and academic, and is largely concerned with issues of land and sovereignty without a pretence to laying out "all the facts" of Te Aweawe's life.

The other kind of biography connected to land issues is usually written by Pakeha scholars. It is often based on the written record of government action in establishing title to blocks of Maori land. The evidence in Native Land Court minute books is vital in linking ideas on land to the biographical object. This is a new trend in Pakeha reference biography of Maori. The 1940 *Dictionary* does not use Land Court minute books as a source. Production of a Maori text has a long history of interaction with the Native or Maori Land

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<sup>85</sup> E.g., Ward, Alan, 'History and Historians Before the Waitangi Tribunal: Some Reflections on the Ngai Tahu Claim', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 24:2(1990), pp.150-167; The introductory essay of *Turbulent Years*, presents the orthodox state of historical opinion on the importance of land in the construction of Maori experience.

<sup>86</sup> Kohere, Rewiti. T, *The Story of a Maori Chief: Mokena Kohere and his Forebears*, Wellington: Reed, 1949.

<sup>87</sup> E.g., *ibid*, p.16.

<sup>88</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.157-158.

Courts. Judge Wilson's *Story of Te Waharoa*<sup>89</sup> is a very early example in the making of biography. However during the 1980's and 1990's the minute book itself has been privileged as a source. This has not lead to the production of a new kind of Maori narrative. Instead, it is linked to the production of a new kind of ideology.

Native Land Court minutes are an increasingly important source in 1990's Maori biography.<sup>90</sup> They have two main uses. First, they can provide a source of material if descendants told accounts of the subject at Land Court hearings. Second, biographical objects can be constructed out of those recorded as participating in the hearings. This second type is largely confined to volume two of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Land Court minute books provide whakapapa and histories "direct from the mouths" of those participating in them. In the language of historicism they are "primary" sources. They can give the source of information wanted for Maori biography that by-passes the Pakeha constructs of the likes Smith. This authenticity the Land Court minutes have overlooks the obvious political context they are produced in and the degree of transformation they undergo in their reconstruction into biography. The biography of Mohi Te Atahikoia in volume two of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is an example of this.<sup>91</sup>

This use of the Native Land Court minute book as a source produces a biography where the life of Mohi is his interaction with the government and tribal leaders over issues of land title. For example Mohi's representation of the 'refugees from Wairoa'<sup>92</sup> in the subdivision of the Waimarama, Waipuku and Kaihau blocks is

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<sup>89</sup> Wilson, John Alexander, *The Story of Te Waharoa: A Chapter in Early New Zealand History Together with Sketches of Ancient Maori Life and History*, Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1866.

<sup>90</sup> Of the 160 biographies in *People of Many Peaks* 15 reference minute books as a source. 11 of 81 biographies reference minute books in *Turbulent Years*.

<sup>91</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp.152-154.

<sup>92</sup> 'Decision on Sub-Division Claims', 23/5/1884, Native Land Court Minute Book, Napier 9a, Micro 3645, NA.

given four times as much space as his participation in the fighting against Te Kooti. Interest in the residual text of the Native Land Court means the biographical object is constructed in terms that privilege this forum in explanation of the life. Mohi's biography reads; 'As a result of his experiences in the land court, Mohi became increasingly involved in the political and land struggles of his time'. Mohi is constructed as central to 'his people' in their attempt to gain rights to land but even in the famous Waimarama case, when he is reported to have 'feel ill', the case proceeded without him.<sup>93</sup>

Mohi's example shows that the construction of a land court minute book as source is not a simple transference of discourse from one text to another. Instead, by attaching the biographical object to this source, the importance of the Land Court to the object and the object to the Land Court is made. Land Court minutes are a source of narratives and whakapapa but in the making of biography considerable poetic imagination is needed to construct a life out of them. The decision to use them as a source speaks more of the discursive politics of the biography's production.

Similar tendencies can be seen in the biography of Raniera Te Ahiko.<sup>94</sup> Te Ahiko is often recorded stating such things as 'I know this land - I claim the whole block' in the Land Court minute books.<sup>95</sup> The testimony ascribed to him is often produced in the context of asserting Kahungunu hapu's "rights" against Kawepo's descendant's claims. This could lead to divergent whakapapa being given for the same person depending on the particular claim.<sup>96</sup> Te Ahiko's biography overlooks this political context the "history" connected with Te Ahiko was produced in. The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* makes Te Ahiko as an 'historian'. This construct takes material from contested contexts and redefines it as

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<sup>93</sup> 'Sub-Division Claims', 27/5/1884, *ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp.149-152.

<sup>95</sup> 'Owhaoko Block Hearing', 23/8/1888, Native Land Court Minute Book, Napier 16, micro. 3642, NA.

<sup>96</sup> E.g., Kawepo's genealogy, *ibid.*, 24/8/1888; cf. whakapapa in *Turbulent Years*, p.151.

a 'a rich and detailed documentation of tribal history'. This biography ascribes the Land Court minute book as authentic site of knowledge. It does not "find" material in them that creates its own life.

Oral sources have been vital to Maori reference biography. With the exception of the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, oral information is given a privileged role in the construction of the Maori object. There is a clear link between "Maori" culture being constructed as an oral culture and the use of sources encoded as "oral" within the text. This is done to give authenticity to the biographical object. This belief in a fundamental dichotomy between indigenous oral history and European document history<sup>97</sup> overlooks the fact oral sources are reconstructed as writing in the process of making biography. There is no real "speech" in biography. Instead speech is written as a commodity that signifies difference in the "Maori" object. On top of this, "oral tradition" is continually reimagined through interaction with written texts and shift in political context. In the same manner as written materials, oral sources do not provide an unbroken, "authentic" line of knowledge back to the past.

Gudgeon's work does not rely on Maori informants. Instead it seems to use largely oral, although sometimes written, reminiscences of Pakeha soldiers and officials to create its Maori entries. Major Kemp is typical of this. The majority of the entry is quoted from the text of a speech given by Buller.<sup>98</sup> The use of this kind of information has the obvious relationship to the ideology the text produces. *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand* uses material furnished by the subjects themselves who were paying to have their biographies included in the work. Little use of other sources seems to have gone into the construction of these biography except for a few parliamentary representatives who were dead by the

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<sup>97</sup> E.g., O'Regan, Stephen, 'Maoris, Biographies and Dictionaries', J.O.C. Phillips (ed.), *Biography in New Zealand*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1985, p.42.

<sup>98</sup> Gudgeon, pp.331-334.

time of writing. In both these texts the kind of sources used are limited by the position of the text in relationship to their subjects.

Cowan privileges oral sources over others. This is both because of perceived gaps in documentary sources and a belief that oral accounts were more authentic and interesting than written ones.<sup>99</sup> Much of the material in Cowan's biographical collections were gained in the process of putting together other works.<sup>100</sup> Sometimes materials were gained from a written account collected from those Cowan perceived had had first hand experience of the biographical subject.<sup>101</sup> Generally, however, he preferred to gather biographical information verbally, either directly or from those he supposed had known the subject.

Oral sources have a variety of functions in Cowan's biography. The search for oral sources reflects Cowan's desire to write history and biography as a series of adventure narratives.<sup>102</sup> Stories transmitted orally had the structure Cowan was trying to maintain in his reconstruction of the past. Oral culture has, in Cowan's economy of writing, a position as a marker of authentic "old order" Maori culture. It is therefore not surprising that Cowan turns to the spoken source as the authentic voice in the construction of his Maori biography.

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is heavily reliant on written materials in the construction of its biographies. Where non-written information is used it is usually information from the experts in Maori issues of the time. Very rarely were oral based histories from within tribes used.<sup>103</sup> Occasionally the families of the

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<sup>99</sup> See Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, vol.1, v-vi.

<sup>100</sup> E.g., biography of Waka Nene, Cowan, James, *Maori Biographies: Sketches of Old New Zealand: Descriptive Catalogue of Maori Portraits Painted by Herr. G. Lindauer*, Auckland: H.E. Partridge, 1901, p.15; cf. *New Zealand Wars*, vol.1, pp.7-87.

<sup>101</sup> E.g., *ibid*, pp.12-16, and the use of Davis and Maning's written accounts.

<sup>102</sup> See, Hilliard, Chris, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 31:2(1997), pp.219-237, 222-224.

subject of a biography contributed information to Scholefield but he did not actively seek it or reference it in his work.<sup>104</sup> More often than not, *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* Maori entries are compressed versions of life narratives taken from works like Smith, Cowan, or Buick. These were then supplemented with information from newspaper obituaries and occasionally parliamentary debates or Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives.<sup>105</sup> Almost total dependence on sources removed from the families of the subject was a result of the time limits of Scholefield editing and writing nearly the whole work himself.

*The Book of New Zealand Women* makes widespread use of oral and unpublished accounts. A Maori life can be reconstructed totally from the written record<sup>106</sup> but more often than not oral informants are used to create the life of a Maori woman. This can take various forms. Usually a child, grandchild or other connected relative recounts their version of a life to a recorder. It is then written and edited into a life suitable for publication with an introduction constructing the biographical outline of the subject.<sup>107</sup> The widespread use of oral history reflects both the perceived lack of written sources on Maori women and the ideological approach taken in constructing the text. Oral accounts are used as an alternative to traditional reliance on written accounts in the making of history.

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<sup>103</sup> Ngata seems to be his main source of information in this regard, e.g., the 'personal information' from Ngata on Tuwharetoa matters, Scholefield, vol.1, p.385.

<sup>104</sup> E.g., Te Kauriu Karaitiana after seeing a draft of a proposed biography of his ancestor, Karaitiana Takamoana, wrote to Scholefield informing him that on the testimony of 'reliable elders of my tribe' and Smith's *Maori Wars* Takamoana was never captured. Scholefield withdrew the offending portion. The 1990 entry includes his capture in its narrative, Te Kauriu Karaitiana to G.H. Scholefield, 7/4/1939 and 20/4/1939, Scholefield Papers, MS-papers 0212, WTU; Scholefield, vol.2, p.360.

<sup>105</sup> E.g., biography of Henare Kaihau, Scholefield, vol.1, p.448; cf. *NZPD*, 186 (1920), p.15, which is used for the subject's dates, education and 'mental ability'.

<sup>106</sup> E.g., biography of Makariri, *Book of New Zealand Women*, pp.407-409.

<sup>107</sup> E.g., biography of Te Whiu Maitai, *ibid*, pp.403-407.

In the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* oral sources hold an ambiguous place. Oral testimonies are widespread in Maori biographies, although they are not used in every entry. They are usually coded into the text not as "fact" statements as written or imagined sources are. Instead they are coded as "opinion". Numerous semiotic variations on a theme are used to do this. Oral or non-published sources can be coded into the text by prefacing them with phrases like; 'According to tradition',<sup>108</sup> 'is said to have',<sup>109</sup> 'According to family information',<sup>110</sup> 'It is said',<sup>111</sup> 'According to one family record',<sup>112</sup> or 'Family tradition suggests'.<sup>113</sup> This is a self-conscious tactic employed by the editors of the dictionary to identify the use of oral materials within the body of the text.<sup>114</sup> Oral materials are not listed after the body of the text in the way written materials are.

This could easily be read as demoting oral texts below written ones in the hierarchy of textual authority. However oral statements hold a more ambiguous place than this in the text of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. On one level it does seem oral sources are acknowledged as having a localised political content. This means they need to be given a status of "opinion" in a work that aims for "historical accuracy".<sup>115</sup> This is in contrast with most written sources which are received, shaped into biography and transmitted as truths.

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<sup>108</sup> Biography of Tuakana Aporotanga, *Turbulent Years*, pp.3-6.

<sup>109</sup> Biography of Arini Donnelly, *ibid*, pp.15-17.

<sup>110</sup> Biography of Edward Francis Harris, *ibid*, pp. 20-23.

<sup>111</sup> Biography of Sophia Hinerangi, *ibid*, pp.24-26.

<sup>112</sup> Biography of Jacob William Heberly, *ibid*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>113</sup> Biography of Meri Te Tai Mangakahia, *ibid*, pp.57-59.

<sup>114</sup> Interview with Angela Ballara.

<sup>115</sup> Volume one describes itself as a 'reliable work of reference', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, dust jacket.

On another level the use of oral, private, or localised histories validates the authenticity of the constructed Maori object. Nearly all Maori biography in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* have been at least shown to those deemed to be "the family" of the subject for comment.<sup>116</sup> Most of the authors and editors of the Maori biographies believe that oral accounts provide a source of information which can not be found elsewhere and is profoundly different in nature to written accounts.<sup>117</sup> Like Cowan, oral information is seen, not only as more interesting than written accounts but as a more authentic source, necessary in constructing Maori biography.

This approach to oral sources structures them into a role of validating a narrative life appropriated from written sources but always remaining secondary to them. For example, the biography of Tama-i-hara-nui<sup>118</sup> notes there are various "accounts" of his death but goes on and follows the account taken from its dominant source, White's *Myths and Histories*. Te Rangihwinui's biography<sup>119</sup> follows the dominant written accounts of his life but inserts a romantic and exciting 'story told' of Te Rangihwinui's escape from Ngati Toa clinging to his mother's back. Raheka Te Kahuhiapo's biography<sup>120</sup> includes a version of her marriages 'According to one account', inserted into more general tribal histories relying especially on Stafford.

Oral materials are used to provide particular kinds of information. Sometimes they are important for claiming a place for the subject within a political economy which the oral informants or collectors inhabit. Constructing a formal education for the subject can often only be done by first constructing an oral account.<sup>121</sup> Fixing

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<sup>116</sup> Interview with Angela Ballara.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid; Interview with Judith Binney, Auckland, 26/7/1997.

<sup>118</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, p.133-135.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, pp.246-251.

<sup>120</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp.158-159.

<sup>121</sup> E.g., Arini Donnelly, *ibid*, pp.15-17; Sophia Hinerangi, *ibid*, pp.24-26; Meri

marriage and other relationships can also be often dependent on non-written information. The kind of effect the use of these oral sources have in enhancing the mana of their subject illustrates the obvious political overtones involved in the transmitting, collecting and writing of oral information.

It has been noted that oral histories are not of great help in constructing dates and chronology.<sup>122</sup> These are the very narrative codes necessary to produce biography and especially reference biography. This helps explain why the written "Maori history" has not been replaced by alternative sources in the construction of Maori reference biography. In the invention of Maori lives the oral source is a marker of authenticity. Many commentators have noted in the anthropological text that the experiential "I was there" and the simultaneous voice of objective evaluation are necessarily structured into the discourse to give it authenticity.<sup>123</sup> In the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* the "oral" account is a structural device performing a similar task. "Maori" culture is perceived as an oral culture. The oral source is therefore seen as being as close to the "I was there" as possible in retrospective biography of Maori. At the same time it is coded with the semiotic of opinion to give the feel of objective observation.

Oral histories are used to give authenticity to "Maori" or "woman's" history in these biographical collections. They are not secondary texts operating separately from the text under construction. Texts, oral or written, only become "sources" when appropriated and legitimated as truth in other texts. A source is used partly to legitimate the ideology of the text being constructed.<sup>124</sup> Thus the

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Te Tai Mangakahia, *ibid*, pp.57-59.

