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The Reshaping of Political Communities in New Zealand: a Study of Intellectual and Imperial Texts in Context, c. 1814-1863

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

at Massey University, Albany,

New Zealand

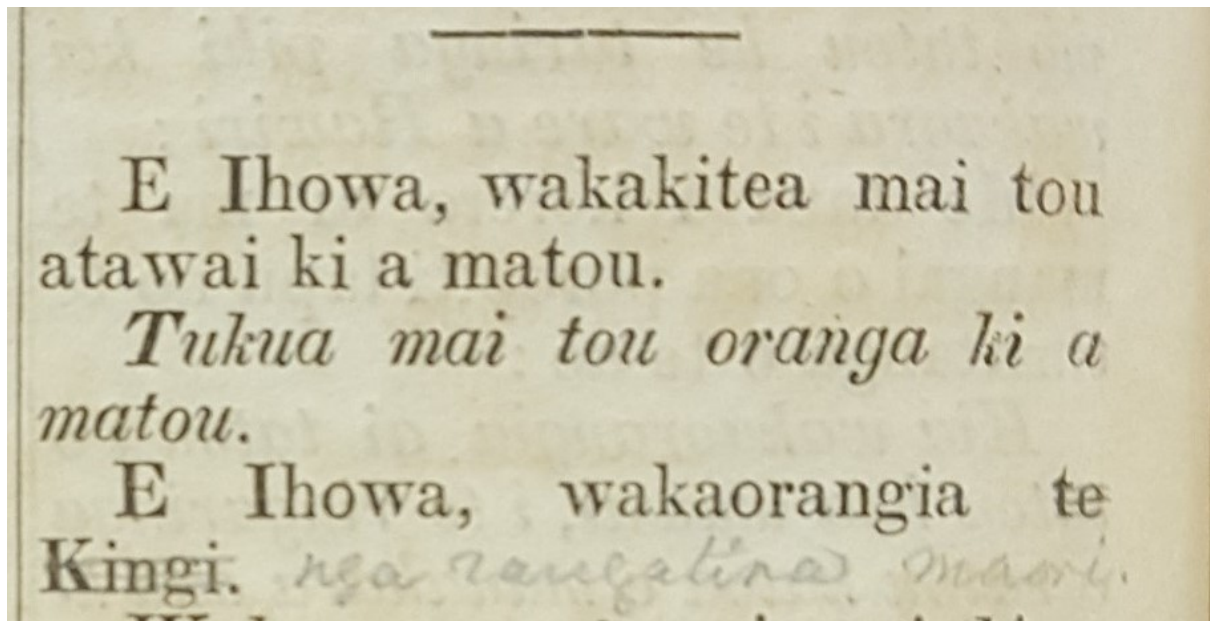
Samuel D. Carpenter

2020

Ein neues Wort ist wie ein frischer Same, der in den Boden der Diskussion geworfen wird.

A new word is like a fresh seed sown on the ground of the discussion.

Ludwig Wittgenstein



Extract from Morning Prayer, 1833 printing of Book of Common Prayer in Māori; personal copy of William Colenso (C.M.S. printer), MSX-5233, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: the text 'O Lord, save the King' has been changed to 'O Lord, save the native chiefs'.

Abstract

This thesis explores transformations in British and Māori political thought and mentalities through the period c. 1814 to 1863 – from the arrival in New Zealand of Samuel Marsden and the Anglican Church Mission through to the outset of the Waikato wars. It analyses evolving and contested political languages in British metropole and empire, particularly concerning the nature and bounds of British national and imperial community and government. It considers the attempts by Britons, from Marsden, through Busby, then the Church Mission presses to encourage the formation of a native (Christian) political community, and then to maintain it against the threats posed by British colonization ventures. Political thought about nations or supra-tribal political communities contained in the Māori translations of scripture, prayer book and texts of history, law and geography are the focus of several chapters, as are the uses of these new political languages made by Māori protagonists Hone Heke, Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Wiremu Tāmehana.

Drawing on literatures of nationalism, the thesis finds that the emergence of Māori national thought or consciousness – an imagined political community of ‘native New Zealand’ – resembled the early-modern emergence of English and other European nationalisms. This study reveals an historical process in which Christian scripture and liturgies in vernacular languages helped to form a wider collective consciousness in England/Europe, and then argues that a similar process occurred throughout indigenous Niu Tirenī (New Zealand). Critically, it was the daily and weekly *practice* of the Anglican Prayer Book – *Te Rāwiri* – rather than simply its texts or the Bible translations *per se*, that engendered a new language of politics and a new global knowledge concerning pan-tribal nations, their kingly polities, and their God-ordained relationship with whenua (land).

The thesis therefore re-frames the early political history of New Zealand as a history – or histories – formed by texts variously translated and interpreted, printed and discursively reproduced, read and recited, prayed and sung, and institutionally embodied in native assemblies, legal systems and kingships. It argues that this new textual and discursive world was enabled by the immense diffusion of printed texts, constituted a new indigenous or ‘maori’ public sphere, and generated the imagining of new forms of native or supra-tribal political community. Texts also provoked prominent indigenous actors to ‘write back’ against both colony and empire. The thesis suggests a much larger project to recover and map the diverse political languages and deeper *mentalité* that shaped the contested terrain of colonialism in New Zealand.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

This doctoral research in history forms part of a wider Te Apārangi/Royal Society of New Zealand, Marsden-funded project at Massey University, led by Prof. Michael Belgrave, which explores the extent to which a civil society was created or imagined that transcended the scattered European settlements and various Māori polities, allowing the wars of the 1860s to be seen as ‘civil wars’. I especially wish to acknowledge and thank the support of the Marsden Fund, which has enabled me to invest several years of research into this project.

Massey University, especially the School of Humanities and the Graduate Research School, assisted throughout with travel funding and other financial assistance. The Distance Library service at Massey is probably unrivalled in the country; in any event, I used it extensively and books were always delivered promptly to my doorstep.

My research has involved several little journeys of discovery down country lanes, to the original sites of mission and Māori settlements, and into extant nineteenth century libraries. In making these haerenga (journeys), I have been assisted by any number of kaumatua, property owners, librarians, and archivists, only some of whom I mention by name here.

In April 2017, I found my way for the first time to Kāwhia harbour, where kaumatua (elder) Tom Moke graciously spent several hours with me, talking of the ancient and modern history of that place, of Ngāti Māhuta and of the Kīngitanga. On this trip to the Waikato and Bay of Plenty, I also had the pleasure of leafing through A. N. Brown’s nineteenth century library, on the original site of the C.M.S. Te Papa mission settlement in Tauranga, and discovering the world of reading and knowledge that framed and gave meaning to Brown’s missionary world. In addition, I had the privilege of examining the papers of both Evelyn Stokes and Pei te Hurinui Jones at Waikato University Library. I returned to Waikato in 2019, where I spent a couple of hours with kaumatua Mokoro Gillett of Ngāti Hauā, who spoke to me about Wiremu Tāmehana and also guided me to a couple of sites of early significance, including the first mission site at Waharoa and Tārore’s grave.

In keeping with the methodology of tracking down old books in beautiful locations, I also discovered off a narrow Wairarapa country road the hidden wonders of Brancepeth station and homestead in October 2017; here, Edward Beetham kindly showed me over the site, including the old station library building, and then allowed me to browse through the family library in the main homestead. Some of the nineteenth century contents of this library are referenced in the thesis. I completed the Brancepeth libraries picture by visiting the Victoria University library in mid-2019 to see the original station library collection.

On a stay in Palmerston North in the first year of the thesis (2016), I found my way to Grant Hadfield's home near Feilding, where Grant allowed me privileged access to some old family books and papers passed down from the time of Octavius Hadfield. This included an 1848 Māori Prayer Book gifted by Bishop Selwyn to Hadfield, and the copy of a letter from Te Rauparaha to Hadfield not apparently present in any national archive. The letter is significant because it refers to Hadfield's sickness and Rauparaha's feelings of regard for him, and to the building of the Rangiātea church and the new town of Ōtaki.

I visited the Kinder Library at St. John's College in Auckland on at least two occasions and was ably assisted to access *inter alia* the Selwyn papers of Māori correspondence and the old Cathedral Library catalogue. In this vein, I also wish to thank the archivists and staffs of the Alexander Turnbull Library and National Library, and Archives New Zealand, Wellington. The thick Governors' series of duplicate despatches were hauled up from below several times by the untiring staff at Archives NZ. I should also acknowledge the online content of several repositories included in the Bibliography. The Marsden papers online at the Hocken were an important source for chapter one on Marsden's early discussions with Māori concerning the shape of their political future.

Translation of printed texts and correspondence from Māori into English has been an important element of the primary source work for this thesis. I tackled the task of translating the important early text about the life of Peter the Great, printed by the Bishop's Press in 1845 as *Nga Mahi a Pita*. I especially want to acknowledge Tīpene Chrīp for his assistance in reviewing my translations (and translating from scratch one or two shorter pieces, including the copy letter from Te Rauparaha mentioned above).

My supervisors, Prof. Michael Belgrave and Dr. Peter Meihana, at Massey University, and Prof. Mark Hickford, at Victoria University of Wellington, have assisted and encouraged throughout the thesis process and I have always enjoyed our wide-ranging discussions and historiographical forays.

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Ph.D. theses are projects sustained over several years and require various kinds of investment, including financial. I would like to thank the Wilberforce Foundation in this regard for some assistance in the final stages of thesis preparation. Part-time historical

consulting for the Crown Law Office, preceded by some employment at the Office of Treaty Settlements, also assisted me through the thesis period, and I would like to acknowledge my colleagues in those offices for their encouragement.

Lastly, I thank my wife, Hana, and family for their encouragement and support over the years of the thesis.

Nā reira, ka nui te mihi ki a koutou katoa.

Abbreviations and Notes

<i>AJHR</i>	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (New Zealand).
ANBL	A. N. Brown Library, Te Papa ('the Elms'), Tauranga.
ANZ	Archives New Zealand, Wellington
APL	Auckland Public Library
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
BIM	Indicates the numbered bibliography – for example, BIM 19 – in P. G. Parkinson and Penelope Griffith, eds., <i>Books in Māori, 1815-1900/ Ngā tānga reo Māori: an Annotated Bibliography/ Ngā Kohikohinga me ōna Wakamārama</i> (Auckland: Reed, 2004)
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
<i>GBPP</i>	<i>Great Britain Parliamentary Papers</i> , Irish University Press series (Shannon, 1968)
KJV	King James Version/ Authorised Version of English Bible.
HL	Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin
KL	Kinder Library, St John's College, Auckland
N.S.W.	New South Wales
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd. ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)

Note on macrons and spelling in reo Māori (Māori language) sections:

Māori language text that is historic (usually nineteenth century) and originally un-micronized has not been amended with macrons; other text, including quotations from secondary literature, has been micronized, with the exception of titles of books or articles (which follows the 'as published' version).

The spelling of historic (nineteenth century) Māori language text has also not been 'corrected' to accord with modern convention. Where historic text was obviously spelled incorrectly, that has been indicated with '[sic]'. However, for some words, the great variation in spelling means they have been simply left without comment – a leading example is the varying spellings of New Zealand: 'Nu Tireni', 'Nui Tireni', 'Niu Tirani', etc.

List of Illustrations/Images

Inside Cover page:

[p. iii] Extract from 1833 printing of Book of Common Prayer in Māori; personal copy of William Colenso, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Chapter 3:

[p. 104] Page from T. B. Macaulay's *History of England*, from Brancepeth Station Library, Victoria University of Wellington.

Chapter 4:

[p. 131] Inscription and title page from Book of Common Prayer in Māori (1848), Grant Hadfield family collection, Feilding.

[p. 133] Inscription and title page from New Testament, A. N. Brown Library, Te Papa, Tauranga.

[p. 134] Sketch of first church at Paihia by J. Kinder, from L. M. Rogers, *The Early Journals of Henry Williams*.