<sup>122</sup> E.g., Vansina, Jan, *Oral Tradition as History*, London: James Currey, 1985, pp.173-182.

<sup>123</sup> E.g., Rainbow, Paul, 'Representations Are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology', *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, p.244.

<sup>124</sup> De Certeau, Michel, *The Writing of History*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1988, pp.72-77.

use of sources is a dialogue. The historical text both tries to legitimate itself through the appropriation of "true" sources but in doing this it arbitrarily gives authority to the source itself. The way this is done has not fundamentally changed in the writing of Maori reference biography from the end of last century. It would seem obvious that the 1990 production of biography produces a different Maori object from the 1940 Maori biography. So far this study has yet to find a difference in terms of literary form or shaping of sources. In the next chapter this study will seek to locate this change in the commodities of the Maori - the means that Maori are represented through.

## Chapter Three - Commodities

Cultural criticism in New Zealand has noted that things Maori are often the key to inventing New Zealand nationalism.<sup>1</sup> In this way "Maori" are Pakeha New Zealand's "other". This chapter will examine some of the forms the discourse of the "other" takes in reference biography's construction of national texts. It will be seen that the biographical depiction of Maori is an "other" consistently through the history of New Zealand biography. The ideological function of the "other" may shift but Maori are still constructed in terms of difference to the European within European discursive practices. This difference is then used as a marker of what a European or Pakeha "New Zealander" is.

It would be a mistake to look for *the* postcolonial "other" or *the* colonial "other" in the construction of Maori biography.<sup>2</sup> Academic "colonialism" and "postcolonialism" are highly uneven enterprises that have produced a wide variety of textual artefacts, often specific to certain locations. However, this doesn't mean that no "other" exists in textual New Zealand.<sup>3</sup> The general structure of European imagination of the indigenous are present in the texts of this study. The specific forms they take are unique.

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<sup>1</sup> Brown, Ruth, 'Maori Spirituality as Pakeha Construct', *Meanjin*, 48:2(1989), pp.252-258; During, Simon, 'Postmodernism or Postcolonialism?', *Landfall*, 39:3(1985), pp.366-380; Hanson, Allan, 'The Making of the Maori: Cultural Invention and its Logic', *American Anthropologist*, 91:4(1989), pp.890-902; Phillips, J.O.C., 'Musings in Maoriland, or was there a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand', *Historical Studies*, 20:1(1983), pp.520-553.

<sup>2</sup> See, McClintock, Anne, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, New York: Routledge, 1995, p.11.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Gibbons, Peter, 'Non-Fiction', *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, Terry Sturm (ed.), Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991, p.45, which states by the 1880's 'The Maori were for Europeans no longer the Other in any sense of an alternative people and polity'.

The rise of modern nation-state nationalism has been connected to the textual production of the novel.<sup>4</sup> The novel, like the nation, assimilates various "voices" into one structure. A national dictionary or encyclopaedia is a more explicit national vehicle. On the level of 'Macro-lexicography',<sup>5</sup> it constructs the nation's pantheon - its canonical knowledges. However, in New Zealand this has been done by constructing the dual sites of European and Maori. In doing this the *New Zealand Dictionaries of Biography*, like a novel, construct plural voices in their one structure.

It is generally excepted that the imagination of the "other" is paradoxical. It both includes and excludes the indigenous from its narrative.<sup>6</sup> This ability to sustain what Mikhail Bakhtin calls the 'centrifugal' and the 'centripetal'<sup>7</sup> together as a single discourse, is a peculiarly literary act. The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is exemplary. As a cultural icon Maori are New Zealand metonymically. Simultaneously, they can be redundant to the nation state when the ideological tone places the Maori object outside of the text's locations of power. These kinds of literary gymnastics are possible because of the construction of an "other" - a textual site that appropriates the Maori into its discourse but represents it in a language that portrays its fundamental difference from the Pakeha centre. For this reason a "*Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*" is unimaginable without a clearly defined Maori object.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See, Bakhtin, M.M., 'Discourse in the Novel', *The Dialogical Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, Michael Holquist (ed.), Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1981; Anderson, Benedict R.O., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983, pp.17-40.

<sup>5</sup> McArthur, Tom, *Worlds of Reference: Lexicography, Learning and Language From the Clay Tablet to the Computer*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p.109.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Fabian, Johannes, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1983, pp. 26-27.

<sup>7</sup> Bakhtin, M.M., 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel', *The Dialogical Imagination*.

<sup>8</sup> Scholefield stated that 'For obvious reasons the Maori people should be relatively better represented in this publication than the Pakeha', quoted in Secretary of Labour to Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Sub-Committee, 27/10/37, IA1 62/9/2, NA.

The reading of the "other" as the text of New Zealand is a complicated process. Much has been written on the representation of indigenous peoples in the Americas by the European invader/coloniser.<sup>9</sup> These works study a discourse which constructed an "other" from outside of itself in a process of defining what it meant to be European. Said has constructed a similar argument in his depiction of European attitudes toward "the Orient".<sup>10</sup> New Zealand however, has imagined itself from within through the construction of "the Maori". Most British colonies have constructed themselves as different from their colonial centres through geographical distance or theoretical questioning.<sup>11</sup> In New Zealand however, the 'discursive politics'<sup>12</sup> of the indigene is relatively stronger than other British colonies and it has provided the basis for the text of New Zealand.

It will be argued in this chapter that a careful reading of New Zealand biographical collections shows Maori to be consistently an "other". Maori are not different and equal to Pakeha, instead separate representational practices are adopted for Maori that depicts their "otherness". This is what defines New Zealand as separate from Europe, not the historical experience of Pakeha. The 1940 and 1990 *Dictionaries of New Zealand Biography* both adopt similar "commodities"<sup>13</sup> to depict Maori. Five that are consistently used will be examined in this chapter - the body of Maori, violence, oral prowess, communalism and spirituality. These kind of

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<sup>9</sup> E.g., Manson, Peter, *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other*, New York, Routledge, 1990; Todorov, Tzvetan *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, New York: Harper and Row, 1984.

<sup>10</sup> Said, Edward W., *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

<sup>11</sup> See, During, p.371.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.369.

<sup>13</sup> This term to describe representational fields is borrowed from Goldie, Terry, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literature*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993, as are some of the specific commodities discussed below.

representational images are bound together by a general construct - the Maori as natural man.

Cowan's representation of Maori presupposes a static model of the primitive. There was a stable 'genuine, upright, old Maori'<sup>14</sup> that was being lost through the impact of European civilisation. This is betrayed in his language of collecting "specimens" of the "last of the old order". The tattooed body is key signifier of the lost genuine Maori. Although Cowan basically believed the civilising mission of the European was a good thing, seen in his repulsion toward cannibalism, he constructed the primitive savage as a site to locate his New Zealand nationality. This trend is continued, in a slightly less obvious manner, through the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* and into the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.

The European belief that indigenous peoples of colonised lands were more primitive, more in touch with nature, better at expressing their emotions - in a word more natural - than Europeans has been well documented.<sup>15</sup> This "other-as-natural" construction is signified in many ways in the biographical collections of this study. These include natural athleticism, natural musical abilities, gracefulness, good humour and generosity. Equally Maori can be angry, jealous, revengeful and proud. Pakeha in biographical collections are not attributed the same natural physical and emotional expression. Allan Hanson notes that Maori character is set up against a Pakeha culture perceived to be made up of 'human relations...thought to lack passion and spontaneity' and 'out of step with nature'.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike the later collections of biography, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand* is not self-consciously concerned with constructing an "other" through the representation of Maori. Usually a biographical entry of a Maori states how Europeanised they have become. This

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<sup>14</sup> Cowan, James, Biography of Tuhaere, *Maori Biographies: Sketches of Old New Zealand: Descriptive Catalogue of Maori Portraits Painted by Herr. G. Lindauer*, Auckland: H.E. Partridge, 1901, p.42.

<sup>15</sup> E.g., Goldie, pp.19-41; Todorov, p.34.

<sup>16</sup> Hanson, p.894.

appropriation into the dominant discourse of the text is contradictory. It is often done through noting their "natural" talents. The benefits of colonialism for these Maori is represented in commodities that betray their difference from the European. For males this is usually on the sporting field,<sup>17</sup> for females usually through their good looks, hospitality and natural musical ability. Utana Parata has a 'fine ear for music' 'like most of the native race'. These biography find a naturalness in Maori that can be appreciated in a Pakeha world.<sup>18</sup>

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, by contrast, depicts Maori objects having a naturalness that is specific to Maori culture. Biographies often emphasis generosity, hospitality and friendliness. Using the painted depiction by Angas the Scholefield text can conclude Te Heuheu II<sup>19</sup> was 'generous and hospitable'. Te Hapuku<sup>20</sup> was generous and a 'firm believer in the dignity of labour'. Taiporutu<sup>21</sup> is 'brave, genial, kindly and unassuming'. Whether a Pakeha subject is generous, hospitable, friendly or thought labouring in fields had a dignity is not stated. Pakeha biography are usually lists of economic and political milestones. The interest shown in Maori character and "primitive" social organisation create a simple, unpretentious and pre-modern "other", that contrasts with the complicated world of European economics and politics. However, as with the colonial imagination generally, there is a reverse side to "Maori" character. Titokowaru was 'fierce and rude in manner'<sup>22</sup>, and Taiaroa had 'rough manners'.<sup>23</sup> An

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<sup>17</sup> E.g., *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Industrial, Descriptive, History, Biographical Facts, Figures and Illustrations*, vol.1, Wellington: Cyclopedia Company, 1897, p.983.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.1087.

<sup>19</sup> Scholefield, G.H. (ed.), *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, pp.383-384.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, pp.353-354.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, vol.2, p.359.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, pp.387-388.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.358.

object like Titokowaru is a "rebel", he can be referenced as 'the enemy'.<sup>24</sup> This language clearly betrays the ideology of the texts production and the inscription of a negative character naturally follows. Taiaroa's bad manners predate his conversion to civilisation.

The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* follows its 1940 predecessor in a concern for depicting the character of its Maori subjects. Karetai<sup>25</sup> is 'lively and friendly', Nuka Taipari<sup>26</sup> has an 'engaging manner', Hirawanu Tapu<sup>27</sup> liked to tease 'would-be scholars', Te Horeta<sup>28</sup> and his people are 'generous hosts' and Te Hapuku<sup>29</sup> 'delighted to tease'. Conversely Kukutai<sup>30</sup> was considered to be arrogant and a spendthrift, Ngatata-i-te-rangi<sup>31</sup> was autocratic, Te Purewa<sup>32</sup> had a 'forceful character' and Pana-kareao<sup>33</sup> was often angry. These depictions of Maori highlight a natural emotional expression and social interaction not commonly attached to Pakeha in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.

One of the main signifiers of Maori in biographical collections is the representation of the Maori body. Critics have noted this as a common trait throughout Western scholarship's interaction with non-western cultures in general.<sup>34</sup> In the biographical collections

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<sup>24</sup> See, biography of Von Tempsky, *ibid*, pp.429-431.

<sup>25</sup> Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1991, pp.22-24.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, pp.124-125.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, pp.136-138.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, pp.173-175.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, pp.159-163.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, p.36.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, pp.73-75

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, pp.234-238.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, pp.84-86.

Maori are represented as having universal types of body. Most Maori are tall and dignified. There are no weak Maori. When Maori objects are short or ugly they are often constructions linked to an easily identifiable political agenda. This is present to down play the subjects' importance on the part of the Pakeha text/reader.

However the depiction of the Maori body can take a negative or positive form depending on the ideological function of the biography. The body is far more likely to be part of a biographical description in Maori biography than in biography of Pakeha.

Retrospective biography seems to hold an important national function in that it reconstructs the 'old order'<sup>35</sup> or 'old class'<sup>36</sup> of Maori, that was more noble, more pure than Maori who had been corrupted by European contact. These real Maori showed New Zealand's difference from other colonies and the metropolitan centre. This is reflected in the depiction of the Maori body. The constant tattoo references are used as signifier of what traditional Maoridom was. In European constructions the body of the Maori was being transformed through European contact. A desire to record the physicality of the traditional Maori, therefore, became an important part of biographical representations.

Cowan's *Sketches* is a "descriptive catalogue" of paintings of Maori, so the widespread interest in the subjects physicality should not surprise. However, what is of interest is the universal language used through out the collection to represent the Maori body. Maori are often treated as 'specimens' in the construction of their physicality. This metaphor has two metonymic functions. It allows the bodies in Cowan's text to represent the Maori as a whole. Also one specimen can be essentialised into a whole race.

Women hold a unique place in Cowan's description of the Maori body. They are not signified with the male strength and size but constructed as "beautiful". This relationship between good looks

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<sup>34</sup> E.g., Manson states 'the body can be the source, means and object of signification' of the "other", p.112.

<sup>35</sup> Biography of Tuhoto, Cowan, *Sketches*, pp.46-47.

<sup>36</sup> Biography of Tamati, *ibid*, p.23.

and representation of women in biographical collections has continued until today.<sup>37</sup> Rupene is described as a 'splendid Maori type'<sup>38</sup> and 'One of the most handsome girls on the Hauraki plains.' She provides a 'quaint and pretty study of native life'.

Three features predominate Cowan's representation of the male Maori body; it is large and strong, it is noble, graceful and dignified, and it is something good to be admired. A biography of Te Huatere<sup>39</sup> provides a good example; 'In appearance he was a splendid looking chieftain, of massive and imposing build and dignified bearing'. Cowan makes a clear link between a subject's social standing and their physicality. Tukino Te Heuheu<sup>40</sup> occupies a 'position in Maoridom superior to any other' and at the same time he is a 'commanding, gigantic figure'. This metaphorical "standing" is also present in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.<sup>41</sup> The metaphor of physical monumentality signifying high political standing is so much a part of Cowan's work it is often hard to read the physical separate from the political.

Biographies of mixed European/Maori subjects particularly emphasise the physical qualities of the subject's body. Cowan describes Carroll<sup>42</sup> as having all the 'physical qualifications' and of being the 'best looking MP'. The importance of these bodies is their function as metonym for the nation in Cowan's constructed nationalism. They represent a young, strong, energetic and unique nation. There is an obvious contradiction present here in Cowan's text. The modern Maori is seen only as a pale imitation of the real, old school of Maori. However, Carroll can hold together this

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<sup>37</sup> See examples below.

<sup>38</sup> Cowan, *Sketches*, p.51.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, pp.19-20.

<sup>40</sup> Cowan, James, *Book of the Maori Chiefs*, Wellington: Texaco Publications, 1933, pp.11-12.

<sup>41</sup> E.g., *People of Many Peaks*, pp.167-169.

<sup>42</sup> Cowan, *Sketches*, pp.54-58.

European influenced Maori type with the nobility of the genuine Maori. It is in this ambiguity that the Cowan "other" is located.

*The Cyclopedia of New Zealand* uses similar language as Cowan to describe Maori bodies. Tai Awhio<sup>43</sup> is a 'remarkably fine specimen of the native race' even if he is 'English in everything but name'. This translates into athletic prowess. Tai Awhio is constructed into the one nation myth of liberal development. The rugby field is the place where this assimilation of Maori into European is best evidenced. However the language of the "specimen" betrays an unconscious "other" dwelling in the midst of the one nation construct. Like Cowan, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand* adopts a separate semiotic code to represent the female Maori body. Utana Parata<sup>44</sup> is constructed as a 'Maori belle'. The imagining of the indigenous female as exotic belle was a common European representation of the nineteenth-century. It constructs an image/text of Arcadian innocence and passive female sexuality.<sup>45</sup>

Like most other collections, the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is far more preoccupied with Maori bodies than non-Maori bodies. Most of the work's Maori are dependent on earlier sources. This is reflected in the carrying over of much of the physically descriptive terminology of the likes of Cowan. Te Hapuku's biography<sup>46</sup> is nearly totally dependent on Cowan as a source<sup>47</sup> and describes his subject in similar language as 'a good specimen of the old order of Maori chief'. *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* often records the physical abilities of its Maori subjects. Tarapuhi<sup>48</sup> was 'A great athlete and warrior' and Te

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<sup>43</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol.1, p.983.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.1087.

<sup>45</sup> See Bell, Lenoard, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840-1914*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1992, p.218.

<sup>46</sup> *Scholefield*, vol.1, pp.353-354.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Cowan, *Sketches*, p.38.

<sup>48</sup> *Scholefield*, vol.2, p.358.

Herekieke<sup>49</sup> was a 'renowned athlete' who once jumped a thirty foot pool of boiling mud. This story is repeated in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.<sup>50</sup> This reflects the common sources of the two biographies.<sup>51</sup>

*A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* constructs a Maori body. There is no parallel European construction. The first thirty European entries do not include any physical description. Like most representations of the Maori body they vary between admiration of a noble savage and fear of the barbaric savage. Te Awaitaia is referenced as 'Handsome, dignified and courteous',<sup>52</sup> while Te Hapuku is a 'thickset savage....elaborately tattooed'.<sup>53</sup> Te Herekieke is 'Over six feet in height and well proportioned, he is described as a perfect specimen of the wild New Zealander. He [is]...a renowned athlete',<sup>54</sup> while Hapurona is 'tall, rough....fiery and jealous'.<sup>55</sup> Both types have their own linguistic code. One is handsome, dignified, a perfect specimen the other is large, tattooed and a savage. Kupapa leaders, twentieth-century Maori and mixed ethnicity Maori are far more likely to be represented as the noble type than non-kupapa and early nineteenth century Maori.

Occasionally a Maori is constructed as "short" or "lean" in biography but this is usually qualified by adding other descriptive terminology that constructs the object with some kind of strength. For example Matiu Tahu<sup>56</sup> is 'a short, strong built man'. Te Rauparaha is the most famous example of a short or ugly Maori. Again, this is

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid, vol.1, p.381.

<sup>50</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.164-165.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Grace, John Te H., *Tuwharetoa The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District*, Wellington: Reed, 1959, p.431.

<sup>52</sup> *Scholefield*, vol.1, p.26.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p.354.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p.381.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p.354.

<sup>56</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.120-121.

qualified by 'his great muscular strength'.<sup>57</sup> The shortness of Te Rauparaha is standardised between the biographical collections, despite the fact Cowan thought 'All Ngati-Toa were big people, men and women both'.<sup>58</sup> This reflects a common reconstruction of sources. These sources are part of a colonising discourse that arose out of land disputes, killings and arrests. The represented body of Te Rauparaha speaks therefore, of the political discourses it was originally constructed within. The Maori body is an ideological site.

One feature of the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* representation of the Maori body is to quote other literary or pictorial sources. However the belief that the physicality of a person can be accurately represented in literary and visual texts is not questioned. Instead at times, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* chooses which is the most "accurate" representation. Portrait artists like Lindauer are often criticised for romanticising their subjects, where as photographs are inscribed with a neutral accuracy.<sup>59</sup> When nothing better is available, Lindauer can be used as authoritative source of physical representation.<sup>60</sup> This direct appropriation of previous text in the construction of Maori bodies, still creates a Maori body. However it does it in a way that buttresses the textual assertion by constructing the body in the language of those who observed the "real" subject.

A male European body is largely absent from the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Of the first 50 European male entries in volume one only two or three mention physicality. Roughly half of Maori biography include body as representational commodity. The exception to the lack of European physical presence is the European female, which is constantly represented as physical appearance.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid, p.271.

<sup>58</sup> 'Awa Notes', Cowan Papers, Micro 0691-1, WTU.

<sup>59</sup> E.g., biography of Wiremu Tako Ngata, *People of Many Peaks*, p. 71.

<sup>60</sup> E.g., biography of Taraia Ngakuti Te Tumuhua, *ibid*, p.140.

<sup>61</sup> E.g., biography of Jane Maria Atkinson, Oliver, W.H. (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, vol.1, Wellington: Allen and

*The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is more likely to represent the body of kupapa or mixed ethnicity Maori positively. As has already been noted this partly reflects the source material these biographies are reliant upon.<sup>62</sup> Wi Tako<sup>63</sup> is a 'handsome, dignified and impressive man', Wiremu Manaia<sup>64</sup> is a 'tall man of stately carriage', and Rotohiko Tangonui Haupapa<sup>65</sup> is a man of 'fine features, handsome and of an elegant appearance'. Allan Marshall<sup>66</sup> is 'Six feet four inches tall, "with a powerful frame and self possessed demeanour". He could reputedly do the work of three ordinary men'.

Non-kupapa Maori and Maori whose feats pre-date 1840 are more likely to be represented as the savage type with particular emphasis on their tattoos. Hori Ngatai<sup>67</sup> is a 'tall, square shouldered man...tattooed on the cheeks and chin', Murupaenga<sup>68</sup> is 'of medium height, very dark...with a...fiery expression.', and Rawiri Taiwhanga<sup>69</sup> is 'Heavily tattooed'. As noted in the other collections a different language from the male body is used to depict the female body in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. It emphasises "beauty" rather than size and strength. It was noted Huria Matenga<sup>70</sup> was praised for her beauty and Hinematiaro<sup>71</sup> is 'A

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Unwin/Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, pp.9-11; Charlotte Badger, *ibid*, p.11; Mary Anne Barker, *ibid*, pp.15-16.

<sup>62</sup> See, above Chapter 2.

<sup>63</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp. 68-71.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, pp.117-118.

<sup>66</sup> Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The Turbulent Years: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1870-1900*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1994, pp.59-61.

<sup>67</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.65-66.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, pp.53-55.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, pp.126-127.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, pp.41-43.

woman of great beauty'. If male physicality is metaphor for political power, female beauty is often linked to 'strong character'.<sup>72</sup>

The construction of the kupapa body in terms of the noble savage and the non-kupapa as barbaric savage is an ideological effect of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. However, it is not a conscious decision but the construction reflects the dominant sources - the works of Smith, White, Best, Cowan. Many of these authors were involved in the colonising wars and the mechanisms of land purchase. It would therefore be expected that this would be reflected in their depiction of a Maori subject depending on whose side they fought on in the colonial wars. This construct is at points carried over by those who are dependent on these authors for source material.

As with previous collections, the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* Maori body can function as metaphor for political "standing" or "stature". Henare Kaihau's biography<sup>73</sup> reinvents its object's mana, against previous historiography, through this tactic. It reads;

Henare Kaihau was a man of imposing presence. A large man (weighing over 20 stone), he was "a Hercules in strength and stature", in the words of the Prime Minister, William Massey, "and a man of very great mental ability". He was a master of political rhetoric, but was also described as "extraordinarily good-natured and genial". He was remembered primarily for the loss of the King movement money and the charge of political impropriety brought against him. However these incidents should not be allowed to overshadow his vision of Maori self-determination and his effort to unite the King and Kotahitanga movements to this end.

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid, pp.13-14.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. see, biography of Tamairangi, *ibid*, pp.134-136.

<sup>73</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp.36-39.

Tommy Solomon's<sup>74</sup> biography in *The Turbulent Years* is structured complete with a low angle photograph of its object 'cut(ing) a memorable figure in his dark hat and homburg hat'. The entry goes on to read; 'In addition to his physical stature, his community commitments and his mana as a Moriori, Tommy Solomon was widely respected for his conciliatory nature, generosity and sense of humour'. Here again physicality is joined to political standing and character in construction of the Maori object.

*The Book of New Zealand Women*. is an exception to the rule of biographical collections showing great interest in the Maori body. Although sometimes Maori are represented as 'beautiful',<sup>75</sup> their appearance and body is not often part of a life. This is in direct contrast to *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. The text of *The Book of New Zealand Women* has deliberately tried to deconstruct traditional New Zealand history. It tries to construct an 'alternative history'<sup>76</sup> in its place. The lack of the traditional signifiers of the other, like the body of the Maori, is possibly a result of this aim.

A second feature of Maori biography is the attribution of considerable oral prowess to its subject. Speech is not often a category of description in Pakeha biography. When it is it often notes the lack of oral skills of the Pakeha subject<sup>77</sup> or speech is connected to another "other" such as "Scottish".<sup>78</sup> Speech is one of the common devices used to represent indigenous people as simple and primitive through contrast with the colonising culture. The coloniser's culture is represented as privileging written

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid, pp.107-109.

<sup>75</sup> E.g., biography of Te Akakura, Macdonald, Charlotte, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams (eds), *The Book of New Zealand Women: Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991, p.660; Maata Wickliffe, *ibid*, p.773.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, vii.

<sup>77</sup> E.g., biography of Harry Albert Atkinson, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, pp.7-9; Thomas McDonnell, *ibid*, pp.247-249.

<sup>78</sup> E.g., biography of Alexander Bruce, *ibid*, pp.48-49.

communication over oral.<sup>79</sup> The orality of the Maori is nearly always something to be praised.

Constructions of Maori speech seem to have a lot in common with Walter Ong's veneration of "oral cultures". He states 'Oral cultures indeed produce powerful and beautiful verbal performances of high artistic and human worth which are no longer possible once writing has taken possession of the psyche'.<sup>80</sup> This kind of thought on language has a long history. Rousseau felt 'developed' language was 'more regular and less passionate. It substitutes ideas for feelings. It no longer speaks to the heart but to reason'.<sup>81</sup> In many ways this dialectic of oral/written, primitive/advanced has been carried over into postcolonial discourse. Todorov links Aztec oral culture with "ritual" and written culture with technological innovation.<sup>82</sup> However this traditional dialectic of oral/primitive juxtaposed against written/modern has increasingly been called into question. Derrida's assertion of the primacy of writing<sup>83</sup> and studies of how written and oral texts interact in the colonial context<sup>84</sup> have caused this construct to crumble. However, in depicting the Maori, speech as signifier of the indigenous is indispensable.

Cowan depicts Maori orality in glowing terms, often by comparing it to the sad state of English-speaking oral culture. Te Huatere<sup>85</sup> 'was

<sup>79</sup> Goldie, pp.106-107.

<sup>80</sup> Ong, Walter, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, London: Methuen, 1982, p.14. This kind of construct is evident in most anthropological writing on "primary oral cultures". Even in the Jack Goody's more sophisticated trichotomy of language, the oral = primitive signifier is present. See, Goody, Jack, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, p.281.

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Derrida, Jacques, *Of Grammatology*, London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1976, p.315.

<sup>82</sup> Todorov, pp.77-93.

<sup>83</sup> Derrida, *Of Grammatology*.

<sup>84</sup> E.g., Simms, Norman, *Points of Contact: A Study of the Interplay and Intersection of Traditional and Non-Traditional Literatures, Cultures and Mentalities*, New York: Pace University Press, 1991.

<sup>85</sup> Cowan, *Sketches*, pp.19-20.

celebrated as an orator'. Even if his hearers couldn't understand what he was saying, they would be like an audience at 'an Italian opera sit[ting] spell-bound for hours'. 'English tragedians' might try to emulate this kind of speech making but Te Huatere's 'perfection they might never hope to reach'. Carroll<sup>86</sup> is the ultimate New Zealander in Cowan's construction. He is a 'conspicuous example of the talents inherent in the native race and of the very successful blend which results from the commingling of the two races'. Besides being the best looking MP, he is also the 'best orator' with a sweet voice 'like the Korimaako'. Similarly Carroll's colleague in parliament Hone Heke<sup>87</sup> has 'the gift of the silvery tongue of the native race'.

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* consistently depicts the oral prowess of Maori. As with representations of the Maori body, representations of Maori speech can be written in a negative or positive type. Te Heuheu II is 'sagacious and eloquent' and Carroll<sup>88</sup> 'had a dignified personality, was a fluent speaker, practised in the imagery of Maori lore, and equally eloquent in the English language'. In contrast Hapurona had 'fiery....oratorical power'.<sup>89</sup> Representations of speech that hold a quasi-magical "power" is a good example of the spiritual discourse that Maori have been continually imagined in.

The emphasis on orality, used to mark off the "other" from the self, is also regularly employed in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Rewi Maniapoto<sup>90</sup> is constructed as 'exemplifying all the qualities of one expected to lead', he was known for his 'oratory, political debate and leadership' and 'knowledge of traditional customs and practices'. This linking of the "oral" and the "traditional" is a common tactic in biography of Maori. It

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid, pp.54-58.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, pp.59-63.

<sup>88</sup> Scholefield, vol. 1, pp.143-144.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, p.354.

<sup>90</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.39-41.

demarcates "Maori" from the written and modern culture of the European.

Maori are often attributed remarkable power over their contemporaries because of their speaking ability. For example Murupaenga<sup>91</sup> 'could persuade reluctant warriors to join his campaigns through his inspiring oratory'. This kind of hold over those around them, through "inspiring oratory", is never attributed to Pakeha subjects in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. "Orator" can be a subtitle for a Maori biography which functions as metonym for the vocation of the subject.<sup>92</sup> "Orator" is not a possible vocation for Pakeha.

Maori speech is inscribed with an esoteric otherness in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. All utterances, oral, written or visual in any cultural context, are series of codes. The hearers or readers need to be initiated into the code before the "message" can be "read". However, it is only in Maori biography that this is acknowledged. The effect of this is to make Maori speech "non-literal" and mystical in contrast with Pakeha's literal and temporal communication acts. The biography of Te Hapuku<sup>93</sup> provides a good example of this. It reads; 'Like those of other chiefs and skilled orators, his utterances were often cryptic to the uninitiated, he was often satirical or laconic'.

Violence is another standard attribute of the Maori in biographical representation. On a general level it has been noted that 'violence is shown to be of the idigene essence in that it is an expression of nature'.<sup>94</sup> This violent nature is evident in Maori biography in the depiction of warfare, cannibalism, and violent interpersonal relationships. Like most aspects of representing the Maori as other, violence can be portrayed in a negative or positive light.

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid, pp.53-55.

<sup>92</sup> E.g., biography of Te Maari-o-te-rangi, *ibid*, pp.203-205.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, pp.159-163.

<sup>94</sup> Goldie, p.95.

Cowan uses the standard terminology to depict Maori violence. Maori involved in warfare are nearly always "warriors" in biographical works, unlike Pakeha who are "soldiers". This can be a positive ascription. Patuone<sup>95</sup> is a 'notable warrior...who never lifted a hand against the Pakeha'. Violence can also be negative. Te Manu<sup>96</sup> is a 'grim old cannibal warrior'. The term warrior is used to inscribe violence with a romantic and antiquated sense of "other".