Chapter 6:

[p. 199] Inscription, title page and extract from Kenehi/Genesis, from Bible of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Introduction

Otira he w[h]akatupuranga w[h]jiriw[h]jiri koutou, he tohungatanga w[h]akakingi, he iwi tapu, he hunga kua riro *i te Atua*; kia w[h]akapuakina ai e koutou te pai ona i karangatia ai koutou i te pouritanga ki tana maramatanga w[h]akamiharo. (1 Pita 2:9)¹

But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. (1 Peter 2:9 [KJV])

The problem for analysis

The main question this thesis poses is how, in the relevant period, Britons of different stripes and Māori of different persuasions imagined the political community or communities that they were part of. The range and nature of these potentially ‘imagined communities’ was wide and variable: from extended family groups to larger kin-groups, supra-tribal nations, the British nation or empire, a geographically-defined community (such as ‘Waikato’ or ‘New Zealand’), a community defined by a political centre such as Queen Victoria or perhaps a native king, or even a universal Christian communion. Working with histories and theoretical models of British and European nationalisms, the thesis seeks to account for the transformations that occurred in indigenous (Māori) thought concerning the nature of the group and its ordering, governance or rule. How can we account for the fact that by the 1850s, many Māori, including older leaders, but especially a rising class of new literate leaders, spoke about political ordering in terms of the introduced languages of law, parliaments or assemblies, and kingships? This is the specific problem analysed in these chapters.

An explanation that relies merely on engagements of certain individuals with British or European institutions is inadequate, partly because only a handful of Māori by 1860 had travelled to Europe and seen the monarch; and those who had audiences earlier in the century, such as Hongi Hika, returned with their ‘tribal’ and ‘traditional’ conceptions largely intact and operative. Many more Māori had witnessed first-hand the early colonial institutions of Governor and his Council, while a settler parliament did not meet until 1854 (and in the heart of settler Auckland). An institutional focus might, and has, produced an account that explains institutional adoption in the narrow terms of ‘mere imitation’ – as the Pākehā (European) historiography of the Māori King Movement has tended to do. But institutional imitation does not explain the depth with which Māori had adopted the new languages of law, supra-tribal ‘nations’ and kingship. It does not, moreover, explain the large ‘loyalist’ (to the British Crown

¹ From the 1841 edition/translation of the New Testament: *Ko te Kawenata Hou o to Tatou Ariki te Kai Wakaora a Ihu Karaiti* (Ranana, 1841).

or Governor) following of many tribes; neither can 'loyalism' be explained by a mere utilitarian calculus that tribes would be politically or economically advantaged.

An explanation of the vital and rigorous use by Māori of the new languages requires a different kind of history that focusses on the diffusion of texts through Māori communities, texts that were capable of capturing Māori hearts and minds. Part of the attraction of these texts – sacred and secular – is that they appeared to speak to the needs of the moment – a prominent need being for new forms of law and socio-political ordering. Again, however, it would be a mistake to overemphasize 'context' at the expense of 'text' (as it would be a mistake to leave it out of the equation).

Since the overarching question of the thesis involves an inquiry into the re-conceptualisation and re-shaping of political communities, I outline here a range of interpretations in the nationalism literature concerning the nature and origins of national consciousness. The historiography of British and European nationalisms will be explored more fully in the body of the thesis. It is outlined here to underscore the centrality of these questions to the thesis framing. This literature also fulfils several key purposes. It firstly provides various interpretive models for understanding the emergence of a 'native', 'Māori' or pan-tribal nationality. Secondly, the examination of various contemporary British understandings of their own nation and empire helps to contextualise the political texts produced by Britons in the period c. 1814-1863. In effect, an analysis of British (or English) history and 'national identity' may be more helpful in understanding key texts – including te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi itself – than a sole focus on the texts themselves or the surrounding immediate political contexts. To quip: to understand the Treaty, or any other New Zealand political text in this period, we need to read in a single analytic frame the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review* and *Christian Observer* in addition to despatches from Governor Hobson or the Colonial Office (for example). That is, the archive of imperial state formation should be read in the broader context of imperial culture and be attuned to still wider global intellectual currents.

The nature and origins of English or British nationalism, and nationalism more broadly, have drawn the attention of many scholars. Jonathan Clark is one who has advocated for an early-modern origin for English nationalism that he argues was constituted by a common inheritance of religion and law. War against outsiders also played a formative role. Never a homogenous entity, English nationalism nevertheless continued to be affiliated with a peculiarly English and, after the sixteenth century, Protestant faith. On English and British nationalism, Clark is on one side of the debate that sees nationalism or nationalist sensibility as pre-dating the emergence of the modern bourgeois liberal state. Rather, an older ethnic or religious form of nationalism and even conceptions of a unique English nation and

providential destiny emerged long before the participative democracies of educated property owners of the later nineteenth century.² Adrian Hastings is another who emphasises earlier, ethnic-religious forms of national consciousness. Hastings located the origins of nationalist sentiment in England in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, identifying its origins in the diffusion of a vernacular literature – Christian scripture and liturgy and then more secular literatures, including law.³ Clark, Hastings and others such as cultural historian Peter Burke disagree that nations are always constructed, especially as a ‘top-down’ project of a modern state; they may instead emerge more organically from a population’s shared history, religion, literature and culture.

The other side of the argument is best represented by Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner, who see nationalism as a peculiarly modern phenomenon that was produced by the emergence of the modern state. In this understanding of nationalism, a single people or *ethnie* is identified with a state or national government and with the bounded territory over which that state has (exclusive) jurisdiction. The nation-state becomes the primary loyalty of the group or people. Such a national consciousness is a by-product of post-French Revolution ‘citizen-states’, with their national printed literatures and state schools. According to these scholars, it was the state formation of the nineteenth century that was a necessary condition for most nationalisms.⁴

Somewhere in the middle of this argument is Benedict Anderson, whose *Imagined Communities* influentially re-framed the study of modern nationalism and continues to define a large cross-section of the debate. Anderson’s focus was Europe’s New World colonies, especially those of South America. He identified the origins of new creole nationalisms as generated by a mix of new newspaper and print cultures in vernacular languages (‘print-capitalism’), a consciousness of separateness deriving from travel (‘pilgrimages’) from the

² See J. C. D. Clark, ‘Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832’, *The Historical Journal* 43/1 (2000): 249-76.

³ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Peter Burke presents a masterly survey and synthesis of the ‘old versus new’ debate on national consciousness, in which he is in basic agreement with Hastings on the significance of religion and vernacular literature (especially scripture and catechism) and the early-modern emergence of some older nationalities, such as Dutch and English: see Peter Burke, ‘Nationalisms and Vernaculars, 1500-1800’, in J. Breuilly, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 9-10, 19; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2nd ed., (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008); another astute survey of the literature on nationalism is C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 199-205, which also outlines the debate between ‘organic’ versions of nations and nationalisms based on shared language, popular religion and attachment to homelands, and the ‘constructed’ or ‘statist’ version of nationalism, as per Hobsbawm, Gellner and Breuilly.

administrative units of the old empires to the centre, and the development by states of vernacular languages of law and administration.⁵ This is merely a thumb-nail sketch of Anderson's quite sophisticated argument about the nature and origins of many new 'imagined political communities' since the eighteenth century – communities 'imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'. Part of the sophistication is contained in Anderson's appreciation that 'nationality and nationalism are cultural artefacts of a particular kind' (in the words of another nationalism scholar, Umut Özkirimli), bearing close resemblances to religion or kinship identities and attachments.⁶

In the debate, therefore, over what produces national consciousness or identity, there are those who emphasize the material forces of state construction, including modern bureaucracies and information distribution capabilities, including state education and print production, while there are those that emphasise more diffuse, 'older' forms of identification such as religious and legal literatures and institutions. The presence of outsiders or war against 'others' – a trope adopted by Lynda Colley in *Britons*, has no doubt played a role in different national formations.⁷

What this debate allows us to appreciate are the differing elements that have gone into the making of nationality or national consciousness. In different societies or contexts these elements will combine differently, and not all will be important, or even present. But parallels or analogies should be capable of being drawn, and various causal effects noted where one or more elements are present. Christopher Bayly, in *The Birth of the Modern World*, affirmed a number of causal factors in the nationalisms of the mid to late-nineteenth century, arguing that 'war was the origin of nationalisms, just as nationalisms caused wars' and that 'the state, urbanization, and print capitalism' also played a part.⁸

While various New Zealand scholars have written on the literacy and print revolution, the focus has often been on the form, rather than the specific content, and the analysis has not usually involved an appraisal of how texts spread and how their content was adopted by a widespread tribal population. This thesis seeks to account for these transformations in mentalities by analysing certain significant texts, by demonstrating their physical diffusion,

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York, 2006).

⁶ Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 3rd ed. (London: Palgrave, 2017), 115; as Anderson noted with hindsight, the book was a mixture of 'historical materialism' and what later came to be called 'discourse analysis' (as noted by Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, 122).

⁷ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); see also Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 204, where Bayly notes that the United States Civil War 'forged more firmly a sense of American nationality, at least among the dominant northern population. After 1865 the word "nation" was heard more often across the North American continent'.

⁸ Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 243.

and by illustrating various ways in which they were taken up and applied in political argument by Māori themselves. Critically, the thesis links this New Zealand literature and fresh analysis of texts to the wider literature on nationalism to provide an explanation of how tribal communities began to re-imagine the various communities to which they (potentially, at least) belonged.

Historiographies

The thesis is concerned to develop an account of the early contact and imperial (or Crown Colony) period of New Zealand's history that engages with various bodies of literature – critically that of print cultures and nationalism, but also other historiographies. In a wider-angle view, the thesis seeks to locate New Zealand evolutions in mentalities and political thought within the framework of parallel or related transformations occurring in other parts of the British empire or 'British world'. That is, the thesis attempts a form of global intellectual history and is concerned with the interplay between metropolitan and imperial (or colonial) contexts as are, each in their own ways, the 'New Imperial History', British world and transnational histories.⁹ In adopting the broader concerns of these historiographies, a key concern is to re-capture the British metropolitan (or domestic) intellectual milieu or, at least, important slices of it.

The significance of this step – recovering British mentalities – was addressed by Christopher Bayly in an important journal article of 1994. Bayly argued that the British needed to be 'returned' to Indian or South Asian history. By this he meant that the full insights of British studies needed to be incorporated into Indian historiography in order to 'refine our view of colonial knowledge and practice in India, and the indigenous engagements with them'. It was churlish to conceptualise 'British culture' as some 'homogenous, timeless essence' and distorting to do so while at the same time postulating this 'British Other' as the principal cause

⁹ For statements on the 'New Imperial History', see Kathleen Wilson, ed., *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Antoinette Burton, 'Rules of Thumb: British History and "Imperial Culture" in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Britain' in S. Howe, ed., *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010): 41-54; and Antoinette Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003): in the introduction Burton characterises the imperial turn as 'not a turn toward empire so much as a *critical return* to the connections between metropole and colony, race and nation, which imperial apologists and dissenters have appreciated at least since the nineteenth century, if not before'; it offers a critique of the 'nation' as 'the sovereign ontological subject' of conventional understandings – the nation 'has no originary moment, no fixity outside of the various discourses of which it is itself an effect'; there is, therefore, a need to pry history writing from its 'narrative contract' with 'the territorially bounded nation-state'; she asks whether it is possible to 'merge centre [or 'home'] and periphery [or 'away'] and posit an imaginative and material space where metropole and colony emerge simultaneously, rather than in a teleological, imperialized sequence?'.

of most major turning points in modern Indian historiography. Instead, the nature of British society, politics and ideology in both metropole and empire needed to be recovered.¹⁰

Equally, New Zealand historiography has been weak on European (British or Pākehā) intellectual formations and political thought. A 'New Zealand school of legal history' is one of the few notable exceptions.¹¹ A key weakness of much New Zealand and treaty historiography has been the tendency to assume large Western (or British) categories as givens, as having uncontested and 'flat' meanings: 'sovereignty', 'government', 'colony', 'empire', 'nation' have been assumed or presumed rather than studied or their contested meanings and intellectual contexts elaborated.¹² There was, however, never a single 'Europe', or 'Britain', nor a single Enlightenment or political modernity.¹³ To assume that there was (or is), or merely to assume

¹⁰ C. A. Bayly, 'Returning the British to South Asian History: the Limits of Colonial Hegemony' (1994), ch. 9 in *Origins of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998): 276-306.