Cannibalism is perhaps the most important tactic used by Cowan in depicting Maori. W. Arens has noted that cannibalism is a universal commodity in the European anthropological encounter with the savage.<sup>97</sup> Cowan continues this tradition. Taraia<sup>98</sup> is a 'fierce old cannibal chief', who lead 'cannibal feasts' and 'cannibal expeditions'. Cowan spends over two pages detailing his cannibal exploits and cannibalism seems to be given as the reason for Taraia's actions. Tukino I<sup>99</sup> took part in the 'blood thirsty wars of the earlier days' and was a 'cannibal'. Te Haho<sup>100</sup> lived in a time when 'murder and cannibalism reigned'.

Cowan again inscribes kupapa Maori with a brave, noble type of violence and non-Kupapa and pre-contact Maori with a barbaric type. Te Kooti and his followers are 'fanatics' who 'massacre' people, while Ruka Aratapu's<sup>101</sup> killing of an unarmed man was because he couldn't wait for the slow judicial process to do justice. Pre-contact Maori are 'barbaric', their warfare is 'murder' and their

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<sup>95</sup> Cowan, *Sketches*, pp.17-18.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, pp.44-45.

<sup>97</sup> Arens, W., *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. Although this point holds good, Aren's empirical proof that cannibalism does not exist is too theoretically naive to make his study very helpful overall.

<sup>98</sup> Cowan, *Sketches*, pp.24-27.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, p.28.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, p.48.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, pp.40-41.

taua 'cannibal expeditions'. Kupapa violence is 'brave', 'loyal' and their 'services...highly valuable'. These representations not only clearly betray a textual ideology but they also adopt a language that separates the Maori subject from the reader. The language of violence in these texts is mystical, romantic and antiquated. It can represent both the fear and admiration with which the "other" is imagined.

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* uses the same language of Maori violence. The "warrior" inscription, is a constant signifier of Maori in Scholefield's work. For example Te Ahu Karamu<sup>102</sup> is a 'cruel and merciless warrior' while, in contrast, Te Awaitaia<sup>103</sup> is a 'brave warrior...and a faithful ally'. Maori are inscribed with a violence that is nearly universal in Scholefield's work. Hongi Hika<sup>104</sup> drank his enemies blood, devoured hundreds in a 'feast', was 'cruel and treacherous', and was 'consumed with a passion for war'. Equally Maori can be capable of 'heroic resistance' and 'fine leadership and bravery'.<sup>105</sup>

Violence is a feature of most biography of Maori subjects in volume one of the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. This contrasts markedly with biography of Pakeha. This interest in violence partly reflects the sources used in the construction of the biographies. It also reflects the kind of representational tactics privileged in the reconstruction of the "Maori" past. Much of the romantic language to describe Maori violence in the earlier biographical collections is carried over into *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. It still uses the term "warrior" to describe Maori who participated in warfare<sup>106</sup> but it is not as universal as it was in earlier works. The term "war leader" is frequently employed

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<sup>102</sup> Scholefield, vol.1, p.7.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, p.26.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, pp.407-410.

<sup>105</sup> Biography of Wiremu Kingi, ibid, vol. 2. pp.70-71.

<sup>106</sup> E.g., biography of Haerehuka, *People of Many Peaks*, pp.2-3; Kawiti, ibid, pp.29-32; Hori Ngatai, ibid, pp.65-66; Nuka Taipari, ibid, pp.124-125.

instead. Kupapa fighters are sometimes inscribed as "soldiers".<sup>107</sup> Pakeha who fought in the land wars are always "soldiers" and never "warriors". Terms like "warrior" or "war leader" mark off Maori as different from European.

Another way different language is employed to reconstruct Maori violence as "other" from Pakeha violence can be seen by comparing biography of Pakeha and Maori military leaders. For example; 'Kawiti was a notable warrior and detested being bolted up in a fort. He favoured rugged terrain as his battleground, and preferred to pursue an opponent in hand to hand combat to the death'.<sup>108</sup> Gilbert Mair's<sup>109</sup> fighting style is described in these words; 'He excelled in the use of guerrilla techniques of bush warfare, which allowed him scope for initiative. He was a bold and unorthodox commander'. Maori are "warriors", who enjoy a one on one confrontation in a natural setting. Pakeha are "commanders", who use military "techniques", "initiative", and "bush warfare".

"Utu" is a common descriptive category used to render Maori violence. The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand's Biography's* Hongi<sup>110</sup> was 'Fired with this passion' for 'utu' against the Thames and Coromandel tribes. The invocation of the non-English word to describe military motivation depicts Maori violence as "other" to European violence. It needs its specialised terminology. At the same time however, this utu can coexist with a peculiarly European violent motivation - Hongi's ambition to be 'King of New Zealand'. This kind of appropriation of language of the "other" into the discourse of European power is central to the construction of the *Dictionary's* Maori biographical object.

In the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* "utu" is a specialised term to signify Maori agency that requires no

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<sup>107</sup> E.g., biography of Nihoniho, *ibid*, pp.77-79; Te Pokiha Taranui, *ibid*, pp.141-143.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, pp.29-32.

<sup>109</sup> *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, pp.260-261.

<sup>110</sup> Scholefield, vol.1, pp.407-410.

explanatory emendation. Tupea<sup>111</sup> can 'led his warriors...to exact utu'. Mokena Kohere<sup>112</sup> can retire from a campaign 'having obtained sufficient utu'. Utu, as concept, is vital in both the construction of "savage" emotion and the construction of "traditional" tribal violence. Hongi<sup>113</sup> has a 'strong personal wish to avenge' but does so within the 'traditional framework of intertribal relations'. 1990 utu is "traditional" agency. It contrasts with the 1940 utu that appropriates the Maori language of "utu" into European languages of violence and power.

Tribalism is another universal signifier of Maori.<sup>114</sup> This is encoded into the text of reference biography by inserting tribal affiliation into the site usually occupied by education in a European biography. The 1940 *Dictionary's* typical European entry constructs the place of birth, parents, parents' occupation and information about the subject's education. This form follows the original British *Dictionary of National Biography*. Shorter entries will often abbreviate the introduction. A typical example is; '**Hall, Arthur William** (1880-1931) was born at One Tree Hill, Auckland and educated at St John's college'.<sup>115</sup> Longer Maori entries replace education with tribal affiliations and often construct genealogies beyond parents. For example;

**Heke, Hone** (1869-1909). This brilliant young Maori was born at Kaikohe in 1869, and belonged to Ngati-Tawake, Ngati-Rahiri and Ngati-Tautahi

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<sup>111</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.339-340.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, pp.32-35.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, pp.15-18.

<sup>114</sup> During claims that the colonial textualization of the indigenous nearly always 'tribalised relatively fluid societies', 'Post-Colonialism', *Beyond the Disciplines: The New Humanities*, K.K. Ruthven (ed.), Canberra: Australian Academy of Humanities, 1992, p.92, whether the pre-contact New Zealand indigenous should be constructed as 'fluid' societies is beyond the scope of this study but the universal 'tribal' construction of the Western text is seen in the biography of Maori.

<sup>115</sup> Scholefield, vol.1, p.342.

hapu of Nga Puhi. His father was Hone Ngapua Tuhirangi, of Bay of Islands, whose father, Tuhirangi, was an elder brother of Hone Heke.<sup>116</sup>

Shorter "notice" entries of Maori usually read along the lines of; 'an influential chief of the Uritaniwha hapu of Aupouri'.<sup>117</sup> Within the tribal sites of Maori leaders, biographical objects are naturally nearly always "chiefs". Chief is not a title used to represent Europeans. Tribal affiliation is static. Iwi are tribes. Hapu are explained as "clans" or "sub-tribes". Each Maori has a clearly defined tribal space they occupy.

Tribal construction is even more central in Maori entries of the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Each entry is subtitled with vocations and iwi. The Maori biographical object has limited spaces it can occupy. It must belong to one of a set group of iwi. The language of the tribe is nearly always absent from the biography of European, with the odd exception such as a Scottish settler being 'mourned as Otago's tribal chieftain'.<sup>118</sup>

The introductory paragraph of an entry usually replaces education with tribal affiliation. This is the structural site where a subject is encoded with a tribal identity. The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* usually has a wider circle of hapu affiliations than the 1940 construction.<sup>119</sup> An example of this structure reads:

**Ngatuere Tawhirimatea Tawhao** ?-1890  
*Ngati Kahungunu leader*

Ngatuere was born at Te Paparu, a Wairarapa pa near Te Ahikouka, in the vicinity of the Waiohine River. His

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid, p.378.

<sup>117</sup> Biography of Wiremu Katene, *ibid*, p.450.

<sup>118</sup> Biography of Macandrew, James, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, pp. 243-245.

<sup>119</sup> This is partially a deliberate construction to give mana to the hapu the subject is constructed as belonging to, Interview with Angela Ballara, Wellington, 15/8/97.

father was Tawhirimatea and his grandfather Te Atahuna, both leaders of Ngati Kahukura-awhitia, now one of the most populous hapu of Ngati Kahungunu in the Wairarapa. His mother was Kaurangaihi. Ngatuere had kinship ties with many hapu, including Ngati Te Tohinga, Ngai Tamahau, Ngai Tuawhio, Ngai Tukoko, Ngati Rongomaipare, Ngati Taneroa and Ngati Waipuhoro....He was a strong character and asserted his traditional authority.<sup>120</sup>

As seen in this quotation Maori have an iwi, multiple hapu within it, uncontested whakapapa, and a "traditional" political culture emanating out of them. Non-Maori subjects are not subtitled with an ethnic sub-title even if they are referenced as being born outside of New Zealand. This traditional tribal object is the "other" to European biography, which is based around individual advancement signified through education.

The "otherness" of Maori representation in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is probably best read in the commodity of mysticism, spirituality or superstition. This commodity is close to being completely absent in the biography of the European male. In a site where it might be expected, like Bishop Abraham's "ecclesiology", we find instead physical object - 'the use of neo-Gothic style in architecture'.<sup>121</sup> The most a European can be is 'semi-mystical'.<sup>122</sup> Vocational categories like "prophet" are Maori only sites.

The representational language of Te Maiharoa's biography<sup>123</sup> typifies representation as the mystical "other". In Te Maiharoa's early life 'he was said to be of a spiritual frame of mind, and was learned in the traditions of Waitaha, Ngati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu'. The connection between "spiritual" and "traditional" is a constant

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<sup>120</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.74-76.

<sup>121</sup> *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, pp.1-2.

<sup>122</sup> *Biography of James George Deck*, *ibid*, pp.103-104.

<sup>123</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.206-207.

tactic in the dictionary. The construction of "Waitaha" seems to be the site par-excellence of a "Maori" spirituality.<sup>124</sup> In the 1860's Te Maiharoa is said to have become a "Tohunga" and "Prophet" of Kaingarara. This easy elision between the "traditional", "Maori" religious category and the "European" language of spirituality effects the assimilation of the "other" into the European discourse. The object requires both placement in the English language and construction in "Maoridom's" standard signifiers.

In the same way, Te Maiharoa 'carried out ceremonies to remove tapu, and was said to have performed miracles'. As with other commodities of Maori representation the text juxtaposes a "traditional" technical term (tapu) over against traditional European religious activity (miracles). The difference being ceremonies were performed to remove tapu, whereas miracles were only said to have happened. The dictionary constantly constructs the likes of "tapu" and "mana" as "real" experiences of the Maori object. The Maori has these exotic literary categories to occupy signifying their "otherness". European spiritual language is "said to have" happened but the Maori object occupies both spaces. It is both appropriated and distanced from the European discourse at the same time.

The category of "tohunga" as rubric for the Maori biographical object has a long tradition. Cowan's biography of Tuhoto,<sup>125</sup> like biography of the 1990's collections, juxtaposes a language of the coloniser with that of the constructed indigenous to signify the spiritual "other". Tuhoto is a 'Maori priest' of the 'ancient Polynesian order', a 'medicine man of the Arawas', and a 'reputed wizard'. As in the 1990 Te Maiharoa, magic is constructed in the indigenous currency (medicine man of the Arawas) and is a given, magic constructed in the language of Europe (wizard) is only 'reputed'.

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<sup>124</sup> See, Brailsford, Barry, *Song of Waitaha: The Histories of A Nation: Being the Teachings of Ihairaira Te Meihana*, Christchurch: Ngatapawae Trust, 1994.

<sup>125</sup> Cowan, *Sketches*, pp.46-47.

This standardised language of the spiritual is also found in the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* Maori object. For example, Titokowaru<sup>126</sup> is a 'Hauhau prophet and tohunga', he carried a 'sacred tokotoko', got guidance through 'divination', and his actions were the result of his fluctuating 'mana' and violation of 'tapu'. The Scholefield text takes a more sceptical tone toward the "reality" of the constructed Maori spiritual experience than earlier and latter collections.<sup>127</sup> However, spiritual belief still underlines Maori experience in a way absent from the European.

Maori are represented through a relatively stable set of commodities in the history of reference biography. They may differ in details but the representational tactics connoting the Maori are shared between the collections. The ability to render the Maori biographical object in a discourse, both recognisable to the self but separate from it, is the key in constructing New Zealand's "other". Through this process an essentialised Maori object is created. The placing of this object so obviously to the fore of the national texts of biography is a key tactic in constructing "New Zealand" generally. So far this study has failed to locate any substantive difference between the biographical collections in their form, sources, or representational commodities. The last chapter will seek to locate the difference between the collections in the realm of ideology.

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<sup>126</sup> Scholefield, vol.2, pp.387-388.

<sup>127</sup> E.g., the way the Te Kooti Chatham Island religious activity is handled, *ibid*, vol.1, pp.473-475.

## Chapter Four - Ideologies

This thesis has argued that Maori have been represented in historically stable ways.<sup>1</sup> Biography of Maori have employed a literary form, use of sources, and set of descriptive tactics that shows little change throughout New Zealand's history. This chapter will argue that only on the level of "ideology"<sup>2</sup> can the Maori biographical object be seen in terms of historical change. Ideology will be identified with the underlying versions of New Zealand's race relations present in biography of Maori. Varying political stances toward Maori are identifiable with specific 'epistemes'.<sup>3</sup> These are produced by academic communities that captured the necessary institutional sites to produce "truth" about Maori.

Ideology of the Maori in the texts of this study is a literary act. It relies on the same linguistic tactics in its production as any other commodity. Metaphors of power are arranged around the Maori object. It is in the reading of these metaphors that the ideology

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<sup>1</sup> Terry Goldie has received criticism for his study of a historically stable representation of the "indigene", see Goldie, Terry, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literature*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993; Dominy, Michele D., 'Review of *Fear and Temptation*', *Landfall*, 179(1991), pp.363-365; Bourke, Lawrence, 'Maori and Aboriginal Literature in Australia and New Zealand Anthologies: Some Problems and Perspectives', *New Literatures Review*, 25(1993), pp.23-38, 25. However on Goldie's level of representational "commodities" the indigenous does seem to have remained reasonably stable. Where his work is weak is the lack of examination of historical change the indigene has undergone as ideological construct.