¹¹ Some leading examples of New Zealand intellectual/ legal history, in various modes, are: J. G. A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Tony Ballantyne, 'Remaking the Empire from Newgate: Wakefield's *A Letter from Sydney*', in A. Burton and I. Hofmeyr, eds., *Ten Books that Shaped the British Empire: Creating an Imperial Commons* (Duke University Press, 2014): 29-49; Erik Olssen, 'Mr Wakefield and New Zealand as an Experiment in Post-Enlightenment Experimental Practice', *New Zealand Journal of History* 31/2 (1997): 197-218; Mark Hickford, *Lords of the Land: Indigenous Property Rights and the Jurisprudence of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Paul McHugh, 'The Politics of Historiography and the Taxonomies of the Colonial Past', in A. Musson and C. Stebbings, eds., *Making Legal History: Approaches and Methodologies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 164-95; Damen Ward, 'Civil Jurisdiction, Settler Politics, and the Colonial Constitution, circa 1840-1858', *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review* 39 (2008-9): 497-532; Damen Ward, 'Territory, Jurisdiction, and Colonial Governance: "A Bill to Repeal the British Constitution", 1856-60', *Journal of Legal History* 33/3 (2012): 313-33; Bernard Francis Cadogan, 'Constituting the Settler Colony and Reconstituting the Indigene: the Native Administration and Constitutionalism of Sir George Grey K.C.B during his two New Zealand Governorships (1845-1853, 1861-68) until the outbreak of the Waikato War in 1863', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2010.

¹² A recent departure in treaty literature from an insular (New Zealand) approach to British ideas and contexts is Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti: the Declaration and the Treaty* (Lower Hutt: Legislation Direct, 2014), which rightly, although quite functionally, defines the concept of 'sovereignty' as 'the power to make and enforce law' (but curiously, despite effectively identifying the concept of 'sovereignty' with that of 'government/kāwanatanga', finds that the Māori text of the Treaty of Waitangi did *not* effect a transfer of sovereignty); a recent contextual reading of ideas of property in British and New Zealand contexts is Samuel D. Carpenter, 'The Native Land Laws: Global Contexts of Tenure Reform, Individual and Collective Agency, and the Structure of the 'Māori Economy' – a 'Landless Brown Proletariat'?', report for the Crown Law Office, Wai 2180 inquiry, Waitangi Tribunal, 2019; this report to some extent builds upon the work of Richard Boast, another member of the New Zealand legal-historical school, for example in Richard Boast, *The Native Land Court, 1862-1887: A Historical Study, Cases and Commentary* (Wellington: Brookers, 2013); R. P. Boast, 'The Ideology of Tenurial Revolution: The Pacific Rim 1850-1950', *Law & History* 1/1 (2014): 137-57.

¹³ See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, 2000); see also, Frederick Cooper, 'Postcolonial Studies and the Study of History', in Howe, ed., *The New Imperial Histories Reader*: 75-91.

that political modernity is a 'given', essentially denies European colonists any dynamic history or culture of their own. Opening chapters in this thesis consider the often variable and contested meanings of these terms and entities, especially the differing imaginings or conceptions of the British nation and empire. If Britain and its empire needed 'converting' then it should be obvious that Britain or its empire was not a homogenous entity, but one whose meanings and formations were contested by divergent conglomerations of interests or coteries, among these the Evangelical Anglicans of the 'Clapham sect' and politicians and colonial reformers attached to the New Zealand Company.¹⁴ Bain Attwood has recently produced an extended monograph arguing that sovereignty and native title were made in New Zealand, as compared with Australia and other places, only as the result of complex political and language contestation between these various British coteries and Māori themselves.¹⁵

Relatedly, Christopher Bayly highlighted a major shift in British studies since the 1980s of properly accounting for the ongoing salience of religion, and especially Anglicanism, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in British society and state. He cited authors J. C. D. Clark, Maurice Cowling, Boyd Hilton, and Andrew Porter as leading this historiographical shift.¹⁶ The emphasis on religion has been taken up by other British-world historians more recently, including Angus Hawkins, who argues that in the Victorian era 'politics and religion were intimately intertwined, rather than separate spheres of thought and sentiment. Politics was religious and religion political'.¹⁷ Thus, Hawkins argues, readings of Victorian political thought that marginalise religion are anachronistic and efface a defining characteristic of the age.¹⁸ Hawkins also provides a powerful corrective to standard interpretations of the Victorian age as one of free trade, democracy, individualism, and secularization. In contrast, he identifies ongoing motive forces of the Victorian era, until the late nineteenth century, as 'partisan evocations of the past, the moral nature of politics, and the importance of community, status, and hierarchy'.¹⁹ This argument bears some relation to David Cannadine's

¹⁴ Gareth Atkins, *Converting Britannia: Evangelicals and British Public Life 1770–1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019); see also Lisa Ford, 'Anti-Slavery and the Reconstitution of Empire', *Australian Historical Studies* 45/1 (2014): 71–86.

¹⁵ Bain Attwood, *Empire and the Making of Native Title: Sovereignty, Property and Indigenous People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

¹⁶ Bayly, 'Returning the British', 276–79; and see the edited volumes II and III of *The Oxford History of Anglicanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹⁷ Angus Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture, 'Habits of Heart and Mind'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 8.

¹⁸ See also Timothy Larsen, *A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Empire: Postcolonial Explorations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Simon Skinner, 'Religion', in D. Craig and J. Thompson, eds., *Languages of Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 93–117.

¹⁹ Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, 17 (and see 12–21 for fuller argument).

well known thesis, *contra* Edward Said's emphasis on racial categorisations, concerning the 'ornamentality' of the Victorian elite in their empire, in particular their emphasis on landed property and aristocratic status.²⁰ And Bayly has written in *Birth of the Modern World* about the ongoing significance of hierarchy and religion in the nineteenth century, even as the other currents of liberal individualism emerged strongly by century's end.²¹ John Coffey, Alister Chapman and Brad Gregory have sought to restore the 'religious dimension of ideas' to the programme and framework of intellectual historians.²² In New Zealand, there has been an academic effort to reintegrate the importance of religion in New Zealand's nineteenth-century history; important in this regard, in various registers, have been John Stenhouse, Tony Ballantyne, Lyndsay Head, Peter Lineham, Allan Davidson, and Geoffrey Troughton.²³

The spread of Western political ideas, institutions and culture is of course a phenomenon of the nineteenth century British world and of other parts of the globe, as Christopher Bayly's ground-breaking work in global history demonstrates.²⁴ On the plane of intellectual history,

²⁰ David Cannadine, *Ornamentality: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2001); but see the various perceptive critiques of this, including Mrinalini Sinha, '“Signs Taken for Wonders”: the Stakes for Imperial Studies', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 3/1 (2002) suggesting that Cannadine's methodological intervention (or rehabilitation) is to explain the empire in terms of metropolitan status hierarchies and social (or cultural) perceptions, yet the analogies are incomplete and fractured and Cannadine has ignored power relations and expediency; a similarly balanced and thoughtful critique in the same journal volume is Peter H. Hoffenberg, 'David Cannadine and the Decline and Fall of Britain's Imperial Aristocracy', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 3/1 (2002), which argues that Cannadine's 'is a partial social history of British imperialism with the politics left out', that 'Cannadine's elites seem to play in splendid isolation, as if others are neither seen nor heard', and that far more influential on the empire's future were the middle-class professionals, businessmen, bureaucrats and nationalists who 'projected abroad their social structure and social perceptions' in places like Manchester, Sydney and Bombay (it might be added, and Nelson and Wellington – for which see chapter two); and see Tony Ballantyne's Introduction to this special issue, 'Debating Empire', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 3/1 (2002).

²¹ Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*.

²² Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

²³ See, for example, John Stenhouse, 'God's Own Silence: Secular Nationalism, Christianity and the Writing of New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History* 38/1 (2004): 52-71; Tony Ballantyne, 'Christianity, Colonialism and Cross-Cultural Communication', in J. Stenhouse, ed., *Christianity, Modernity and Culture: New Perspectives on New Zealand History* (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2005): 23-57; Peter Lineham, *Sunday Best: How the Church Shaped New Zealand and New Zealand Shaped the Church* (Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017); Allan Davidson, et al., eds., *Te Rongopai 1814, "Takoto te pai!": Bicentenary Reflections on Christian Beginnings and Developments in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Auckland: Te Hāhi Mihinare ki Aotearoa, 2014); Geoffrey Troughton and Stuart Lange, eds., *Sacred Histories in Secular New Zealand* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016). The historiographical debate on the nature and effects of Christian print literacy on Māori society is outlined later in the thesis (see chapter 4).

²⁴ Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*; see also C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: the British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London: Longman, 1989).

Bayly's impressive work on Indian political thought 'in the age of liberalism and empire' sought to locate Indian thought from the early nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century in the context of the worldwide spread of Western liberal ideas and Western empire. Bayly described this as a contribution to the developing field of 'global intellectual history'. He sought to illuminate the ways in which Western constitutional, legal and historical thought was 'reconstructed and re-authored' by Indian intellectuals, who were responding out of their own social contexts and intellectual traditions, and reacting to the geo-political influence increasingly being exercised by the East India Company on the subcontinent.²⁵

Bayly's work provides a methodology for an intellectual history where there are few canonical texts and where the context is explicitly 'imperial' – in which dynamic interactions between metropole and colony, their texts and contexts, are fully appraised. Such a methodology is relevant for the islands of New Zealand, which were also caught up within the expansion of the British empire. The British constructed histories and mythologies for the indigenous in both New Zealand and India (as in other locations of empire), in which they both compared these histories with, and distinguished them from, their own.²⁶ Moreover, we can place in the same historic frame the ways in which indigenous leaders in these and other places explored the British world and its political and economic ideas.

Alongside Bayly's account of the dynamic character of indigenous political thought as it interacted with Western ideas, we can consider the instructive approaches of Bernard Cohn towards an historical anthropology of cultural change. In important methodological articles, Cohn argued for an approach concerned with 'the delineation of cultures, the location of these in historical time through the study of events which affect and transform structures, and the explanation of the consequences of these transformations'.²⁷ A significant, new event becomes a 'marker within the cultural system', and its repetition through public and private ritual 'transforms uniqueness into structure'. This repetition of a 'unique' event has the potential over time to create new 'tradition'.²⁸ Thus, in Eric Hobsbawm's important phrase, tradition is

²⁵ C. A. Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3-4, 42; see also Andrew Sartori, *Liberalism in Empire: An Alternative History* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014); and the papers in Milinda Banerjee and Kerstin Von Lingen, eds., 'Forum: Law, Empire, and Global Intellectual History', *Modern Intellectual History* (2018).

²⁶ cf. Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

²⁷ Bernard S. Cohn, 'Anthropology and History in the 1980s: Towards a Rapprochement', in *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987): 50-77, at 73.

²⁸ Bernard S. Cohn, 'History and Anthropology: the State of Play', in *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987): 18-49, at 45.

‘invented’.²⁹ Other, helpful framings of cultural change are Marshall Sahlins’s concept of culture as structure but one which is nevertheless subject to historical contingency (including external influences) and key moments where individual agency comes to the fore and effects structural change, which he termed ‘the structure of the conjuncture’.³⁰ Still other models are Richard White’s concept of the ‘middle ground’ of ‘new systems of meaning and of exchange’ that were created – partly out of mutual misunderstandings – between indigenes and European traders and settlers in a context of loose imperial control.³¹ Also insightful is South-Indian scholar Eugene Irschick’s concept of a ‘dialogic process’, in which imperial legal-political orders emerged through a complex dialogue between introduced colonial ideas and knowledge and indigenous cultural forms and responses.³² The possibility that new knowledge or cultural forms develop as a hybrid of imperial, colonial (or creole) and indigenous language and culture is explored generally through the thesis.

In terms of New Zealand scholarship, as Michael Belgrave, Tony Ballantyne and others have recently argued, Māori society and culture was flexible and adaptable, the product of historical processes rather than a static phenomenon.³³ New Zealand historiography through the 1970s-90s period was largely pre-occupied with the ‘new social history’ and with the legal-political and economic transformations wrought by colonisation, including the massive transference of the landed estate from indigenes to colonisers.³⁴ More recently, scholars have become interested (again) in underlying intellectual and cultural changes in indigenous society

²⁹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

³⁰ Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), vii-xiv (‘...cultural change, externally induced yet indigenously orchestrated, has been going on for millennia’); Marshall Sahlins, *How “Natives” Think About Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995);

³¹ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, 20th anniv. ed., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

³² Eugene F. Irschick, *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795-1895* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

³³ Michael Belgrave, *Historical Frictions: Māori Claims and Reinvented Histories* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005), 16-25; Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Māori, and the Question of the Body* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 60; see also, Mark Hickford, ‘Interpreting the Treaty – Questions of native title, territorial government and searching for constitutional histories’, in B. Patterson, R. S. Hill, and K. Patterson, eds., *After the Treaty: the Settler State, Race Relations and the Exercise of Power in Colonial New Zealand* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2016), 92-131; and Hirini Kaa, ‘He Ngākau Hou: Te Hāhi Mihinare and the Renegotiation of Mātauranga, c. 1800-1992’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Auckland, 2014; Hirini Kaa, *Te Hāhi Mihinare: The Māori Anglican Church* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020).

³⁴ Erik Olssen, ‘Where To From Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-Century Historiography of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History* 26/1 (1992): 54-77; and Waitangi Tribunal research and reports generally.

consequent on engagement with Europe. Ballantyne, for one, has recently contributed a nuanced assessment of how European cultural modalities affected Māori society.³⁵

In the sphere of political thought, Lyndsay Head has contributed a range of studies and insights. Her scholarship adopts a particular framing and focus that differs in important respects from this thesis, but also contains some basic similarities in approach. Head frames her various studies using the language of Māori adoption of ‘modernity’, which is often equated to the acceptance of ‘citizenship’ in a modern ‘state’ introduced by the British (or Pākehā). Her Ph.D. thesis was focussed on changing conceptions of chiefly authority – from personal mana (authority) in relation to hapū (tribe) to the ownership of land in a territorial, Western sense. Land became, according to Head, the new nexus of the chief-tribe relationship because it constituted the nexus of the new indigenous-imperial relationship. Although she alludes to other linguistic and conceptual shifts, including new pan-tribal conceptions of the nation, in which the biblical texts played a role, she does not follow these (particular) changes through analysis of these texts or closely model how conceptions of the group became reconstructed and extended.³⁶ While Head’s insights are many and varied, and her framework of modernity and citizenship is helpful because it points to the wider context of engagements with Europe, this terminology is not situated in the early to mid-nineteenth century itself. That is, Head does not attempt, in a focussed way, to contextualise Pākehā (British/ Western) intellectual and linguistic inheritances.

Head is also interested in reconstructing a picture of Māori society in the pre-contact era, as important background against which to assess subsequent intellectual and cultural change. This thesis does not attempt such a reconstruction, but rather takes the recent literature on Māori society as a starting point – the scholarship of Head, along with Angela Ballara and Te Maire Tau, being leading but also contrasting exemplars of a heterogeneous field.³⁷ The question of re-constructing pre-contact Māori society and then charting changes to its form and content is not of course a new historiographical concern, but one that is as old as the onset of empire and colonisation (or ‘colonialism’) itself. Older Western models, which all recent

³⁵ Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire*.

³⁶ Lyndsay Head, ‘Land, Authority and the Forgetting of Being in Early Colonial Maori History’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Canterbury, 2006; Lyndsay Head, ‘The pursuit of modernity in Maori society: the conceptual bases of citizenship in the early colonial period’, in A. Sharp and P. McHugh, eds., *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past – A New Zealand Commentary* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001): 97-121.

³⁷ Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c. 1769 to c. 1945* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998); Angela Ballara, *Taua: ‘Musket Wars’, ‘Land Wars’, or Tikanga? Warfare in Māori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003); Te Maire Tau, ‘Property Rights in Kaiapoi’, *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review* 47 (2016): 677-98.

scholarship distances itself from, assumed that Māori society would be overtaken or absorbed by a superior civilization of the Pākehā; Māori would survive only as they adopted British ways. The scholarship has moved some distance (and various universes, in some cases) away from conceptualising the change as the inevitable victory of a superior civilization. The ‘what’, ‘why’, and ‘how’ of cultural change is now an avid subject of debate – one to which this thesis seeks to contribute new analysis (and narratives) in the sphere of political thought, especially in a linguistically focussed analysis of particular, significant texts.

Recent New Zealand scholarship has also tended to emphasise Māori agency in cultural and socio-political change, with Ballantyne and Head being two leading examples of this. The subject is a vexed one across the varied field of New Zealand historiography, including Treaty-claims and Tribunal historiography: to what extent were Māori authors of change – agents of their own destiny – or, alternatively, to what extent was this foisted upon them by external cultural, religious, legal and political forces? Even if they had agency, how narrow or wide were the range of choices? Such questions are not unique to New Zealand historiography, but rather concern a quite diverse literature on the effects of imperial regimes on indigenous societies, or rather, indigenous responses to empire. Still other studies have examined the way in which empire was always contested – intellectually and institutionally – by various indigenous responses to it.³⁸ Such contests are seen in this study, but they are grounded in an appraisal of how Western or British ideas and institutions became tools of change and transformation in indigenous (Māori) society as well as tools of resistance to imperial or colonial authority.

Some scholars seem unconvinced of much intellectual or cultural change at all, instead picturing the steady retention of indigenous culture, even into the present day. Anthropologist, Anne Salmond’s recent *Tears of Rangi* is a leading example of this.³⁹ Salmond’s analysis is framed by ‘different worlds’ in exchange and ‘contest’. She allows for the possibility that ‘new ways of thinking’ and ‘new forms of order’ might emerge, but the sense that *mentalité* – or ‘ontologies’ – might be turned upside down or transformed (especially if they are Māori or indigenous) is not a feature of her narratives.⁴⁰ The Waitangi Tribunal recently assessed

³⁸ See, for example, Antoinette Burton, *The Trouble with Empire: Challenges to Modern British Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

³⁹ Anne Salmond, *Tears of Rangi: Experiments Across Worlds* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017).

⁴⁰ Thus Salmond’s subtitle to *Tears of Rangi* is ‘Experiments Across Worlds’, which by itself suggests that the different worlds do not fundamentally alter; although ‘innovations’ might occur in a ‘middle ground’; even historical debates at a Tribunal hearing in 2010 are characterised by Salmond as ‘ontological struggles’ between ‘different worlds’: 2-3, 16-18, 203; see also Michael Belgrave, Review of *Tears of Rangi: Experiments Across Worlds*, Reviews in History (review no. 2281) DOI: 10.14296/RiH/2014/2281 (accessed, 10 March 2020): Belgrave has insightfully analysed Salmond’s framework: ‘in the end both the Māori and the European ontologies are idealised and universalised

closely the extent of economic and cultural changes among northern tribal groups prior to 1840. It concluded that while some changes were ‘undeniably significant’, these ‘occurred in ways that were consistent with Māori laws and values’. The basic contention was that Māori were still in control of the process of change, Māori authority and social structures were largely intact, and Christianity had been ‘incorporated’ with older belief systems. The possibility that new practices (including religious ones) and new texts (and their mentalities and ontologies) had led to important departures from the old world was given little credence.⁴¹

Lyndsay Head, probably towards the other end of the ‘change’ spectrum of interpretations, is critical of ‘anthropological stasis’ and the idea (*contra* Salmond *et al.*) that ‘two worlds’ meet at 1840; she is rather concerned to chart how changes in mentalities developed or emerged through contingent historical events and entanglements in the nineteenth century (and earlier in the later part of the eighteenth century).⁴² This thesis tends to adopt more of the Head interpretation and methodology; however even with reputedly ‘anglophile’ chiefs (Head’s description) such as Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, a ‘middle course’ (my phrase) is still suggested by his overall approach to the new era of the Pākehā. In many ways, his approach is a forerunner or prototype of Apirana Ngata’s whakatauki to the effect ‘cherish the traditions and memory of your tūpuna but also embrace the new technologies of the Pākehā’. This whakatauki is perhaps also reflected in (what might be called) a Ngāti Porou tradition of tribal historiography, which emphasises indigenous agency in the reformulation of mentalities (and ontologies) through the adoption of Western ideas. In Hirini Kaa’s formulation, Māori chose Christianity for their own cultural and context-based reasons: Christianity became a ‘site’, a ‘tool’ and a ‘space’ to re-evaluate and renegotiate indigenous or tribal identity and cultural knowledge (mātauranga) in changing times. Kaa approves of Aroha Harris’ phraseology, that there was both cultural change and cultural persistence. Indigenous ontologies were transformed but in a way that made sense of what was already there prior to Christianity and

and very distinct. They govern perceptions of self and of others and they create between them an almost unsurmountable gulf. In her earlier books, the two worlds were social and economic and well as intellectual spaces, but in *Tears of Rangi* they are almost entirely intellectual. Economics and society do not exist alongside ideas; they flow from them’; ‘Salmond sees the engagement between her two worlds as creative, but in *Tears of Rangi*, there is little evidence of synthesis over the centuries of contact: the worlds are separate in the 18th century and they remain separate today, this despite her evidence of some Māori use of the language of modernity’; ‘Salmond’s idealised worlds appear to me too hard edged, too impermeable and too non-transferable. They do not allow enough space for the huge degree of intellectual and cultural engagement which has taken place within the Māori world through its renewed contact with the world beyond Aotearoa after 1830, despite her hope that te ao Māori may show the way in reforming a damaged globe’.

⁴¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti: the Declaration and the Treaty* (Lower Hutt: Legislation Direct, 2014), 283.

⁴² See, for example, Head, ‘Land, Authority and the Forgetting of Being’, 38, 54.

other Pākehā intellectual influences.⁴³ Still, this appears to be going some way beyond what either Salmond or the Northland Tribunal admit.

The Hirini Kaa reasoning and framing of Māori (or Ngāti Porou) cultural change seems more akin to that of Tim Rowse, who argues that if indigenous leaders engaged with Western thought then their engagements, adoptions and adaptations should be understood as part of indigenous agency and thus part of ‘indigenous political discourse’.⁴⁴ This thesis adopts a similar approach to understanding indigenous engagements with Pākehā political discourse, while recognising that agency was sometimes freer, sometimes more constrained, and that what individual Māori and groups did with their agency varied widely. The thesis will explore something of the range of incorporations, adoptions and applications of British ideas across a number of key Māori leaders, principally Hone Heke Pokai, Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, and Wiremu Tāmehana Tarapīpi. The possibility that there were critical breaks with the past must also be allowed, as the following outline of thesis methodology indicates.

In summary, while the thesis shares, with the ‘New Imperial History’, a concern to ‘de-centre the metropole’, it is also the case that metropolitan texts (scripture, prayer book, histories, geographies) were those doing much of the work in reshaping mentalities at the periphery. Equally, however, metropolitan political languages and institutions were not static, but were themselves reformist and revolutionary in the context of late-eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth century Britain and Europe. The thesis is concerned to recover the dynamic and contested nature of political thought both in its metropolitan and imperial contexts, including the way that metropolitan texts were reshaped for an indigenous (‘maori’) audience and were further reshaped by indigenous protagonists. The thesis therefore re-frames the early political history of New Zealand as a history – or histories – formed by texts variously translated and interpreted, printed and discursively reproduced, read and recited, prayed and sung, and institutionally embodied in native assemblies, legal systems and kingships. It argues that this

⁴³ Hirini Kaa, ‘He Ngākau Hou’; see also Monty Soutar, ‘Ngāti Porou Leadership: Rapata Wahawaha and the Politics of Conflict’, Ph.D. thesis, Massey University, 2000; Monty Soutar, ‘He Iwi Piri Pono – Loyalty to the Crown, an Iwi Perspective’, in J. Crawford and I. McGibbon, eds., *Tutu te Puehu: New Perspectives on the New Zealand Wars* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2018): 290-308; and the Ngāti Porou historical account in their Deed of Settlement (2010): see especially, pages 12-13, including the statement at para 2.3: ‘Central to the relationship [with the Crown] was the stimulus of Christianity. In 1834 the Church of England became the first denomination to preach the gospel to Ngāti Porou, and its missionaries were rewarded by a major tribal spiritual allegiance to the Anglican faith. At the same time, Queen Victoria was introduced not only as the British monarch and head of state, but also as the Defender of the Faith and head of the Anglican Church. For many Ngāti Porou this interconnection of Church and Crown and their manifestations of religion and law was a consistent theme in their relationship with the Crown.’

⁴⁴ Tim Rowse, ‘The Identity of Indigenous Political Thought’, in L. Ford and T. Rowse, eds., *Between Indigenous and Settler Governance* (New York: Routledge, 2012): 95-107.

new textual and discursive world was enabled by the immense diffusion of printed texts, constituted a new indigenous or 'maori' public sphere, and generated the imagining of various new forms of native or supra-tribal political community. Texts also provided new intellectual resources or knowledge that enabled prominent indigenous actors to 'write back' against both colony and empire.