<sup>2</sup> Although Foucault rejects the notion of ideology because of its traditional construction as an opposition to supposed truths. I will use ideology in the sense he uses truth, i.e. the textual effect of the assertion of power. See 'Truth and Power', Foucault, Michel, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, Colin Gordon (ed.), New York: Pantheon Books, 1980. pp.118-119. Use of "ideology" in this thesis is better described as an "idea-system", see use of "ideology" in, Bakhtin, M.M., 'Discourse in the Novel', *The Dialogical Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, Michael Holquist (ed.), Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1981.

<sup>3</sup> For a definition of this term see, Foucault, Michel, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, New York: Vintage Books, 1994, xxii.

these texts are producing will be identified in this study. This attempt to read ideology will function on the intra-textual level, not the extra-textual.<sup>4</sup> The ideologies of Maori reference biography are obviously part of wider discursive practices - "epistemes" of Maori knowledges - but these are referenced in the texts themselves. These epistemes are intellectual, textual acts and can't be identified with any political reality outside of the text.

Often texts of New Zealand have been examined to show depictions of Maori that 'are representative of common contemporary attitudes'.<sup>5</sup> This study rejects this approach in favour of viewing the "attitudes" toward Maori as a textual act undertaken by 'discourse communities'.<sup>6</sup> These intellectual communities construct ideology as Maori object rather than reflecting contemporary attitudes toward the Maori object. Intellectual ideology cannot be identified with the current climate of opinion in the nation as a whole.

In more recent times New Zealand's texts have been read as the colonial subjugation of "Aotearoa".<sup>7</sup> This approach runs the danger of overlooking the specific epistemes of New Zealand's "colonisation" in favour of a determinant meta-narrative of colonisation. All textual acts inherently subjugate some knowledges in the promotion of others. However, "colonialism", conceived in singular, linear terms, does not help explain the specific ideologies present in

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<sup>4</sup> See, Toews, John E., 'Intellectual History and the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience', *American Historical Review*, 92:4(1987), pp.897-907.

<sup>5</sup> Pearson, Bill, 'Attitudes to the Maori in Some Pakeha Fiction', *Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays*, Auckland: Heinemann Educational Books, 1974, p.46.

<sup>6</sup> See, Bizzell, Patricia, 'What is a Discourse Community', *Academic Discourse and Critical Consciousness*, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1992, pp.222-237; Foucault would prefer to call them a 'regime of truth', see, *Power/Knowledge*, p.133.

<sup>7</sup> Gibbons, P.J., 'A Note on Writing, Identity, and Colonisation in Aotearoa', *Sites*, 13(1986), pp.32-38. On the problems of this kind of notion of colonial power see, During, Simon, 'Post-Colonialism', *Beyond the Disciplines: The New Humanities*, K.K. Ruthven, Canberra: Australian Academy of Humanities, 1992.

the texts of this study. It has also been argued that "Maori" culture is born from the political struggle of resistance to colonialism.<sup>8</sup> However "political struggle" is not prior to culture. The series of textual acts that is "Maori" culture constructs political effect within themselves.

Differences over time in the biographical depiction of Maori does not reflect an intellectual "national development". *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand* and Cowan produce divergent ideology toward Maori at the same historical moment. The radically different nature of these collections reflects the different discourses that produced them, which were co-existing at the same time. "Colonialism" has produced multiple textual ideologies simultaneously in New Zealand. This renders the search for the development of New Zealand from "imperialism", through "colonialism", and into a present "postcolonialism" unhelpful. Instead this study sees ideology as 'an effect of discrete cultural practices [the production of history/biography in New Zealand by particular discourses at particular historical moments] and not as a spirit or epoch'.<sup>9</sup> Rather than reading ideology as a continuum and representing it in the metaphors of national development, progress, or growth, this study understands ideology as discontinuity.<sup>10</sup> Changes in the ideological tone of Maori biography represent the assertion of a discourse into the institutional positions that produce reference biography. This is an arbitrary process producing political effect that can't be read as development of a national identity.

Biographies of Te Rauparaha provide an obvious example of how reference collections create an ideological effect. Different discourses seen in biographical representation rely on remarkably similar sources to shape their ideology. The standard commodities

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<sup>8</sup> E.g., Webster, Steven, 'Postmodern Theory and the Sublimation of Maori Culture', *Oceania*, 63(1993), pp.222-239.

<sup>9</sup> During, Simon, 'Post-Modernism and Post-Colonialism Today', *Post-Modernism: A Reader*, Thomas Tocherty (ed.), New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, p.451.

<sup>10</sup> See, Foucault, Michel, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1972, pp.3-10, for a definition of discontinuity.

of representation used in creating Te Rauparaha as biographical object are also stable over time. The big difference in various descriptions of Te Rauparaha can be located in ideological tone.

Gisborne was one of the first to include a life of Te Rauparaha in a collection of biographies.<sup>11</sup> Gisborne demotes indigenous power relationships below those of the coloniser;

native chiefs, cannot strictly speaking, be classed under the heading "Rulers and Statesmen," an occasional notice of some of the leading men among them will serve in some measure to explain the influence which from time to time they exercised in the colonisation of New Zealand and to illustrate the extraordinary difficulties which their action imposed on the Government of the Colony.

After this introduction, 'Rauparaha' is offered as an example of the kind of 'native chief' the Gisborne text has in mind. Te Rauparaha is reconstructed largely in a character sketch, not in a list of his supposed deeds. Gisborne writes: 'Unscrupulous and cold blooded treachery was his predominant character'. His physical appearance is the standard mixture of shortness, ugliness and dignity used to signify Te Rauparaha. Te Rauparaha's arrest by Governor Grey in 1846 was justified on account of Te Rauparaha's 'suspicious behaviour' and the harmony between the races that always followed such quelling of rebellion proved the government had taken the right course of action. Gudgeon has a similar ideological perspective toward Te Rauparaha. In a biography of Sir George Grey,<sup>12</sup> 'Rauparaha and Rangehhaeate' are leaders of 'lawless behaviour'. The arrest of Te Rauparaha is fully justified and restored peace to the southern portion of the North Island.

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<sup>11</sup> Gisborne, William, *New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen 1840-1897*, London: Sampson Low, 1897, pp.24-25.

<sup>12</sup> Gudgeon, Thos. Wayth, *The Defenders of New Zealand: Being a Short History of Colonists Who Distinguished Themselves in Upholding Her Majesty's Supremacy in These Islands*, (cover title, *Heroes of New Zealand and Maori History of the War*), Auckland: H. Brett, 1887, pp.19-32.

No construction of a Maori "voice" is evidenced in Gisborne's biography of Te Rauparaha. This representation of Te Rauparaha is similar to Traver's book length sketch,<sup>13</sup> in that it appears to rely on the written accounts of Pakeha for information on Te Rauparaha. The underlining metaphor of Gisborne's work is the "building" or "foundation" of New Zealand as a colony. Colonial power is constructed through 'personal sketches of the public characters of the chief political men in New Zealand'.<sup>14</sup> In this scheme of things Te Rauparaha is necessarily depicted as morally deficient and disruptive of civilisation. As scholarship, the work constructs a discourse of colonisation by adopting a tone of factual representation in its character sketches. Behind this language of fact lies an instructive ideology that gives the colonising leaders as examples of how power should be diffused.<sup>15</sup>

The ideology of Gisborne's Te Rauparaha contrasts vividly with Cowan's. In his *Book of the Maori Chiefs*, Cowan and his publisher celebrate the Maori 'qualities of leadership'<sup>16</sup> where Gisborne scorned them. This celebration of the indigenous is a commonly noted tactic in Cowan's construction of nationalism.<sup>17</sup> Cowan relies on Buick's account.<sup>18</sup> He uses Buick's metaphor of 'The Napoleon of

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<sup>13</sup> Travers, W.T.L., *Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha, Chief of the Ngati Toa*, Christchurch: Capper Press, 1975. Travers' account relies much on accounts of earlier experts such as Colenso and Grey to provide the "Maori" context of Te Rauparaha's life. Details of Te Rauparaha's life depend heavily on Wakefield and Grey's accounts. For the final years of Te Rauparaha's life a quote from Tamihana's written account is used. The ideological tone is similar to Gisborne's, although milder. The physical description of Grey's is used. The mistreatment of Te Rauparaha by Pakeha later in life is represented briefly in the work but the focus of the book is on Te Rauparaha's earlier "cannibal" exploits.

<sup>14</sup> Gisborne, p.1.

<sup>15</sup> E.g., *ibid*, p.3.

<sup>16</sup> Cowan, James, *Book of the Maori Chiefs*, Wellington: Texaco Publications, 1933, i.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. see, Phillips, J.O.C., 'Musings in Maoriland, or was there a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand', *Historical Studies*, 20:1 (1983), pp.520-553, 532-535.

<sup>18</sup> Buick, T. Lindsay, *An Old New Zealander, or, Te Rauparaha the Napoleon of the South*, Christchurch: Capper Press, 1976.

the South' to represent Te Rauparaha. This is the opposite ideological perspective of Gisborne. Cowan depicts indigenous leadership in terms of European power to show that the indigenous New Zealander has equal skill, courage and leadership qualities as the rulers of the metropolitan centre.

Like Cowan, the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* relies on the celebration of the indigenous in the construction of New Zealand. However, its nationalism is less reliant than Cowan's on the appropriation of a Maori object. *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, following Cowan, is largely dependent on Buick's account of Te Rauparaha. Buick in turn relied on Percy Smith and other similar authorities for the pre-contact reconstruction of Te Rauparaha. Buick, Cowan and Scholefield all render Te Rauparaha in similar ways. Te Rauparaha is appropriated into a fixed, singular and chronological history. He is represented in the standard commodities of Maori as "other" such as "utu", "cannibal", and "warrior". As with Cowan, *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* constructs Te Rauparaha as having an importance in terms of nation.<sup>19</sup> Physically, it manages to depict Te Rauparaha as repulsive, dignified, and intelligent in appearance at the same time.

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is eager to paint Te Rauparaha as, not only "other" to the Pakeha self, but also to revise the earlier accounts of his moral character and place in New Zealand history. This renders him in a more favourable light than Gisborne or Gudgeon. It can best be illustrated by how Te Rauparaha's arrest is commented upon in *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Grey's actions are described as 'extreme' and the fact that Te Rauparaha was held without trial is noted. The result of this is a conscious reappraisal of Te Rauparaha's character that depicts him as useful and important in "building" New Zealand, in terms of discursive politics.

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<sup>19</sup> Te Rauparaha's entry is one of the longest, Maori or Pakeha, in Scholefield's dictionary.

This text of Te Rauparaha does not attempt to construct a Maori voice within itself. A limited use of Tamihana's account<sup>20</sup> is the only source directly connected to Ngati Toa used in the biography. However, it is not used to construct an ideology toward government power. A Ngati Toa understanding of Te Rauparaha's arrest is not constructed into the biography.<sup>21</sup> Instead a voice of the national centre explains such events in terms of a unique interaction of two advanced peoples. This construction of New Zealand's history and culture leaves the Maori biographical object occupying an ambiguous space. Te Rauparaha is both repulsive and attractive, loyal and rebellious, cannibal savage and intelligent appropriator of western civilisation. It is within this ambiguity that Cowan, Buick and *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* locate the text of New Zealand.

*A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* built on the works of Cowan,<sup>22</sup> Buick and the ethnologists connected to the Polynesian Society to create its nationalist discourse. In common with Cowan, the Scholefield text has a sympathy toward the Maori object lacking in the Gisborne passage mentioned above. However, like Cowan, the ideological location of the text is easily read as occupying the site of the European political centre. In the biography of Von Tempsky,<sup>23</sup> Titokawaru is 'the enemy'. In Titokawaru's biography,<sup>24</sup> the

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<sup>20</sup> 'Life and Times of Te Rauparaha by His Son' (English Translation), fMS 221, WTU. This account is of limited use in the reconstruction of Te Rauparaha. Its insistence on Te Rauparaha's true conversion to Christianity and much of its chronology has been hard to reconcile with the standard accounts. Te Rauparaha's expeditions to the South Island to seek utu for Te Puoho's death is an example. Its use lies in the authenticity it gives as a "primary source".

<sup>21</sup> Today Porirua Ngati Toa believe Te Rauparaha was kidnapped to make government purchase and settler occupation of Ngati Toa land easier. E.g. evidence of Solomon, Ruhi, 'Overlapping Claims in the Wellington Tenth's Inquiry' (Wai 145/207), Waitangi Tribunal Hearing, Hongoeka Marae, 8/7/1997.

<sup>22</sup> Scholefield's admiration of Cowan as a popular national scholar is well known, see above, chapter 2.

<sup>23</sup> Scholefield, G.H. (ed.), *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.2, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, pp.429-431.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, pp.387-388.

European soldiers are not referenced as enemy. Te Puoho's defeat by Ngai Tahu is a 'massacre'<sup>25</sup> while Parihaka is a 'raid' and Rangiaowhia is 'sharp fighting'.<sup>26</sup>

The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* has a different ideological tone encoded into its Maori object. The tactics used to represent Te Rauparaha<sup>27</sup> are similar to those used in previous biographical collections but these are arranged to produce a different ideological effect. Te Rauparaha's biography includes many of the standard commodities used to depict New Zealand's indigenous "other" in recent historical scholarship. Te Rauparaha rose to leadership despite being not of the 'highest rank' of birth and was eager to trade with Pakeha on his terms. The attributes of adaptiveness and fluidity in Maori society are represented in Te Rauparaha. Te Rauparaha signed the Treaty of Waitangi as a declaration of Ngati Toa sovereignty over lands he considered theirs by traditional right. This depicts an assertion of indigenous rights to land. Te Rauparaha never did anything wrong in the Wairau affair and so did not deserve the bad press he got from Pakeha of the time nor did he do anything deserving of arrest by Grey in 1846. Te Rauparaha was victim of colonial injustice.

This type of ideology can still be produced using remarkably similar sources and descriptive commodities as previous biography of Te Rauparaha. The entry in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* closely follows Patrica Burn's 1980 book length biography of Te Rauparaha.<sup>28</sup> Burn's work still relies on similar

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p.358.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, pp.429-431.

<sup>27</sup> Oliver, W.H.(ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, vol.1, Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, pp.504-507.

<sup>28</sup> Burns, Patricia, *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, Wellington: Reed, 1980. This work represents Te Ruapraha in similar language to *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, and in the commodities of Maori as other, for example: 'He was a considerable orator....He was subtle, complex, hard to understand, his manner usually mild and these qualities he turned to advantage for Ngati Toa', p.298.

sources to the biographical work that has gone before it. The text also constructs Te Rauparaha in terms of Western historical practice and perspective, the result being that Te Rauparaha is 'essentially a person of Pakeha New Zealand'.<sup>29</sup> This method and perspective is carried over into *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. No Maori informants are coded into the Dictionary's text of Te Rauparaha except for the referencing of Tamihana's account.

As with the 1940 *Dictionary*, the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is part of government sponsored construction of nationalism. Te Rauparaha is interpreted in terms of New Zealand. The dating of his life is connected to Cook's first visit and his deeds are interpreted in terms of 'the tribal structure of New Zealand'. In contrast to the 1940 collection, Te Rauparaha as national text is encoded with an ideology focusing on colonial injustice, Maori resistance and adaptation, and treaty rights. This ideology creates New Zealand as a state, constructed as reaction to colonialism as well as result of it. This ideology is firmly connected to the academic centre, represented by works like Burns.