Methodologies

This thesis is a study of changes in *mentalités* (mentalities/ modes of thought/ world views characteristic of a group) concerning the political sphere through the analysis of various kinds of texts in local contexts. In methodological terms the thesis is, in the first instance, a piece of intellectual history – an attempt, following John Pocock and Quentin Skinner, to recover or reconstruct the 'languages' of political debate. This 'Cambridge School' intellectual history mode attempts to recover the intent or meaning of words and arguments from their linguistic formulations or 'language games'. At one level, such 'language games' are the forms or 'use' of language used in a body of related texts of the same period. At another level, such linguistic formulations and their modifications and evolutions are read in a broader context of political argument and institutions to see how they fitted into the wider landscape of political thought.⁴⁵ Recent developments in digital humanities are enabling intellectual historians and political scientists to access big data contained in a large corpus of texts. This thesis uses various digitised databases to search for words and word forms, including the New Zealand newspapers on Papers Past and the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHRs), but such quantitative or 'empirical' methods are a secondary source or methodology used to buttress or inform the interpretations produced by a more orthodox or 'hermeneutical' approach in which particular texts are read closely.⁴⁶

In addition to an intellectual historical focus on the meaning and interpretation of texts, the analysis works on at least three levels, or with three interrelated sets of subject-matter: analysis of changes in conception or 'consciousness' of the group or 'collectivity'; analysis of changes in political ideas that intersected with and provoked alterations in group consciousness; and analysis of networks of people or particular local contexts in which new ideas became embedded (often in novel ways). When these various strands were combined in actual situations, then we can observe transformations in political community – of the forms of political community that were imagined and then instantiated. That is, these

⁴⁵ The classic statement is Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory* 8/1 (1969): 3-53; see also J. G. A., *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁴⁶ For a recent appraisal of the potential to use 'empirical' and 'hermeneutical' approaches together, see Jennifer A. London, 'Re-imagining the Cambridge School in the Age of Digital Humanities', *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (2016): 351-73.

transformations often (or usually) began at the level of thought and were then adopted in practice, in response also to various local pressures and political circumstances. Kingship is a central theme or motif running through the thesis; it first appears as a discussion point between Samuel Marsden and rangatira (tribal leaders) in the 1820s, and in the 1850s it becomes a concrete, embodied reality in the form of the native king and his supporting institutions of council/rūnanga, new law codes, and a printing press. The political contexts of this adoption of course played a causal role, but the idea of kingship, as carried in various European narratives and texts, was the ideational driver of change.

The principal working model of the thesis is that changes in mentalities begin with changes in language and are firmly altered when language is embodied in new practices and institutions. This process is of course contextual: mentalities also experience change through lived experience of exposure to new institutions and social practices. Even here, though, new language will be required to describe or explain these new phenomenon, or old language is applied to new things. This is perhaps simply to underline the insights of intellectual historical methodology: that texts will always have contexts, including inter-textual or discursive contexts, and wider political, economic and institutional contexts. In the first instance, however, my basic working assumption is that when new language begins to infuse or suffuse speech, then thought alters. It can sometimes alter radically. The alteration in thought can only occur, of course, once individuals and groups adopt this new language in their own speech and discourse. Changes of meaning do not therefore operate autonomously or independently of human agents. Perhaps the central example that runs like a thread through this thesis is the examination of the word 'iwi', its new applications in scriptural texts and to contemporary geopolitics of the nineteenth century. My argument is that when the word was applied within an expanded universe of knowledge about different peoples, nations, states and empires, this process stretched and altered the indigenous understanding of the term. Once these linguistic shifts happened, then the altered term began to re-assert itself within the wider political and institutional milieu. The term iwi did not remain an appellation for a broader kin-group or a generic group or 'people': it started to acquire political and institutional shape when dispersed and politically disconnected iwi/tribes/peoples began to re-assert themselves in pan-iwi form. Of course, there were political and economic drivers, but the linguistic and discursive changes were intellectual resources that enabled new institutional forms to emerge.

The methodological musings of the cultural (and historical) anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, have also been formative for the analysis pursued in this thesis. Geertz often considered the relationship between 'politics' and 'culture' and was very much, in his own way, concerned with 'context'. He explored how to simultaneously develop an empirical analysis or narrative

while drawing out the essential drivers or cultural structures embedded in the empirical data.⁴⁷ Geertz, influentially, described his methodology of interpreting culture or understanding its ‘meaning’ as ‘thick description’, involving detailed accounts of cultural forms, symbols and practices based on close observation. The methodology of intellectual history is similarly concerned with close analysis and interpretation of the meaning of texts in context. A large part of the interpretive exercise in this thesis is concerned with how background or sub-surface mentalities were shaping texts and political argument, but also how political argument in new or different contexts was re-inscribing mentalities. What I am after is, in a sense, what Geertz identified so adroitly:

In finished anthropological [or historical] writings,... this fact – that what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to – is obscured because most of what we need to comprehend a particular event, ritual, custom, idea, or whatever is insinuated as background information before the thing itself is directly examined.⁴⁸

What Geertz was talking about here was the deeper or underlying presuppositions and mentalities that give shape and meaning to texts, linguistic forms (‘language games’), political and social structures. Therefore, what we need, in writing a fully-fledged intellectual history for early New Zealand, is to recover the rich data, the perceptions and conceptions, that were embedded within the mental framework of Britons before they even arrived in New Zealand.

One way of doing this is to step back from a political history of events – whether it be of the Treaty of Waitangi, or the New Zealand Wars, or the machinations of the first settler parliaments – and attempt an analysis of key texts that variously shaped and reflected the intellectual milieu. The methodological challenge, then, is to show how the generality of mentalities revealed in histories, poetry, periodical essays, plays, and novels can be connected meaningfully to the specific political debates and cogitations of the 1830s-60s period. This, to quote Geertz again, is the challenge of joining or relating ‘a chaos of incident’ in political life to the ‘cosmos of sentiment’ revealed in more considered texts (or symbols or belief systems).⁴⁹ But it is to attempt, to employ another linguistic formulation, a kind of cultural history of politics – that is, that political ideas are not viewed as autonomous entities (or texts) divorced from everyday life, but neither are they mere epiphenomena of other processes, the mere by-products of interested individuals engaged in profit-maximising or pleasure-maximising

⁴⁷ See, for example, Clifford Geertz, ‘The Politics of Meaning’ (1972), ch. 11 in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 2000): 311-26.

⁴⁸ Clifford Geertz, ‘Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture’ (1973), ch. 1 in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 2000): 3-30, at 9.

⁴⁹ Geertz, ‘The Politics of Meaning’, 311.

activity. As Geertz argued: ‘Culture, here, is not cults and customs, but the structures of meaning through which men give shape to their experience; and politics is not coups and constitutions, but one of the principal arenas in which such structures publicly unfold’. The ultimate scholarly goal, as he described it in another piece of fine prose, is to gain ‘an understanding of how it is that every people gets the politics it imagines’.⁵⁰

This is an apt way to foreground the study that unfolds in this thesis, as the subject-matter or rather principal interpretive task is to understand how Britons of different stripes and Māori of different persuasions imagined the political community or communities that they were part of.

Outline of chapters

Chapter one locates the thesis geographically in the New Zealand isles, commencing in the second decade of the century. It examines the constitutionalist language introduced by Samuel Marsden in his discussions with New Zealand chiefs. Marsden, speaking from within an *ancien régime* mentality of British political thought – before the Age of Reform – discussed the idea of juries and kingship and proposed a native New Zealand king. Such concepts did not however find fertile ground, although some chiefs recognised the need for a different kind of legal order in the context of damaging musket-fuelled wars. British Resident, James Busby, took political discourse considerably further, proposing to some leading chiefs in the North Island that they form a governing assembly to make laws binding on all tribes and individuals. This proposal was taken up and adopted in a Declaration of Independence, 1835. Chapter one explores the various intellectual roots of these discussions; it ponders how the language of the Declaration in the native language was both incommensurate with the English translation or original text, but also how the language of a new constitutionalist discourse and the idea of supra- or pan-tribal authority began to seep into the native language of political community.

In chapter two, the thesis takes in a wide-angle view of political thought about the British nation and its empire. The early-to-mid nineteenth century was a dynamic period in the British world, whether metropole, colonies of settlement, or the empire. In the metropole, the formal bounds of the political community or voting nation underwent significant change through the repeal of legislation keeping Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics from public office, followed by the expansion and realignment of the electorate accomplished by the Great Reform Act 1832 to reflect the growth of industrial towns and cities and the spread of wealth and literacy. Crop failures and economic crises pushed the lower socio-economic orders

⁵⁰ Geertz, ‘The Politics of Meaning’, 311-12; I have attempted to reflect this methodology and conception of how cultural/intellectual change works in diagrammatic fashion, with an intellectual historian’s emphasis on the interpretation of ‘texts’: see [Appendix A: a layers of texts methodology](#).

to look for new livings in the colonies, while members of the landed and commercial classes looked for new capital investments, including in colonies to be created. In imperial governance, there were crises in the old commercial empires in the West and East Indies, and in the formal empire, constitutional crises and movements for colonial reform and self-government in the Canadas and Australasia. Chapter two explores these transformations, but especially the movement and ideology of colonial reform of the 1830s-40s, some leading proponents of which had significant New Zealand connections. It explores this group of men, their metropolitan and colonial networks, and the idea of a colony they pursued, which was oppositional towards the existing forms of imperial government.

With chapter three, the thesis moves to interrogate the mentalities undergirding or explaining the phrase ‘he iwi tahi tatou’ – we are one people-nation – spoken by Hobson at the Waitangi signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi. This inquiry involves canvassing the meanings of British nationality or ‘the nation’ at 1840 and asking about how the British in New Zealand – or a sub-set of them – conceptualised the way they related to other communities incorporated into the British empire. Whereas chapter two examined how the colonial reformers imagined colonies as separate political communities from the metropole and its Imperial Parliament, this chapter is concerned more with an ‘Anglican’ or Clapham-Evangelical conception of English national and imperial political community as it related to or comprised other people-nations such as Māori. This chapter in part conducts a book history version of intellectual history based on research in several (partially) extant New Zealand libraries dating from the nineteenth century. It also canvasses more fully a recent literature on British (or English) nationalism.

Chapter four situates itself in texts that constitute a central argument of this thesis: the texts of Christian scripture and, in particular, the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) of the Church of England, as these were translated into the native tongue, te reo Māori. The chapter explores three mechanisms that conveyed to indigenous minds new conceptions of global political order: first, *the content* of the Māori Prayer Book emphasized a ‘world of nations’ that was driven by a dualism between God’s iwi or people-nation (Israel) and the other iwi-nations of the world; second, *the practice* of the Prayer Book daily and weekly reinforced this dichotomy or new *mentalité*; and third, while this practice was readily entered into by a people attuned to orality, *the printing* of the Prayer Book in large numbers and its distribution through the country via mission stations quickly enabled the spread of this new practice and new ontology (or *mentalité*) of a world of nations. The methodology and assumptions of this argument in linguistic changes to core indigenous words have been indicated above by reference to the word ‘iwi’. The argument is also modelled on the nationalising effects that the vernacular forms of the Bible, BCP and other catechetical works had on the emergence of British and other

European nationalisms. The chapter also examines an illustration of the effects on Māori mentalities in various statements of Hone Heke Pokai during the mid-1840s Northern War. While scholars such as Tony Ballantyne and Lyndsay Head have applied similar insights from imperial contexts and analyses of Māori texts and correspondence, this chapter goes further in building a more comprehensive model of how Christian print culture was diffused through print volumes and mission networks, and how and why particular parts of the scriptures were imbibed by Māori readers and reciters. The emphasis on the Prayer Book and its practice rather than biblical literacy *per se* is a new argument for early New Zealand that seems to carry significant explanatory power in tracing the emergence of a pan-tribal or ‘national’ idea in Māori consciousness.

Chapter five moves the focus from sacred to secular texts, although the British (or Pākehā) authors of these particular texts were invariably Anglican clergy or laity. While the printings of the Bible and Prayer Book carried on in large print runs during the 1840s and 50s, the Bishop’s Press at St. John’s College began printing texts comprising basic narratives of British and European history, geography and law. Judge William Martin and/or Lady Martin were the authors of a trilogy of texts that are analysed in this chapter concerning, respectively, King Peter the Great of Russia, the laws of the English, and the ancestors of the English (up until about the eighth century). The chapter appraises how these texts were intended to continue the education of a new Christianized and civilized Māori society. The intellectual and contextual sources of these tropes are reflected on throughout the thesis, including Enlightenment stadialism or conjectural models of the staged development of civilization, along with more particular, British-English historiographical traditions of understanding government and constitution. This chapter continues a linguistically based analysis and asks questions about how Māori readers understood these texts, especially as to conceptions of collectivity and authority (or political community). Where possible it also identifies the print runs and distribution channels of these texts. This linguistic and diffusionist model partially stands in (here, at least) for minimal extant records where Māori refer themselves to these texts. The messages of these texts, including the abandoning of traditional practices of warfare in favour of a new form of civility based on settled agriculture and legal adjudication of disputes can also be triangulated with Māori discourse of the 1850s and 1860s (and later periods). Therefore, these texts fill in an intellectual history of political thought in the Māori language.