All the ideologies connected to the name Te Rauparaha have several factors in common. They attempt to represent their object in the language of fact. The reference biographies of Te Rauparaha claim to construct him as an accurate, direct textual representation. This is done in terms of a singular, chronological narrative; what Percy Smith called "real history". Of equal importance is the reinvention of Te Rauparaha as reaction against previous historiography. Bringing a "new perspective", that disentangles the biographical object from previous ideology, is a central textual strategy in promoting the ideology of the present text.

In the same way an ideological difference can be detected between the 1940 and 1990 Te Kooti. The tone of the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is similar, although milder, than the 1966 Hugh Ross book length account of Te Kooti.<sup>30</sup> This biography

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p.298.

<sup>30</sup> Ross, W. Hugh, *Te Kooti Rikirangi: General and Prophet*, Auckland: Collins, 1966. Ross' Te Kooti is reconstructed almost exclusively from Pakeha soldier's

describes Te Kooti as 'Cruel and vicious', having 'superhuman determination to live a violent life', and being 'possessed by fanaticism'.<sup>31</sup> The ideology of the 1940 reference biography<sup>32</sup> is similar. Te Kooti is a symbol of dangerous rebellion against the ideal of the New Zealand nation-state but it is encoded in a more subtle language than the standard treatments of the time like Ross.

*A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* down plays Te Kooti's political position within Maoridom. The text states: 'He was not of chiefly birth'. When he was first arrested and exiled, without trial, to the Chatham Islands his tribe was happy to see him go. The whole Ringatu faith is described as 'his curious philosophy, which was a compound of Judaism, Christianity and Hauhauism'. Later reconstructions give voice to a Te Kooti calling for justice in face of colonial encroachment on Maori lands. This is absent in the Scholefield text, instead, Te Kooti's actions are driven by his unrealistic ambition to be 'the King of the Maori'. This life of Te Kooti is full of factual assertions that are no longer truth in present texts of Te Kooti. It is firmly placed within the accepted discourse of Te Kooti of the time<sup>33</sup> and truth claims are asserted as uncontested historical statements.

The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* revises previous ideologies of Te Kooti.<sup>34</sup> This is partially done by self consciously juxtaposing a competing Maori oral tradition along side the received Pakeha narrative of Te Kooti.<sup>35</sup> This construction of dual voice is

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accounts and largely carries over the ideology of his sources and much of their language.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, p. 151.

<sup>32</sup> Scholefield, vol.1, pp.473-475.

<sup>33</sup> Scholefield follows the standard Pakeha accounts, especially Cowan, in his construction of Te Kooti.

<sup>34</sup> Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1991, pp.194-201.

<sup>35</sup> See, Binney, Judith, 'Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 21:1(1987), pp.16-28.

signified from the beginning of the Te Kooti entry. It reads: 'According to the traditions he was born in 1814. However, when in 1866 he was banished to the Chatham Islands he was said to be about 35'. From here the standard singular historical narrative takes over but the voice of the "other" has been structured into the biography. The events, times, places and characters of this Te Kooti narrative are reasonably similar to the 1940 Te Kooti. The "oral tradition" provides much material for the second part of Te Kooti's life, after he renounced violence, but it does not constitute an alternative narrative. The difference between the 1940 and 1990 Te Kooti is in the way descriptive terminology is revised for ideological effect.

For example, traditionally the Matawhero "raid" is described as a "massacre".<sup>36</sup> The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* uses language like 'utu for betrayal' and 'religious inspiration' to describe the killings. The Ringatu faith is described as a 'church', or a 'community', and Te Kooti's teachings are dedicated to 'the ways of peace, the law and the gospel'. These teachings are used to show that Te Kooti's second arrest and conviction were unfounded and a result of colonial prejudice. The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* represented Te Kooti having no "chiefly" importance. The 1990 *Dictionary* does the opposite. This does not represent the two works calling on different whakapapa as source. Instead it is a poetic act. The 1990 Te Kooti is constructed as descending from 'a line collateral to that of the senior Ngati Maru chiefs'. The use of the metaphor of "the collateral line" constructs Te Kooti as important in "traditional" Maori hierarchy and revises previous placings of him in the Pakeha text. As noted in chapter one the ironic trope is employed to reverse the effect of previous statements about Te Kooti. The "drunkenness" of Te Kooti was once a tactic to throw disrepute on Te Kooti as political, religious object. In *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* it is turned back on the Pakeha establishment to show how unjust the system was toward him. Use of irony is a common tactic in many revisionist histories.

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<sup>36</sup> E.g., Scholefield, vol.1, p.474.

The 1940 and 1990 Te Kooti clearly show how ideology is affected through the biographical reference text. Although the two ideologies produced are radically at odds, they are both produced as truth. This is because dictionaries of biography contextualise their entries as truth. Various tactics are used to make the entries into "fact"<sup>37</sup> and it seems that they have been largely received as truth by the academic and governmental communities.<sup>38</sup> Te Kooti is often referred to as "enigmatic".<sup>39</sup> The enigma in the historiography of Te Kooti is not matched by an ambiguity in political tone of his biography. Biography of Te Kooti do not provide a site for multiple political readings of his life.

Te Keepa/Te Rangihwinui biography show the production of similar ideology to that of Te Kooti but through the construction of a kupapa leader. Gudgeon<sup>40</sup> locates him on the side of 'us' in the colonising mission of the European. Te Rangihwinui is a 'distinguished chief', known for his 'gallantry', 'covered with military honour', and motivated by 'loyalty to the queen'. His military activity in Opotiki was merely the 'breaking up [of] a Hauhau combination' and the followers of Te Kooti he fought against were 'murderous fanatics'. However, Te Rangihwinui is not given an independent agency. His military campaigns are always 'under' a European commander and the only context given to explain his actions are his loyalty to the queen. Te Rangihwinui seems to be offered as an example of the possibility to 'educate...and inculcate the habits of sustained industry' in the Maori so that they 'cast aside their savage habits'.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See above, chapter 1.

<sup>38</sup> E.g., reviews of *Redemption Songs*, *Journal of Pacific History*, 32:1(1997), pp.125-127; *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30:2(1996), pp.182-183; *New Zealand Books*, 6:4(1996), pp.15-17.

<sup>39</sup> The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* states, 'In death as in life he remained an enigmatic figure', *People of Many Peaks*, p.200.

<sup>40</sup> Gudgeon, pp.381-386.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, p.13.

The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* constructs independent agency into the life of Te Rangihwinui,<sup>42</sup> in opposition to the kind of constructions of kupapa leaders that Gudgeon is an example of. Two favourite forms of indigenous agency are written in to the text of Te Rangihwinui. His Wanganui battles were motivated by economic factors while his later life was an attempt to keep land in Maori control and assert Maori aspirations of sovereignty. The worst excesses noted in Te Rangihwinui's campaigns are done "under" European commanders. His actions are often attempts to assert Muaupoko's mana whenua against Raukawa or personal utu against his foes, rather than loyalty to the queen. Te Rangihwinui was largely independent of Pakeha military control and his and Ropata's contingents were the government's 'greatest military assets'.

Between the ideology of the Gudgeon "Major Kemp" and the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* "Te Rangihwinui" lies the 1940 construction.<sup>43</sup> Here Te Rangihwinui is located in the one nation-state of New Zealand. Participation in the founding of Te Kotahitanga and other calls for Maori autonomy, which were present in some sources, are over looked in Te Rangihwinui. His standing for the national parliament in 1876 is included. Instead of an agency centred on advancement of Muaupoko and pan-Maori aspirations, Te Rangihwinui is motivated by the construction of New Zealand. In *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* discourse this is found in the amalgamation of the European and Maori into one nation. This process renders a Te Rangihwinui that is 'brave, modest and generous...with a great capacity for military operations, deliberation and courage'. As in Cowan, *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* objects are metaphors of the nation, that unite the indigenous with the coloniser. Scholefield's biography were published during World War II when kupapa tribes were again being called upon to fight the enemies of the nation.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.246-251.

<sup>43</sup> Scholefield, vol. 2, pp.194-195.

<sup>44</sup> See, Gardiner, Wira, *Te Mura O Te Ahi: The Story of the Maori Battalion*, Auckland: Reed, 1992, pp.23-32.

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* Maori entries are ambiguous because of the ideological site Maori are located in. Tawhiao's life<sup>45</sup> offers an example of this. His political importance is played down by constructing him as having little impact on national political culture; 'He was rarely consulted on political matters'. The text does not state who did not consult him but obviously it means the colonial or imperial governments. The King movement became an irrelevancy because of the 'sullen aloofness' of the Waikato people. Although Tawhiao was the supreme representative of 'Maori Nationality' his refusal to participate in the construction of the nation-state makes him of limited political standing. The kind of separatism that Tawhiao is constructed as representing is marginalised in the 1940 text. The end result is a biographical object which is admired for its 'sincerity and selflessness' but lamented for its lack of ambition and weakness of mind.

The 1966 *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* continues ideological production similar to the Scholefield text. Although a revision of the dominant historical discourse is present at points,<sup>46</sup> much of the ideology of the Maori biography is similar to Scholefield. Tawhiao<sup>47</sup> is conceived in terms of lack of political ambition and leadership capacity. Rewi Maniapoto is an 'extremist' because of his policy of resistance toward the imperial conquest of the Waikato. Te Hapuku<sup>48</sup> is rendered in a favourable light for holding the enlightened view that the presence of settlers in Hawke's Bay would benefit Maori. The Maori and Pakeha joined in one nation is still the dominant ideology of *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

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<sup>45</sup> Scholefield, vol.2, pp.490-491.

<sup>46</sup> The beginnings of a revisionist discourse can be seen in the Te Kooti biography in McIntock, A.H. (ed.), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1966, vol. 2, pp.235-237. It states; 'Modern research tends to support the assertion that his wars arose out of his claims for justice'.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, vol.3, p.650.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, vol.1, pp.307-308.

The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* Tawhiaio<sup>49</sup> is a marked contrast to the 1940 Tawhiaio. The 1940 *Dictionary* failed to construct agency for Tawhiaio because it locates power in the workings of the nation-state government. The 1990 *Dictionary* constructs agency by changing the ideological site Tawhiaio is evaluated within. Political context is key to constructing Tawhiaio. His biography does not list deeds as synecdoche to construct a life. Instead an "analytic" life is constructed by assimilating the lives of Tawhiaio under a series of political, religious and cultural headings.<sup>50</sup> The confiscations of the 1860's, Tainui efforts for redress, Maori aspirations for autonomy, and efforts to have the treaty honoured form the basis of Tawhiaio's life. These render the actual details of his life secondary to the importance of Tawhiaio as ideological symbol. The 'future dream for Tainui' is summed up in him as 'The man and the vision... [are] united and part of the traditions... of the people'.

The biographical importance of Tawhiaio is insured by shifting the focus from interaction with government, as in the 1940 text, to a "Tainui" and "Maori" context. Here Tawhiaio's motivations and aims bear similarity to the "Tainui" and "Maori" voice of the present.<sup>51</sup> Tawhiaio wanted the Treaty of Waitangi 'honoured', experienced the 'anxiety, deprivation, [and] frustration' resulting from confiscation,

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<sup>49</sup> Orange, Claudia (ed.), *The Turbulent Years: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1870-1900*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1994, pp.145-149.

<sup>50</sup> In this the biography follows the approach of Te Hurinui, Pei, *King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the First Maori King*, Auckland: Polynesian Society, 1959, who constructs the dual sites of 'The Lord of the Waikato' and 'The First Maori King', under analytical headings such as 'The Priestly Scholar' or the 'The Chieftain Warrior'. Both tribe and Maori nation are thus fused with the singular national approach of the Polynesian Society, Tawhiaio in *The 1990 Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is similarly appropriated into the wider "New Zealand" discourse will maintaining a tribal and Maori construction.

<sup>51</sup> The biography is inscribed with the authorial signature of R.T. Mahuta, the 'Chief Negotiator Waikato Raupatu Settlement' of the preface of Ballera, Angela (ed.), *Te Kingitanga: The People of the Kingitanga Movement Taken from the New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*, Wellington: Auckland University Press/Department of Internal Affairs, 1996.

sought to establish 'Maori institutions', and aimed to construct a 'self-sufficient economic base' for Tainui. This construction of independent "Tainui" and "Maori" agency is done by promoting a "Tainui" discourse into the centre of the governmental and academic enterprise which *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* represents.

Traces of ideology can easily be identified within texts of Te Rauparaha, Te Kooti, Te Rangihiwini, or Tawhiao. New ideologies are constructed in reaction to old ones. However this is not the only way to construct truth as biographical text. Other ideologies can be constructed by pointing to silences that have gone before and constructing a biographical object in a previously unoccupied space. Recent reference biography of woman and biographical objects with a Whakatohea tribal identity will serve as examples of this.

The biography of Mokomoko in the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*<sup>52</sup> breaks the format of the Maori reference genre for ideological effect. No date of birth, family connections or hapu are written into the biography. Instead, Mokomoko is simply subtitled a 'Te Whakatohea leader'. This is put to ideological use later in the narrative when the construction of Mokomoko is linked to "Whakatohea" calls for justice.<sup>53</sup> The biography of Mokomoko replaces the construction of a life narrative with a narrative constituted as the last two years of Mokomoko's life from 28 April 1864 to the 17 May 1866. An additional narrative, tracing Whakatohea attempts at gaining justice for Mokomoko's death is added after Mokomoko's temporal narrative.

The biography is introduced with the words 'spoken by Mokomoko...as he was about to be hanged; "Tangohia mai te taura i taku kaki kia waiata au i taku" (Take the rope from my throat that I may sing my song)'. This forms the over-riding metaphor of the biography which is in turn is used to illustrate Whakatohea's

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<sup>52</sup> *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, pp.50-52.

<sup>53</sup> Recently some elements within Whakatohea have rejected a meta-tribal settlement of grievances, arguing instead for settlement on a hapu basis.

historical experience.<sup>54</sup> The connection between reconstruction of Mokomoko as biographical object and truth claims of the present is made explicit in a paragraph ostensibly about Mokomoko's wives and children. It states that Mokomoko became an 'effective symbol' of Whakatohea's struggle through the naming of his descendants after various aspects of Mokomoko's death. This is a good example of the political stance taken in the Maori biography of the 1990's. The biographical life is constructed both as victim of colonial injustice and as example and symbol of resistance.

This explicit promotion of a call for justice in the form of a biographical entry in a standard reference text sponsored by the government is possible in 1990. Previously no Whakatohea entries are present in the reference biographical texts. Gudgeon refers to the invasion of Opotiki as a 'breaking up of a Hauhau combination' which function was to 'avenge the murder of the Rev. Mr. Volkner'. Cowan was not unsympathetic to the calls for compensation for confiscation of Maori land. However he only refers to Mokomoko in his *New Zealand Wars* as being 'among those who came in' following the Opotiki campaigns 'and was later hanged in Auckland'. No questioning of government legitimacy is evidenced in Cowan's text.<sup>55</sup> The difference between Cowan's 1922 text and the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* in ideological tone is immense. This has happened because a "Whakatohea" knowledge has been constructed within the centre of the academic and political discourse of power.<sup>56</sup> Unlike Te Rauparaha, an ideology is not constructed through the retelling in a "new light" of the character's story. Just telling a story of Mokomoko in a political context like a

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<sup>54</sup> This prefacing of a life with a metonymical narrative or saying is a reasonably common tactic in the writing of Maori biography, e.g., King, Michael, *Whina: A Biography of Whina Cooper*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983, pp.13-17.

<sup>55</sup> Cowan, James, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, vol.2, Wellington: W.A.G. Skinner, 1922-1923, p.155.

<sup>56</sup> The ascribed author of Mokomoko's biography is a member of Whakatohea and employed by the *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*.

national dictionary of biography where previously there had not been one effects a truth claim.

The same truth claim is also to the forefront in Hira Te Popo's biography.<sup>57</sup> Before the 'invasion' of Whakatohea lands in 1864, the people of Whakatohea lived in economic prosperity and social harmony. The biography turns the language of colonisation back on the coloniser referring to the confiscation of Te Whakatohea lands as 'savage'. The confiscation of land that effected Te Popo's hapu is shown to be unjustified and resulted in economic ruin. Te Popo, like all Whakatohea biography in volume one and two of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* project, is appropriated into the wider political context of "Whakatohea". This is indicative of most Maori biography in the work which shows little interest in material or social culture, preferring political culture as explanatory context.

Constructing biography in the perceived space of "women" is more problematic than the making of Whakatohea as biography. Previous to *The 1990 Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* and *The Book of New Zealand Women*, there are few entries devoted to Maori woman in collections of biography. Where they are present in the earlier texts, they occupy a space on the periphery of a male, European centre. The 1940 *Dictionary's* Huria Matenga<sup>58</sup> is worthy of inclusion because of the novelty value in her briefly taking on a role expected to be occupied by a Pakeha male. Rangi Topeora<sup>59</sup> is included in terms of her relationships to men, her novelty as one of only three women to sign the Treaty of Waitangi and as a 'poetess'. Artistic accomplishment is one of the few ways women could be constructed in reference biography. Gudgeon's women are peripheral objects represented in animalistic metaphor<sup>60</sup> and Cowan can construct a biography of a "Maori woman" purely in terms of

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<sup>57</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp.168-169.

<sup>58</sup> Scholefield, vol.1, p.71.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, vol.2, p.392.

<sup>60</sup> E.g., the 'Hauhau's wife' described as an 'enraged tigress', Gudgeon, p.334.

colonial/male aesthetic gaze.<sup>61</sup> Works of recent times, in contrast to these, have tried to deconstruct perceived misrepresentations of women's experience and create a female Maori biography where previously there was none. These constructions maybe theoretically naive in their faith in a "women's experience" that can be represented as writing, but they have an obvious effect as discursive ideology.

Part of the ideological intent of the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is to reinvent a more "accurate" and "representative" New Zealand. This is partly done through a deliberate attempt to include more women than is done 'traditionally'.<sup>62</sup> The writers and editors involved in production of the Maori biography have acknowledged a difficulty in doing this due to a perceived lack of necessary source material.<sup>63</sup> This accounts for the shortness of entries and women still being a considerable minority of total Maori biography. However, simply constructing a gap in historiography and creating an object in it has considerable ideological effect, even if the actual amount of words devoted to the project is relatively small. The Maori object put in the woman's space is largely the "woman of mana".

The "woman of mana" is the code used to construct women as having political power within "Maoridom" where previously there was none.<sup>64</sup> It is the female counterpart of the "warrior", "leader", "chief" or "rangatira". Woman of mana have genealogical significance, decision making power within tribal structures, and traditional rights to land. This is necessary because importance is linked to hierarchical structures of power in *The Dictionary of New*

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<sup>61</sup> E.g., biography Ana Rupene, Cowan, James, *Maori Biographies: Sketches of Old New Zealand: Descriptive Catalogue of Maori Portraits Painted by Herr. G. Lindauer*, Auckland: H.E. Partridge, 1901, p.51.

<sup>62</sup> *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, ix.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, viii-ix; Interview with Judith Binney, Auckland, 26/8/1997.

<sup>64</sup> This is a trend in the wider historiography of Maori, e.g. see, Binney, Judith, 'Some Observations on the Status of Maori Women', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 23:1, pp.22-31.

*Zealand Biography*. Similar constructions of discursive power have been noted in *The Book of New Zealand Women*.<sup>65</sup>

The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* notes that Matenga was a 'woman of some rank' within her tribal affiliations, but the rest of her biography is taken up with her rescue of the crew of the Delaware. By contrast, The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*'s text emphasises her position within her tribal community especially in relationship to her mana over large tracts of land.<sup>66</sup> It is noted that;

she was a notable woman in her own community and among the tribes to which she was affiliated by virtue of her rank and character. She held land in Taranaki and Porirua as well as Nelson, and travelled widely in these areas, taking part in family decisions, naming children and arranging marriages. After the death of her father in April 1880 she inherited rights to 17,739 acres of land at Whakapuaka.

Similarly, Maraea Morete<sup>67</sup> gave evidence to the Native Land Court to 'ensure her family's rights to their lands'. She had a 'moko on her chin' - signifying her position of rank within her tribe and discursive position as traditional, authentic Maori. Wharetutu Anne Newton's biographical text<sup>68</sup> is concerned with constructing a 'Ngai Tahu founding mother'. Her importance is as the starting point of a Pakeha-Maori family group that now numbers 'more than 5000, by far the largest group of [its] kind yet traced'. This kind of construction of whakapapa not only enhances the mana of the particular families/tribes involved but also places women in a place of prominence within it.

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<sup>65</sup> See, Poff, Basil, 'The Fivizzano Inheritance', *History Now*, 1:2 (1995), pp.19-23.

<sup>66</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.41-43.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, pp.52-53.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, pp.59-60

These biographies' primary ideological function is to construct a text that gives positions of "traditional" Maori power to women. This is in turn placed within a national text to give women discursive power on the level of nation. However all the examples mentioned above have links through marriage or descent to Pakeha. This partly accounts for their ability to be placed as historical memory within a text so closely linked to Pakeha political and academic enterprises. Biographies such as Ani Kaaro's<sup>69</sup> are often very short in comparison to the average male Maori biography because of a perceived lack of information of the subject.

*The Book of New Zealand Women* continues this approach of constructing the political importance of women within nation and family/tribe. However, it also tries to construct lives of women that attach discursive importance to "the everyday lives" of women. The first kind of biography can be evidenced in the entry of Pirihira Raukura Waioeka Heketa.<sup>70</sup> Heketa 'was a rangatira of Ngati Te Whatuiapiti and considered to be urukehu', she also had a 'close relationship to Pareihe, a paramount chief of Ngati Kahungunu'. She had immense knowledge about 'tikanga Maori'. This text goes one step further than *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, in that it can name a woman in standard "chiefly" language instead of coding woman's political importance in a separate language.

The second kind of biography, the "everyday life" biography, is used to construct 'general patterns in women's lives' and at the same time 'illustrate the variety of courses that women's lives have taken'.<sup>71</sup> This type of biography can be seen in the biography of Erena Ahuahu Brown.<sup>72</sup> The entry is largely constructed as Brown's own words taken from an interview and focuses on material and social culture, such as arts and crafts, food and child raising. The

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<sup>69</sup> *Turbulent Years*, pp.32-33.

<sup>70</sup> *Book of New Zealand Women*, pp.280-283.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, vii-viii.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 98-101.

work makes little conscious attempt to connect Brown's life to the role and function of power elites. It is contextualised by various editorial notes explaining 'Maori custom' and assuring the readers that the family relationships represented within the text are 'quite proper'. *The Book of New Zealand Women*, does not deny the kind of construction that places women in prominent positions within power structures. However it creates a complimentary biographical object - the "everyday life" - outside of the dominant structures of power. By placing these lives at the centre of its discourse the text aims to affirm all woman's experience as academically "important".

In creating this second ideology the construction of Maori voice is pivotal. The use of quotations "direct" from the subject or their family goes a step further than *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* in constructing the oral source. This is a powerful ideological tool, giving the impression of Maori women "speaking for themselves" in a textual position where previously they had no voice. Of course, this voice is not the "actual" voice of the subjects. The voices are no longer "oral" or straight from the subject's "mouth". It is placed in an academic context of a book to be used as a signifier of "authenticity". This gives effect to the ideology of the text.

This points to the major theoretical weakness in what is loosely defined as "postcolonial" history. The "other" cannot speak for itself. "Maori" and "women" are still "given" a voice in the texts of this study by the process of literary production. In a recent article Homi Bhabha asks why the academic enterprise cannot create a 'post other'.<sup>73</sup> He asks if the "other" is 'the political bottom line, the last ethical frontier'.<sup>74</sup> It seems that history in general and biography in particular cannot go beyond the "other". The biographies of *The 1990 Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* have created an ideology by promoting 'jargon of the minorities'<sup>75</sup> to the

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<sup>73</sup> Bhabha, Homi, 'Minority Manoeuvres and Unsettled Negotiations', *Critical Inquiry*, 23:3 (1997), pp.431-459.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p.437.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, p.431.

status of 'official knowledges'.<sup>76</sup> However this is what biography and history has often done in New Zealand. Reference biography constructs Pakeha ideology. It has yet to let the other speak for itself because of the limits of the genre of reference biography.

Instead of giving a voice to the "other", reference biography gives voice to the ideology of the episteme that produced it. On a simple level this power can be read in individual academic careers invested in the construction of Maori biographical objects. Titokowaru<sup>77</sup> is constructed as 'the best general' New Zealand has produced, more so than Te Kooti, and of more significance as prophet-pacifist than Te Whiti. Here an obvious sub-text of an academic investment in the object of Titokowaru needs to be read into the ideology of the text. This inclination is even more pronounced in book length biography than reference works.<sup>78</sup>

On a more complex level the formation of orthodox Maori history, represented in biographical collections, is linked to what have been called "discourse communities".<sup>79</sup> Distinct discourse communities lie behind the production of ideology in the 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* and the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. The epistemes they produce do not represent a smooth development of Maori historiography but a series of discontinuities; each a revision of what has gone before it.<sup>80</sup> The "Maori" ideology produced in the *Dictionaries of New Zealand Biography* is the result of particular epistemes being promoted to the status of textual truth in the scholarly/governmental centre which the 1940 and 1990 projects represent.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, p.437.

<sup>77</sup> *People of Many Peaks*, pp.320-327.

<sup>78</sup> E.g., Rickard, L.S., *Tamihana: The Kingmaker*, Wellington: Reed, 1963.

<sup>79</sup> Bizzell, p.222, sees discourse communities as both "speech communities", having stylistic conventions in common, and "interpretative communities", sharing a canonical knowledge.

<sup>80</sup> Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, pp.3-76, outlines some of the basic issues of discourse formation that underline the approach taken in this study.

Both of these discourses, which find expression as reference biography, are based around the invention of a New Zealand race relations history. This history then becomes the metaphor of nation. New Zealand is constructed as biography celebrating/commemorating the founding of the nation. The 1940 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is part of a discourse that constructs a racial harmony out of the history of Maori/European encounter as the basis for a textual ideology of nation. This episteme is the result of a very particularised discourse community occupying the institutional sites necessary to produce *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.

The ideology of this episteme is best represented by Buick's *The Treaty of Waitangi*.<sup>81</sup> In this work the treaty is both metaphor and tool of New Zealand's racial harmony.<sup>82</sup> The work encodes Maori with a European language of power, their leaders are 'aristocratic' and the 'nobility'<sup>83</sup>, the treaty is the 'Maori Magna Carta'.<sup>84</sup> The representation of the indigenous in the metaphors of European power aims to construct a valid local object equal to that of the metropolitan centre. However, at the same time a narrative of European superiority is encoded in the text: 'The Maori system is incapable of developing the principles of stable government'.<sup>85</sup> This ambiguity is resolved by the treaty which is the cessation of sovereignty by 'consent of the savage'<sup>86</sup> to the British crown. Since

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<sup>81</sup> Buick, T. Lindsay, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, New Plymouth: Thomas Avery and Sons, 1936.

<sup>82</sup> For discussion of this work see, Hilliard, Chris, 'Island Stories: The Writing of New Zealand History 1920-1940', MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1997, pp.52-78.

<sup>83</sup> Buick, *Treaty*, p.120.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, pp.98-164.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, p.141.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, p.271.

then the imperial and colonial government have not violated the intent of the Treaty to any great measure.<sup>87</sup>

This is the version of race relations present in *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Cowan and Scholefield contributed advice, materials and help with translation to Buick's work.<sup>88</sup> The close connection of Buick and Cowan with Scholefield functions not only on the level of an "interpretative community" but also as a "speech community".<sup>89</sup> Buick, Cowan and Scholefield share stylistic conventions. The extra-textual links of these historians has been noted as the "Wellington School" of the inter-war period.<sup>90</sup> More importantly, they share a "non-academic" history writing technique.<sup>91</sup> Buick and Cowan are repeatedly referenced as sources in *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.<sup>92</sup> Scholefield was more reliant on writers such as Cowan and Buick in Maori biography than Pakeha biography because of his limited access to Maori sources. Buick and Cowan's habit of using large amounts of previous narrative accounts<sup>93</sup> is continued by Scholefield, although it is adapted to the reference genre. *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography's* frequent structuring of biography into climatic

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid, p.350 and 358.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, xix.

<sup>89</sup> Bizzell, p.222.

<sup>90</sup> Hilliard, pp.52-78.

<sup>91</sup> Academic historians prefer to categorise Cowan and Buick as "journalists". See, Olsen, p.57, Phillips, J.O.C., 'Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footy on Saturday Afternoon: Reflections on 100 years of New Zealand Historiography', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 24:2(1990), pp.118-134, 123. Scholefield saw the historian's and journalist's practice to be essentially the same. He wrote the historian's technique was 'roughly the same as the local newspaper reporter', 'Autobiography Manuscript' Scholefield Papers, MS 0212, WTU.

<sup>92</sup> See above, Chapter 2.

<sup>93</sup> This is a feature commonly noted of Buick, Cowan etc. by recent historiographers. E.g. see, Hilliard, p.80, and Orange, Claudia, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press/Department of Internal Affairs, 1987, ix. In emphasising this point some of these authors overlook the structured nature of these histories and the ideology they produce, claiming they 'have little analysis and a good deal of error'.

narrative and its lack of historicist method in source evaluation also connect it to the discourse of Buick and Cowan. Like Buick and Cowan, the text fuses the ethnological construction of the "other" seen in Percy Smith with the frontier pioneer myth to create a very particular history of nation.

This version of history could be promoted to the centre of government power because of Buick and Scholefield's positions as government "historians".<sup>94</sup> Most other texts of the centennial are the result of a different discourse. The centennial texts are largely connected with university trained historians and relied far less on a Maori object to construct its nationalism.<sup>95</sup> In contrast to Cowan, much of this discourse thought it unwise to include any "Maori" material in its text because it would have a negative impact on race relations.<sup>96</sup> Beaglehole's work on Cook is exemplary of this discourse. *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* does not sit easily beside the other centennial works.<sup>97</sup> However, it was

<sup>94</sup> Hilliard, pp.52-54. Buick's close connection with the Secretary of Internal Affairs meant he secured the position formerly held by Eldson Best at the Dominion Museum. Scholefield worked as the General Assembly Librarian. However later there seemed to be animosity between Buick and Heenan. The latter insisted that Buick wasn't a member of the National Centennial Historical Committee because he was too hard to work with. Secretary of Internal Affairs to Minister of Internal Affairs, 18/2/1937, IA1 62/7, NA.