The final two substantive chapters – chapters six and seven – move from a focus on printed texts produced by Europeans and the ways they were distributed through and read by tribal New Zealand, to an analysis of particular texts and correspondence of Tāmihana te Rauparaha and Wiremu Tāmehana Tarapīpī Te Waharoa, respectively. This more biographical

approach – which was partially pursued in an earlier section of chapter three on Hone Heke’s correspondence – seeks to interpret how this new intellectual milieu and indigenous public sphere created by printed texts in the native language was reflected in political argument by two prominent Māori leaders of the period. Chapter six attempts an intellectual biography of Te Rauparaha (the son) as he encountered the texts, practices and institutions of British Christianity and British Government (‘Kāwanatanga’). Although Te Rauparaha – ‘Katu’ before he became ‘Tamihana’ – was an influential figure in the tribal and colonial landscape of the southern North Island in the 1840s-60s period, and he is known in the orthodox accounts of the Kīngitanga as its initial promoter – an interpretation examined critically in this chapter – his correspondence has not been closely analysed in the secondary literature. By contrast, the actions and correspondence of Wiremu Tāmehana have been extensively cited in accounts of the emergence of the Kīngitanga and in the political debates that raged in the mid-1850s-early 1860s period; however, the intellectual sources of his thought – the world of texts that he read – have not been adequately considered for the most part. Thus, chapter seven deals not with the considerable extant record of Wiremu Tāmehana Tarapīpī but with a single piece of political argument he sent to the governor in 1861. This argued for a Māori king based on scriptural authority and secular geo-politics. As such it represents or encapsulates a central argument of the thesis concerning how Māori imbibed scriptural language and paradigms – including that of kingship – and a new comprehension of global geo-politics to refashion or reshape their tribal society with new conceptions and materials.

The thesis can be understood therefore as a (partial) survey and analysis of political argument over some 50 years, c. 1814-1863, in which the growth of new forms of political discourse can be observed, forms introduced mostly through encounters with European texts, alongside European institutions. How these transformed Māori conceptions of their own tribal or kin-based societies is a subject explored throughout the thesis. The thesis suggests a much larger project to recover and map the various political languages and deeper *mentalité* that shaped the contested terrain of colonialism in New Zealand.

Chapter 1: Constitution, Nation and Empire: Early Political Thought in New Zealand, c. 1814-1840

Introduction

By 1840, British political thought had for some decades conceived the native New Zealander as a future civilized man, and the islands of New Zealand as a constitutional place or space. In 1840, Thomas Babington Macaulay gave the imprimatur of his literary flair and historical imagination to this future destiny of the New Zealanders in words that were afterwards frequently alluded to by contemporaries. Macaulay, writing in the *Edinburgh Review* of the longevity of the Catholic Church as empires and governments had risen and fallen, imagined that the Church ‘may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St Paul’s’.¹ Macaulay had employed a similar image in 1824 in a review of Mitford’s *History of Greece*, in which his more youthful mind had conjured ‘savage [English] hymns chaunted to some misshapen idol over the ruined dome of our proudest temple’, and other such lurid portraits.² Macaulay, of course, echoed Edward Gibbon some half century before when Gibbon had written of the Rome of his day now ‘devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once savage, countries of the North’.³ Those pilgrims, once savage, now civilized, displayed the triumph of empire’s intellectual influence – despite the fall of empire itself. As Macaulay imagined it, the ‘intellectual empire’ of Greece was ‘imperishable’.⁴

Although these were lurid literary imaginings, they reflected real anxieties about the contingency and dynamism of contemporary British empire.⁵ At the same time, they expressed a ‘civilizational perspective’ that was shared by most of the elite if not the middling classes of British society.⁶ In this version of ‘philosophic history’ or ‘conjectural history’, civilization would spread to the uttermost ends of the earth, even if the various empires that carried it did

¹ [T. B. Macaulay], ‘Ranke’s History of the Popes’, *Edinburgh Review* 72/145 (1841): 227-58, at 228.

² T. B. Macaulay, ‘On Mitford’s History of Greece’ (1824), in *Lord Macaulay’s Miscellaneous Writings*, vol. 1 (London, 1860): 154-80, at 179-80.

³ John Burrow, *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Vintage Books, 2009), 343.

⁴ Macaulay, ‘On Mitford’s History of Greece’, 179.

⁵ See David Skilton, ‘Tourists at the Ruins of London: The Metropolis and the Struggle for Empire’, *Cercles* 17 (2007): 93-119.

⁶ Mandler, ‘“Race” and “Nation” In Mid-Victorian Thought’, in S. Collini, R. Whatmore and B. Young, eds., *History, Religion, and Culture: British Intellectual History 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 224-44, at 233.

not endure.⁷ By 1840, the native New Zealander had already been decidedly included within civilization's unfolding narrative. The life and work of Samuel Marsden, chaplain of the British convict settlement in New South Wales, and the thought of James Busby, appointed by the British Government in 1833 as British Resident in northern New Zealand, reveal this ongoing process in which British protagonists constructed the islands of New Zealand as a potential place or space of civilization and 'civil government'. This intellectual and, in effect, cultural and political project, was a complex amalgam of Christian universalism – in which all people groups were capable of embracing a 'good news' that would transform individual and group lives, Evangelical providentialism – in which God's purposes could be worked out even through imperial institutions, and a 'stadial history' or 'conjectural history', which involved the progressive or 'staged' development of a civil society identified with settled agriculture, commerce and established government to protect persons and property.⁸ This description of an 'amalgam' of intellectual/cultural sources is probably most applicable to Samuel Marsden's missionary project and *modus operandi*, but its various features are still discernible in James Busby's 'imperial mission' to engender new forms of civil government in New Zealand tribal society – civil government that would transcend and overcome tribal disunities. Such interconnections are explored below.

This chapter, and the thesis as a whole, are especially concerned with the ways in which political thought about authority and community was constructed, imagined, or projected by European and Māori protagonists. As such, it is less concerned with the broader historiographical debates about 'Christianity, commerce and civilization', the emphasis of the missionary project of the early-mid nineteenth century as between 'conversion' and 'civilization', or the postcolonial debates over 'cultural colonialism'. The focus rather is on political thought, but where applicable the related intellectual sources and debates are referred to. This chapter is particularly concerned therefore with how British thinkers began constructing tribal New Zealand as a constitutional or political space, and with the historical, imperial and national paradigms or languages they were drawing upon in doing this. It seeks therefore to locate the political thought of these British 'imperial' actors as a broader cultural, even popularly dispersed, construct or *mentalité*, while tracing its links with elite intellectual

⁷ cf. Burrow, *A History of Histories*, ch. 21.

⁸ The literature on these connections is vast, but leading examples are Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004); Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff', *American Historical Review* (2003): 435-59; Brian Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Richmond, Curzon Press, 2001); Brian Stanley, '“Commerce and Christianity”: Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade, 1842-1860', *Historical Journal* 26/1 (1983): 71-94.

thought. The chapter also seeks to show how indigenous leaders engaged with these exotic ideas. New political texts, such as the 1835 Declaration, expressed new ideas in the native tongue, throwing up the phenomena of conceptual confusion amongst the participants. Yet, in this ‘dialogic’ process, new political knowledge or thought was being produced about and for the islands of New Zealand.⁹

New languages of politics: kings, governors and ‘twelve gentlemen’

The first proto-constitutional document of New Zealand chiefs was the letter to King William IV of England in 1831. Provoked at least in part by the arrival of a French survey ship, a letter was prepared by British missionaries in conjunction with thirteen northern chiefs. In the letter, the chiefs appealed to the English King – ‘the Gracious Chief of England’ – to become the ‘friend and guardian of these islands’. The chiefs designated themselves ‘the chiefs of New Zealand’, of which the native transliteration was ‘Nu Tirenī’.¹⁰ Such a petition to the imperial centre of London and its king, can be compared with other petitions from across the empire. For example, in April 1831, at least 4,000 of Bombay’s ‘respectable native inhabitants’ signed a petition asking the London Parliament for the universal application of habeas corpus to Indian subjects and much greater involvement of Indians in the judicial process, including through juries.¹¹

Juries, courts, and kings were terms comprised in some of the earliest constitutional discussions recorded between Britons and ‘the New Zealanders’, as Māori were then known. By 1831, Māori had had decades of engagement with Europe and with British forms of government. Since the 1790s, northern chiefs had encountered the governors of Norfolk Island and New South Wales (Australia) and had exchanged gifts and ideas.¹² Māori had witnessed British imperial justice under the authority of governors, including the penal system in New South Wales and the heavy punishments meted out for offences such as thefts. Some Northern chiefs adopted the names of ‘Kīngi’ (King) and ‘Kāwana’ (Governor) from this early period.

⁹ As referenced in the Introduction, for the concept of ‘dialogic’ intellectual production, see Irschick, *Dialogue and History*.

¹⁰ William Yate to Colonial Secretary, N.S.W., 16 Nov. 1831, encl. nos. 2 and 3 in James Stephen to John Backhouse, 12 Dec. 1838, in *GBPP*, IUP, vol. 3, 55; and see Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 184.

¹¹ *Bombay Gazette*, 25 May 1831, cited in Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*, 33: the 1831 petition also sought the extension of His Majesty’s courts across the entirety of India and for English to be made the language of the courts. Note this was four years before T. B. Macaulay’s ‘Minute on Indian Education’ of 1835 sounded a clarion call for an English language policy in Anglo-Indian government (see below for analysis of the Minute).

¹² See James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), 140–48.

Through British maritime networks, Māori also encountered their wider Pacific neighbours, and a northern chief adopted the name of a Tahitian native ruler, King Pomare.¹³

In 1820, the northern chiefs Hongi Hika and Waikato visited Britain and met with King George IV. Both parties addressed each other as ‘King’.¹⁴ The chiefs also attended the House of Lords. Hongi Hika distinguished himself in high society, assisted Professor Samuel Lee at Cambridge in preparing a Māori-language grammar, and gathered gifts. On the way home, in Sydney, he exchanged most of these gifts – except for a suit of armour from George IV – for about 400 muskets and then commenced retributive raids on southern tribes, sparking a phenomenon that historians refer to as the ‘musket wars’.¹⁵ One New Zealand scholar has recently argued that the picture of Hongi Hika as an evil mastermind intent only on procuring an armoury is misguided. Indeed, contemporary evidence suggests that Hongi had various objectives in visiting England. Obtaining an audience with the King and recognition of his ‘kingly’ status was possibly one reason. Another seems have been to secure a contingent of British settlers, including farmers and blacksmiths, soldiers (to keep them in order), and ministers. If we consider the fact that Hongi had spent time with the Anglican chaplain Samuel Marsden in New South Wales and was protector of the early mission settlements in New Zealand, it is not difficult to see how his conceptions of politics (and political economy) were being stretched or modified by encounter with British institutions and ideas.¹⁶

This stretching of mentalities, however, only went so far by 1820. Samuel Marsden thought he might encourage a Christian monarchy in New Zealand, such as was emerging in Tahiti and Hawai’i in the 1820s and 1830s. But Hongi Hika reportedly told Marsden there was little possibility that the tribal leaders of New Zealand would agree to appoint him king. Only in war was he feared and obeyed.¹⁷ His retributive musket raiding against southern tribes during the 1820s, and his return with war captives, also indicate that a ‘Māori’ (as a unitary ethnic category) or ‘New Zealand’ (in the sense of a unitary geo-political space) consciousness had

¹³ Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, 139; and see Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 4.

¹⁴ Vincent O’Malley, *The Meeting Place: Māori and Pākehā Encounters, 1642-1840* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012), 64.

¹⁵ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 159-160.

¹⁶ Manuka Henare, ‘The Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society – From Tribes to Nation’, Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2003, 163-72; see also O’Malley, *The Meeting Place*, 64-65.