<sup>95</sup> Hilliard, pp.108-146, McEldowney, Dennis, 'Publishing, Patronage and Literary Magazines', Sturm, Terry (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991, pp.568-572. An obvious exception is Cowan's *Settlers and Pioneers*, which contrasts with the academic discourse of other centennial historians, especially in his assertion that New Zealand's greatness is born out of 'the clash of races'; see, Cowan, James, *Settlers and Pioneers*, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, p.12; Booker, Anthony James, 'The Centennial Surveys of New Zealand', BA Honours Research Exercise, Massey University, 1983, pp.55-58.

<sup>96</sup> E.g., Minutes of Select Document - Political, Social, and Economic History, sub-committee, National Historical Standing Committee, 1/7/1937, Scholefield Papers, ms 0212, WTU, which argues for no 'Maori section' as this may provide 'basis for further agitation'.

<sup>97</sup> Gibbon seems to connect it to the content of other centennial histories by saying it constructed 'New Zealand's pantheon' by focusing on European males at the expense of Maori, see 'Non-fiction' p.66. I would argue the opposite. Maori biography are central to the construction of New Zealand in Scholefield's text and this signifies him belonging to a different discourse to that of most other centennial texts. A better case could be made for over representation of "English" in comparison with other Tau Iwi in *A Dictionary*

received with enthusiasm by reviewers.<sup>98</sup> It is the last work of a discourse that gave way to an academic version of nation that excluded the indigenous object rather than appropriating it into its narrative.

The 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is part of a discourse that reappropriates the Maori in its construction of ideology. As with the 1940 *Dictionary*, the discourse lying behind it is best read in a textual representation of the history of the Treaty of Waitangi. Like the reinvention of Te Rauparaha, Claudia Orange's *Treaty of Waitangi* takes Buick's account as a point of departure.<sup>99</sup> The cessation of sovereignty by Maori, which is emphasised by Buick is down played by Orange and the subsequent "violation" of the Treaty takes up much of the book.<sup>100</sup> Orange's *Treaty* sees itself as part of an academic trend to research and write about Maori and race relations that responded to political calls rather than constructing them.<sup>101</sup> The discourse that Orange identifies is the discourse of nation that runs through *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.

Following the debate in the late 1950's and 1960's concerning the cultural nature of settlement in New Zealand <sup>102</sup> the need to understand the role of Maori in the making of the nation began to

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*of New Zealand Biography*; see, Legation de France en Nouvelle Zealand to Under Secretary of Internal Affairs, 6/3/1947, IA1, 62/9/2, NA.

<sup>98</sup> See, *Evening Post*, 6/7/1940, *Auckland Star*, 14/9/1940, *National Education*, 1/10/1940, James, G.F, 'Review of A *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Scholefield G.H. (ed.)', *Historical Studies; Australia and New Zealand*, 1:3 (1940), pp.196-200. Although James, an Australian academic historian, questions some of the methodology, selection and shortness of entries, as a national text he sees it as something other countries 'cannot help but envy'.

<sup>99</sup> Orange, *Treaty*, ix.

<sup>100</sup> E.g., *ibid*, p.184. Gibbon's assertion that Orange's work is a deferral of 'ultimate meaning', 'Non-Fiction', p.103, misses the point the work which for my reading is an assertion that the treaty provides the basis for a Maori nationalism even if there are divergent views of its "original meaning".

<sup>101</sup> Orange, *Treaty*, p.245.

<sup>102</sup> See Pickens, K.A., 'The Writing of New Zealand History: A Kuhnian Perspective', *Historical Studies*, 17 (1977), pp. 384-398.

arise again. The appropriation of the Maori back into the discourse of the nation is done in a way similar to how the Buick/Cowan/Scholefield previously. However, this time the construction of Maori was done in a politically updated guise. The writing of an independent Maori economic and political agency is central to this.<sup>103</sup> How agency is represented is key signifier of the political attitude toward the subject in the anthropological or historical text.<sup>104</sup>

The work that placed this episteme in the centre of academic power was Keith Sinclair's *The Origins of the Maori Wars*.<sup>105</sup> M.P.K. Sorrenson and Alan Ward's work were also formative to this discourse of Maori. These were followed by the 'Sinclair generation'<sup>106</sup> - younger scholars who researched race relations with renewed interest in the Maori object. This new discursive community produced a larger, more complex discourse than the "Wellington School" of the 1920's and 30's. However, its interpretative and stylistic conventions of Maori representation make it identifiable as a discourse community. As a speech community it largely inherited an empiricist approach to history writing. The belief that a biography could accurately represent a life is an example of this.<sup>107</sup> Like the discourse of colonisation that existed between the wars, this discourse sees a relatively good set

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<sup>103</sup> This is best seen up in standard academic histories like Parsonson, Ann, 'The Pursuit of Mana', *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oliver, W.H. (ed.), Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981; Sorrenson, M.P.K., 'Maori and Pakeha', *ibid*.

<sup>104</sup> For example one anthropological commentator has noted; 'agency may be made to shift from site to site, be appeared and disappeared in practices that call attention to the value that people place...on their own and others subject place', Battagha, Debbora 'Ambiguating Agency: The Case of Malinowski's Ghost', *American Anthropologist*, 99:3 (1997), pp.505-510, 505.

<sup>105</sup> Sinclair, Keith, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1961.

<sup>106</sup> Phillips, J.O.C., 'Our History, Our Selves: The Historian and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30:2 (1996), pp.107-123, 111.

<sup>107</sup> Sinclair, Keith, 'Political Biography in New Zealand', J.O.C. Phillips (ed.), *Biography in New Zealand*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1985.

of race relations existing in New Zealand that could be explained by New Zealand's historical experience.<sup>108</sup> This good version of race relations exists hand in hand with a chronicling of colonial mistreatment of Maori. In more recent times an episteme based around tribal constructs of history has attempted to assert itself as independent from this nationalised version of "Maori history".<sup>109</sup> But the orthodox contact history occupies the institutional sites necessary to produce the ideology of the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.<sup>110</sup>

The ideology running through the 1990 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is the result of a particular discourse community capturing the mechanisms necessary to produce a text of reference biography. The works are edited and written by scholars who are connected to the production of a version of New Zealand history concerned with placing Maori in the "making" of New Zealand.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Sinclair, Keith, 'Why are Race Relations in New Zealand Better Than in South Africa, South Australia or South Dakota?', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 5:2(1971), pp.121-127.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. Pere, Joseph, 'Hitori Maori', *The Future of the Past*, Colin Davis and Peter Lineham (eds), Palmerston North: Department of History, Massey University, 1991; Royal, Te Ahukaramu Charles, *Te Haurapa: An Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books/Department of Internal Affairs, 1992. The academic centre has replied to this counter-discourse with the assertion of the ability of the mainstream historical discourse to contain tribal tradition within it, see, Ballara, Angela, 'Pakeha Uses of Takimutanga: Who Owns Tribal Tradition?', *Stout Centre Review*, 3:2(1993), pp.17-21; Binney, Judith, 'Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 21:1(1987), pp.16-28; Reilly, Michael, 'An Ambiguous Past: Representing Maori History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 29:1(1995), pp.19-39; 'Messy Entanglements in Teaching Maori History: A Summary Report', *History Now*, 1:2(1995), pp.19-22; Review of Charles' Royal's *Te Haurapa*, in *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27:2(1993), pp.116-117. Great pains have been taken to construct a valid tribal voice with in the 1990 Dictionary of Biography. The likes of Tawhiao's biography discussed above and the textual tactics of the Kingitanga collection seems to be an attempt to straddle the two discourses of contact and tribal histories by incorporating the tactics of the mid-century tribal histories.

<sup>110</sup> This is best summed up in the introductory essay and the references cited in *Turbulent Years*, vii-xxv.

<sup>111</sup> W.H. Oliver, the editor of volume one, also edited the first edition of *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, one of the standard works of this discourse and Claudia Orange, the editor of subsequent volumes, work is discussed above.

This project has largely received the blessing of the academic historical community.<sup>112</sup> The reasonably singular ideology running through the text of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is the result of the textual tactics of this discourse community.

The claims to historical accuracy and sound methodology found in New Zealand's reference works are universal.<sup>113</sup> Each episteme present in the text constructs itself in these terms. As the historiographer Dipesh Chakrabarty has noted; 'empiricism is only a luxury you can afford if you are already at the centre of things (either of the world system or the nation-state)'.<sup>114</sup> The discourse communities represented in these texts have found themselves at the centre of the nation. The ideology of the text is masked in the language of empiricism but this cannot hide the absence of the signified Maori object. Pre-existing narratives are reinvented into the reference biographical genre creating a Maori biography as Pakeha "other". This leaves reference texts with the ability only to signify an ideology of the "truth-regime" that produced them.

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<sup>112</sup> E.g. , O'Regan, Tipene, 'Maoris, Biographies and Dictionaries', J.O.C. Phillips (ed.), *Biography in New Zealand*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1985; McRae, June, Review of *People of Many Peaks*, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 26:2(1992), pp. 205-206; Matthew, H.E, Review of *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 3, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30:2(1996), pp. 194-195; Davis, Colin, Review of *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1-2, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 28:2(1994), pp.214-216. More telling perhaps is the uses the text of the dictionaries are put to. They have been presented as evidence before the Waitangi tribunal. They hold a status as authoritative source. E.g., the way the chief government historian uses it in an analysis of the construction of national identity, Phillips, 'Our History', p.119.

<sup>113</sup> See above, chapter 1.

<sup>114</sup> Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 'Trafficking in History and Theory: Subaltern Studies', Ruthven, p.103.

## Conclusion

Collected biography has made Maori as an "other". The form of a text and the knowledges transferred into it are pivotal to this process. Chapter one of this thesis concluded the literary character of reference biography is a set of stable signifiers through the history of the reference biography in New Zealand. This reflects the continued borrowing from a genre standardised in the British *Dictionary of National Biography*. The structure of the text does not produce the "other" in itself, but provides one of the key ingredients for this to happen. It provides the site where a discourse of the Maori can be appropriated into the discursive practice of the European. At the same time it is capable of rendering Maori as different from the European self.

Chapter two illustrated how a certain type of pre-existent knowledge is needed to construct the Maori object in this literary site. Sources that contain a single narrative, chronological codes, time marking devices, and actors' names are used in the making of the Maori as biography. "Ethnohistories", "tribal histories", national histories and obituaries are the dominant places these knowledges are gathered. These kind of sources often carry an essential "Maori" experience within them. This is often transferred into the text of collected biography. Alternative sources, especially the "oral tradition", can be arranged around the dominant narratives of biography. These function as a signifier of authenticity rather than an alternative narrative.

Maori are essentialised in biography through their depiction in a limited set of stable signifiers. In chapter three of this thesis speech, tribe, violence, spirituality, and body were highlighted as key markers of the singular Maori "other" present in New Zealand's collected biography. These commodities do not signify "real" Maori experience. Instead they represent an intellectual construction of the European/Pakeha self. In the process of defining a "national identity", intellectual communities have constructed the "Maori".

The Maori biographical object is set up in opposition to perceived European/Pakeha New Zealander. Maori biography is best understood as nationalist ideology.

Reference biographical texts in New Zealand have been a site for academic discourses to produce different versions of race relations. These differing versions of nation were identified in the final chapter of this work. It was argued that this ideology was the place that change over time in the depiction of the Maori should be located. The present concerns of a discourse are clearly present in their respective biographical collections. This presentism in the context of New Zealand's histories clearly has implications beyond the strictly academic site. It is increasingly forming part of New Zealand's legal and political ritual.

In light of these conclusions this thesis will finish by offering some suggestions on how government sponsored biography of Maori might proceed. It is not likely "biography", in the broadest sense of the word, will disappear from New Zealand's discursive practice. Barthes claimed that the human desire to transform experience into narrative is a universal phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> Biography is a modern reflection of this tendency. Neither does it seem likely that central government will cease to use biography to construct its national text. As *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* project draws to an end, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* is obviously in line for an update. Things "Maori" will no doubt be central to this enterprise.

This production of a text in terms of "New Zealand", with the "Maori" as central cultural icon is problematic. As one recent critic put it; 'The transmission of *cultures of survival* does not occur in the ordered *musee imaginaire* of national cultures with the claims to the continuity of an authentic "past".<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the time has arrived to modify the writing of biography to promote cultures of "survival" or resistance in the face of the multiple neo-colonialisms present

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<sup>1</sup> Barthes, Roland, 'Structural Analysis of Narratives', *Image - Music - Text*, New York: Hillway, 1977.

<sup>2</sup> Bhabha, Homi, 'The Postcolonial and the Postmodern: The Question of Agency', *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge, 1994, p.172.

today. Methodology is one area where the diversification of biographical production could be situated. The practitioners of Subaltern Studies have rejected empiricism in the making of their text of resistance.<sup>3</sup> The creative use of a variety of post-structuralist theories of knowledge, seen in their work, points to the possibility of a diversified and subversive historical text being produced.<sup>4</sup> Another place that alternatives could be considered is the use of "nation" as a site to construct "Maori". Government sponsorship of Maori biography should consider ways to promote localised, plural and marginal texts.

The Kingitanga volume of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* project may appear to have done this.<sup>5</sup> It recontextualises its biography out of a "New Zealand" text and into a "Tainui" one.<sup>6</sup> However academic collaboration in this collection begs some obvious questions. The deconstruction of colonial historiography and the de-essentialising of the Maori object could be taken further than it is in these biography. Of more concern is the use these biography are put to. They construct a struggle for justice that has been met in the 1995 Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act.<sup>7</sup> "History" has been central to crown claims of a valid settlement of the Waikato confiscations.<sup>8</sup> *Te Kingitangi* celebrates the crown attempt at "full and final" settlement of the claim on a meta-tribal basis. Dissent from within "Tainui" is not present in this text.

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<sup>3</sup> E.g., Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 'Trafficking in History and Theory: Subaltern Studies', K.K. Ruthven, *Beyond the Disciplines: The New Humanities*, Canberra: Australian Academy of Humanities, 1992.

<sup>4</sup> Spivak asserts that the Subaltern group has brought 'hegemonic historiography to crisis'. Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography', *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*, New York: Methuen, 1987.

<sup>5</sup> Ballara, Angela (ed.), *Te Kingitanga: The People of the Kingitanga Movement Taken from the New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*, Wellington: Auckland University Press/Department of Internal Affairs, 1996.

<sup>6</sup> See above, chapter 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Te Kingitanga*, p.28.

<sup>8</sup> See, 'Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, (1995, No. 58), vol.2, pp.694-741, 694-705.

Biography of Maori should go beyond the condemnation of past government action. The deconstruction of the present uses of history might be useful in the process of questioning state legitimated ideology. A significant de-centring, both in the form biography takes and the national site it is located in, is necessary before it will be possible to promote a culture of resistance through biography.

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