¹⁷ S. Marsden, Journal, 8 Oct. 1823, in *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838*, ed. J. R. Elder (Dunedin, 1932), 383; Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, 182.

not emerged by this time. Instead, the musket wars indicate that other tribes were still ‘enemies’, a status inconsistent with the pursuit of a single political society.¹⁸

Nevertheless, new ideas of government, law and kingship were afoot, and acquired increasing force and velocity as European empires established their economic and political presence in Australasia and the islands of the Pacific. At his church settlement in Parramatta, New South Wales, Marsden hosted many important northern chiefs over the several decades before 1840. A leading historian of New Zealand has suggested (though without elaboration) that the Parramatta mission was a ‘great Māori college of European studies’.¹⁹ Among the matters almost certainly promulgated in this British seminary were concepts of kingship and European government generally.²⁰ Marsden, from the beginning of the first Anglican mission station and settlement in New Zealand, had encouraged the idea of chiefs as kings. The land deed he prepared described the chiefly vendor as ‘king’ of the area. It also referred, twice, to the ‘Kingdom of Great Britain’.²¹ The chief concerned, Ruatara, had in 1809 arrived in London on a sealing vessel with the intention, according to Marsden, of seeing King George; this expectation was disappointed.²² Visiting Marsden in New South Wales in 1811, another young chief protested his treatment in the colony, declaring ‘I was a King in New Zealand... I [am] a Cook at Port Jackson’.²³

In 1813, Marsden wrote to Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) headquarters in London that Ruatara had arrived back in his native New Zealand, whereupon he had been ‘appointed King at the Bay of Islands’.²⁴ Marsden here seems to be referring to Ruatara being made the leader or head of the tribe in a particular locality. This, rather flexible, usage of kingship could be read alongside the definition given in Dr Johnson’s *Dictionary*, where a ‘king’ is the ‘supreme governour’ of a territory or dominion (usages from Shakespeare).²⁵ As Nicholas Thomas writes, European travellers were wont to describe Polynesian chiefs as kings, despite the nature of the authority they exercised being quite different from a European kingdom. In the case of Tahiti, Thomas argues that although Pomare was really ‘a chief among many’, Pomare

¹⁸ cf. Henare, ‘The Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society’, 171, who argues that Hongi was already thinking like a ‘proto nationalist’ and ‘internationalist’ in the early 1820s – ‘thinking past the limits of his own kinship framework of whānau-hapū’.

¹⁹ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 144.

²⁰ Henare, ‘The Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society’, 157.

²¹ Deed for Rangihaua (‘Ranghee Hoo’), 24 Feb. 1815, appendix no. 20 in Select Committee Report on New Zealand (1840), 164-165, in *GBPP*, IUP series, vol. 1.

²² S. Marsden to J. Pratt, 28 Oct. 1815, Marsden Collection, MS. 55/39, HL.

²³ S. Marsden to J. Pratt, 20 Nov. 1811, cited in O’Malley, *The Meeting Place*, 72.

²⁴ S. Marsden to J. Pratt, 18 Jun. 1813, Marsden Collection, MS. 54/8, HL.

²⁵ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: in Which the Words Are Deduced From Their Originals, Explained in Their Different Meanings, and Authorized by the Names of the Writers in Whose Works They are Found*, Alexander Chalmers, ed. (London, 1824).

himself embraced the construction of European contemporaries that he was a king, thus helping to create ‘a Polynesian truth, of sorts’. (This also seems like an example of a dialogic process, *per* Irschick). Thomas also highlights the role of Christian missionaries in elevating Pomare to become the head of a Tahitian ‘national’ Christianity by early 1816.²⁶ Marsden’s networks into the Pacific would have made him very aware of these Polynesian kingly precedents, sponsored by Christian missions. In other respects, such characterisations of New Zealand chiefs as kings – whether actual or potential – reflected Marsden’s Protestant British mentality in which ‘Throne’ and ‘Altar’ were to serve the same ends of Christian salvation and societal improvement. It therefore made sense to inculcate in the New Zealanders a sense of the possibilities of a New Zealand monarchy – preferably a Protestant one – from the very beginning of his New Zealand encounters.²⁷

In early 1815, Marsden and southern Bay of Islands chiefs had possibly the first serious constitutional conversation on New Zealand soil; at least, the first dealing in British constitutional concepts. In discussing the ‘nature of crimes and punishments’, Marsden compared ‘the power of life and death’ of a New Zealand chief over his people with the power exercised by the British monarch:

They appeared much astonished, when I told them that King George had not the power to put any man to death, tho’ a much greater King than any in New Zealand, – I explained to them the nature of a British jury – that no man could be put to death in England unless twelve Gentlemen had examined into the case of the accused prisoner on [sic] any alleged offence, and if they pronounced him guilty of a crime deserving death then King George could put him to death but if these twelve Gentlemen said he was not guilty King George could not put him to death;– and even when a Criminal is condemned to die – King George has the authority to pardon him if he wishes to do so.²⁸

In speaking of the British jury, and the limited powers of the Sovereign, Marsden articulated core conceptions of British constitutional monarchy. The jury of twelve ‘gentlemen’ – a common equivalent usage of the time in the Māori language being rangatira or chief – was central to British notions of a constitution that protected personal liberty and property. It was often associated with the famous words of the Great Charter or Magna Carta, that no freeman should be taken or imprisoned or disseized of his estate but by a jury of his peers or by the law

²⁶ Thomas, *Islanders*, 74, 101, 104.

²⁷ See Andrew Sharp, *The World, the Flesh and the Devil: the Life and Opinions of Samuel Marsden in England and the Antipodes, 1765-1838* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016), 63-80.

²⁸ S. Marsden, Journal of first visit to New Zealand in Dec. 1814, Marsden Collection, MS 176/1, HL.

of the land.²⁹ The jury, and the institution of *habeas corpus*, were seen as the core constitutional protections afforded to Englishmen against arbitrary government. Britons often thus contrasted their constitutional monarchy with the absolutist monarchies of the Continent.³⁰ Similarly, they often compared the prosperity of Protestant Britain with the ‘decay’ of Catholic Europe.³¹

In metropolitan and imperial thought of the time, the institution of the jury was also seen as a primary means of educating the governed in their constitutional traditions. By serving on juries, the middling and, increasingly, lower classes of Britain would participate in the actual administration of justice and would actively learn their law and constitution.³² In imperial settings, both British and indigenous thinkers sometimes viewed participation on juries by indigenous or colonised populations as a way of inculcating non-Britons into British traditions of constitutional liberty. Indian writers of the early nineteenth century, Rammohan Roy being a leading example, adopted such liberal constitutional sentiments.³³ In New Zealand, in 1858, the settler parliamentarian and Minister of Native Affairs, C. W. Richmond, employed such paradigmatic thinking in proposing a new legislative regime for the governance of Māori tribal society and its amalgamation with settler society.³⁴

Marsden’s first constitutional conversation with the New Zealand chiefs canvassed other types of punishments for crime in England, before Marsden arrived at the following observation:

Some of the Chiefs thought there were too many kings in New Zealand and that if there were fewer they would have fewer wars and be more happy. I told them there was only one king in England, at the same time there were more Gentlemen than in New Zealand – but that none of these Gentlemen could put a man to death nor dared they to go to war one with another – King George would not allow it, and they could not do this without his permission on which account there was no fighting with, nor murdering of one another in England as there were among them.³⁵

²⁹ J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 461.

³⁰ See [T. B. Macaulay], ‘Hallam’s Constitutional History’, *Edinburgh Review* 48/95 (1828): 96-169; Angus Hawkins makes much of the ‘exceptionalism’ of English constitutional monarchy, in the practical form of parliamentary government, as compared with the absolutist, centralist regimes on the Continent: see Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, 34-36, 53-60.

³¹ See [T. B. Macaulay], ‘Ranke’s History of the Popes’, *Edinburgh Review* 72/145 (1841): 227-58, at 252-53.

³² See Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835), Alan Ryan, ed. (London, 1994); and [J. S. Mill], ‘Democracy in America’, *Edinburgh Review* 72/145 (1841): 1-47.

³³ C. A. Bayly, ‘Rammohan Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India, 1800-30’, *Modern Intellectual History* 4/1 (2007): 25-41.

³⁴ C. W. Richmond, 18 May 1858, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (1856-1858), 446-448.

³⁵ S. Marsden, Journal of first visit to New Zealand in Dec 1814, Marsden Collection, MS 176/1, HL.

This observation contained, in very simplistic terminology, the kernel of British political history: the growth of a single monarchy that incorporated other monarchies and chiefdoms and became the centre – the imperial centre of the British Isles – from which law and order flowed.³⁶ The king, in Marsden's conception, was keeper of the peace. The 'gentlemen' he refers to are almost certainly the aristocracy or landed gentry of the realm. Again, he seems to be drawing a parallel between these gentlemen and New Zealand chiefs or rangatira. As in previous correspondence, he analogises New Zealand chiefs as kings. It is difficult to know exactly what Māori words were being used to translate king, but very probably it was the transliteration 'kīngi'.³⁷ As Angus Hawkins describes, orthodox British political thought in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries emphasised the blessings of constitutional monarchy and the sovereignty of the monarch-in-parliament, but also saw authority as diffused locally in the form of men of property who exercised jurisdiction as magistrates and parish administrators. These local 'rangatira', or landed elites, formed part of a 'natural hierarchy', their property giving them a stake or 'interest' in the kingdom – an interest that was also seen as a 'trust' for wider community benefit. Their local 'independence' as landed 'gentlemen' meant that they could withstand political pressure from central government. A complex mix of traditional values, religious institutions, customary roles and hierarchies, and parliamentary representation at the central 'imperial' parliament was the British understanding of 'civil society'. Political institutions and civil society were thus 'seamlessly linked' as part of the fabric of government.³⁸

³⁶ cf. J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: a Plea for a New Subject', *New Zealand Journal of History* 8/1 (1974): 3-21; J. G. A. Pocock, 'The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary', *American Historical Review* 104/2 (1999): 490-500.

³⁷ Or in modern orthography, kīngi.

³⁸ Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, 57-64; cf. Jose Harris, ed., *Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Harris writes that 'Civil society as it was understood in Britain was never a pure form, but coexisted at different times and in different ways with many other forms of social organization and identity, based on such factors as family, ethnicity, gender, locality, inheritance, patriotism, and religious belief': see Jose Harris, 'Introduction: Civil Society in British History: Paradigm or Peculiarity?', in J. Harris, ed., *Civil Society in British History*, 1-12; Harris also explores how the concept of civil society emerged in post-Reformation Europe and Britain as society constituted by governmental or state institutions: 'Throughout early modern Europe the idea of a 'civil society', meaning a collective public identity shaped by shared political and legal institutions, long preceded any conception of 'society' in the more modern sense, as a totality of self-sustaining social relationships distinct from any such politico-legal framework.' English and British authorities usually equated civil society with government or civil government, including Richard Hooker and Thomas Hobbes, while Thomas Chalmers in the 1820s used 'civil government' as a synonym: see Jose Harris, 'From Richard Hooker to Harold Laski: Changing Perceptions of Civil Society in British Political Thought, Late Sixteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries', in J. Harris, ed., *Civil Society in British History*. In the same volume, Joanna Innes, writes about the important role of local institutions of law and government in the period 1700-1850: see Innes, 'Central Government "Interference": Changing Conceptions, Practices, and Concerns, c. 1700-1850', in J. Harris, ed., *Civil Society in British History*.

Marsden's belief in a vital relationship between Christianity and the civil sphere, is seen in an 1817 sermon where he acclaimed the spread of Christianity, a work led by Great Britain and carried out by 'all Christian denominations' and mission societies:

The societies have not only the countenance of the Prince Regent, but also of his royal brothers...who...call upon them to imitate the example of him who *went about doing good* [Acts 10:38], and in whom all happiness centres. The sacred flame of religion and benevolence, thus kindled at the foot of the throne, and fanned into a blaze by the ranks of the royal family, spreads its sacred warmth and influence into every corner of the British Empire – and thro' all the various members of our great political body, both at home and abroad.³⁹

Although, as Andrew Sharp suggests, Marsden was not a theorist or theologian, he did at times articulate some clear political ideas. Several key assumptions are embedded in this quotation, including that Church and State, religion and the civil magistrate, were complementary forces. Another assumption clearly expressed in this sermon was that the British empire was the carrier of both Christianity and civil 'benevolence' to other lands around the globe – the emissary of 'liberty under law', as Sharp characterises it.⁴⁰ This also reflects elements of a providentialist theology that saw a Christian and moral empire as a vehicle for the spread of civilization.

In the period 1814 to 1830, Andrew Sharp says that Marsden promoted to Māori the ideal of setting up an overarching authority or 'regular civil government' to prevent their 'civil wars' and create the conditions for peace and prosperity. Sharp writes that he promoted this idea with increasing force during this period. There would be some role for the authorities in Britain and New South Wales to assist in achieving this objective. It was, however, to be a government of tribal chieftains that he imagined unified in a single 'nation'.⁴¹ The language of nation or national polity was therefore also a prominent part of Marsden's discourse, which was closely affiliated with, if not identical to, the language of law and civil government.

In 1821, Marsden spoke with a tribe at the River Thames who were afraid at the depredations of northern tribes and sought 'some European soldiers...to assist them to protect themselves'. Marsden reflected that such 'necessity' might lead over time to the establishment of a 'regular government'. Yet however much chiefs 'know they want a Government' along European lines,

³⁹ Sharp, *The World, the Flesh and the Devil*, 721-722.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 719; the significant nexus between church and state in contemporary (Anglican) thought is explored in chapter three below; it obviously needs to be kept clearly in view in appreciating the New Zealand context of constitutional discussions, in which the Evangelical missions played so important a part.

⁴¹ Ibid., 720.

they could not accomplish this ‘without the assistance of some civilized nation’. He thought that if they ‘lived under the Authority of one Chief he might form some regular Government, but under their feudal System this can never be done’. The independent sentiment of the chiefs and tribes made it unlikely that they would together place their ‘country’ under ‘the power and Government of a foreign nation’. For the same reason, the chiefs would not ‘invest their Authority’ in any single ‘King’, and there was no one individual who possessed ‘sufficient information, power, and influence’ to enable such an elevation. In conceptualising Māori chiefs as any number of feudal overlords, Marsden also identified the ‘military character’ of their position: they had no civil ‘Jurisdiction’ that gave them the ‘authority to command’ – except perhaps in times of war.⁴²

Marsden’s language use reflects influential Scottish Enlightenment or stadial tropes of the latter part of the eighteenth century, Marsden’s period of intellectual formation. His emphasis too on the adoption by Māori of settled agriculture and commerce also reflects this tradition that imagined such changes as leading to a decline in feudal militarism and the advance of civility (or civilization).⁴³ As Jose Harris writes, in early-modern and modern British (and European) political thought, it was the ‘the state itself [that] had been an important element in either shaping or actually constituting civil society’.⁴⁴ It was the constitution of a central government itself, above the level of local authorities, ‘personal fiefdoms and private armies’, that enabled a political nation or civil society to come into existence. Under such a properly constituted civil government, disputes would become subject to legal adjudication rather than being the precursors to civil war.⁴⁵ As Thomas Hobbes had memorably argued, without such a sovereign government, men and collectivities would remain in a state of nature or a (civil) war of all against all.

During his 1823 visit, Marsden exhorted chiefs to consider making Hongi Hika king ‘upon condition that he would not fight but protect them’.⁴⁶ In 1824, Marsden again considered the situation. He thought that the New Zealanders realised the need for a ‘protecting Government’ to protect the weak from the strong; in many conversations, however, chiefs reiterated that they were unwilling to relinquish their authority to another and they could not agree ‘to nominate any one chief as king’. (This reportage does however suggest that the possibility had been discussed by chiefs themselves.) He observed that Hongi Hika had ‘conquered many

⁴² S. Marsden, ‘Observations on the Authority which the Chiefs possess in New Zealand’, 20 Aug. 1821, Marsden Collection, MS 57/31, HL; Sharp, *The World, the Flesh and the Devil*, 726.

⁴³ Burrow, *A History of Histories*, 314, 318, 322.

⁴⁴ Harris, ‘Introduction: Civil Society in British History’, at 11.

⁴⁵ Harris, ‘From Richard Hooker to Harold Laski’, 15-16.

⁴⁶ S. Marsden, Journal, 11 Oct. 1823, in *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, ed. Elder, 386.

tribes' over a territory of about 200 miles but had 'no means of retaining his conquests'. He continued, writing that the chiefs:

would sometimes say, if King George would send them a king they would attend to him. Shunghée [Hongi] had impressed the natives with a very great idea of the power of King George – he used to tell the chiefs that if King George was to go to war with them, there would be only one battle, and New Zealand would be conquered.⁴⁷

Fleetingly, in 1825, Marsden imagined New Zealand merging with New South Wales.⁴⁸ By 1831, he concurred with Governor Darling's idea to appoint a British Resident at New Zealand.⁴⁹

Andrew Sharp states that only in the late 1830s did Marsden reach the 'unambiguous conclusion' that the British government should play a more active role. At this later period, he seems to have thought, in line with the humanitarian (and Burkean) trope of imperial trusteeship or protection, that Britain should protect and educate Māori for a period until they came to govern themselves as an independent nation.⁵⁰ Marsden did not, says Sharp, 'contemplate grand questions of British colonisation, annexation, sovereignty and empire in any systematic way', only wanting Christian civilization to be established among the New Zealanders.⁵¹ Nevertheless, although Marsden was not a systematic thinker, he possessed, as this discussion shows, a definite collection of beliefs about the British constitution, most of which seemed to comprise various orthodoxies of contemporary British political thought – what might also be designated a British *mentalité*.⁵²

In 1837, Marsden spoke with northern chiefs at Hokianga. Many of them had adopted Christian beliefs and attended 'public worship'. Marsden spoke with them 'on the subject of

⁴⁷ S. Marsden to J. Pratt, 4 Jun. 1824, in Robert McNab, ed., *Historical Records of New Zealand*, (Wellington, 1908), 627-29.

⁴⁸ Sharp, *The World, the Flesh and the Devil*, 721.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 729-30.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 720; cf. Bain Attwood, 'Protection Claims: The British, Maori and the Islands of New Zealand, 1800-1840', in L. Benton, A. Clulow and B. Attwood, eds., *Protection and Empire: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 153-74; and Andrew Porter, 'Trusteeship, Anti-Slavery, and Humanitarianism', in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 198-221; and Amanda Nettelbeck, *Indigenous Rights and Colonial Subjecthood: Protection and Reform in the Nineteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

⁵¹ Ibid., 721, 727-39.

⁵² The general Burkeanism of orthodox English political thought by the early nineteenth century could also be highlighted here (viz., Britain/England as a constitutionally balanced or 'mixed government' or 'free commonwealth'), and Burke's pronouncements on the empire, which suggested an extension of British 'liberties' to the empire, although often in the form of imperial trusteeship: see Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, 46.

religion and civil government’ and recorded their views: ‘They have no established laws amongst them, and they feel and lament the want of a government’.⁵³ Further north, he spoke to leading chiefs.⁵⁴ One of these, Nopera Panakareao, wrote to Marsden about a month after his visit, asking for a governor to protect ‘us all’, implying both Māori and European (‘tetahi Kawana mo tatou, hei tiaki i a tatou’), and soldiers.⁵⁵ Other Māori wrote similar letters to Marsden and the missionaries about this time.⁵⁶

Marsden concluded his account of New Zealand’s first constitutional conversation in 1815 (as I have called it above) with the following reflection:

Our conversation was generally touched [sic] Religion, Civil Government, Agriculture and Commerce. – They always shewed an anxiety for information respecting the habits or customs of the people in other parts of the Globe.⁵⁷

By placing these concepts together, Marsden revealed himself as influenced by ‘Enlightenment’ ideas, having a concern with customs, ‘manners’ or ‘mores’ (French, *mœurs*) in relation to transformations in commerce and government.⁵⁸ Much has been written about Marsden’s emphasis on converting Māori to Christianity through the ‘arts of civilization’, on the economic transformations to be wrought by new Europeans tools and crops.⁵⁹ The historiography has had less to say about Marsden’s thinking on the arts of civil government, his understandings about the British constitution, and his characterisation of the feudal nature of Māori tribalism – effectively locating New Zealand tribal polities in a past period of European history. The close association in Marsden’s thought between notions of religion, civil government and agriculture locates him as an eighteenth-century man, revealing a general influence of Scottish Enlightenment, Smithian, or stadial thought. As Andrew Porter writes of the ‘secular’ or Enlightenment influences upon British Protestant missionary enterprise, it became ‘ever more conventional to assume’, through the early decades of the nineteenth century, ‘that with commercial progress there went political sophistication. Development of the political arts meant good government, order and the liberty of individuals’.⁶⁰

⁵³ *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, ed. Elder, 521; Sharp, *The World, the Flesh and the Devil*, 733.

⁵⁴ Sharp, *The World, the Flesh and the Devil*, 733.

⁵⁵ N. Panakareao to S. Marsden, 9 May 1837, cited in Henare, ‘The Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society’, 140.

⁵⁶ See Sharp, *The World, the Flesh and the Devil*, 733.

⁵⁷ S. Marsden, Journal of first visit to New Zealand in Dec. 1814, Marsden Collection, MS. 176/1, HL.

⁵⁸ Burrow, *A History of Histories*, 322.

⁵⁹ cf. Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire*, chs. 1-3.

⁶⁰ Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, 92.

While it is difficult to know exactly what New Zealand chiefs made of new concepts like the British jury of gentlemen ('rangatira'), and while there is little evidence of real attempts to implement Marsden's proposals to create a native king, the concepts of kingship and governorship had clearly become an important part of the political lexicon of chiefs, especially those in the north of the country, by the mid-1830s. The contexts of this engagement with Western political ideas were important: the relationships established with the governors of the Australian colonies, the travel by leading chiefs to England itself, and the very real issues of tribal survival and *realpolitik* presented by the musket war period in which large swathes of the New Zealand tribes were engaged in 'civil war', as Marsden characterised it. His construction of these wars as civil wars seems premised on his imagining of indigenous tribes as constituting – at least in potentiality – a single political society. It is possible to see, therefore, a discourse of civil government or constitutional monarchy – actively promoted by Marsden and some other New Zealand missionaries – finding some receptive ears, especially where some indigenous leaders were searching for new foundations of 'law and order'.⁶¹ (This is to employ the 'upward hermeneutic', which Christopher Bayly applies to Indian political discourse of the early-to-mid nineteenth century.⁶²) Marsden's emphasis in his discussions of 'civil' or 'regular' government on the role of monarchy seem to place him firmly as a Georgian, perhaps of a late eighteenth century variety, rather than a Georgian of the Regency and 1820s-30s. Given his date of birth (1765), his formative period was the eighteenth century, and his political thought seems to reflect this; he had also departed the metropole for Australia by 1793, from that point on became consumed with colonial affairs.

New languages of politics: nations and assemblies

James Busby, by contrast, was born in 1800, and his political thought appears to reflect the Age of Reform in its emphasis on parliamentary government. While Marsden imagined a New Zealand indigenous (Christian) monarchy as providing some form of 'regular government', British Resident, James Busby, who arrived in the country in 1833, sought to create out of tribal New Zealand a nation bound together by a chiefly aristocratic assembly. This assembly was constituted – on paper, at least – by the 1835 'Declaration of Independence' of northern chiefs, a document prepared by Busby in English and then interpreted into the indigenous language by local Anglican missionaries. Contemporary comment and historiography (until very recently) have tended to dismiss Busby for his failed attempts to inaugurate such a chiefly

⁶¹ See Te Maire Tau, 'The Discovery of Islands and the Stories of Settlement', *Thesis Eleven* 92 (2008): 11-28, at 21-22.

⁶² Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*, 26-29.

federalism or have dismissed him altogether as a ‘man of war without guns’.⁶³ Yet despite the lack of actual political traction which his efforts garnered, there is a good case to be made that Busby was the first Briton to systematically apply British constitutional and ‘national’ thought to New Zealand tribal society. In particular, Busby theorised a New Zealand nation-state – of native New Zealanders, though admittedly under the guidance and protection of British empire.

In many respects, too, Busby carried on the earlier discussions that had taken place between Marsden and the missionaries and New Zealand chiefs. This was not a one-way process. The New Zealanders were at times active participants in the construction of emerging political thought and institutions, in a process perhaps not unlike what Eugene Irschick has characterised as ‘dialogic’.⁶⁴ At the same time, the ideas emanating from Marsden, Busby and the missions were novel to the New Zealanders. The proper contextualisation and characterisation of these ideas is the focus of this section.

Busby wrote in various interlinked registers of the national, imperial and constitutional. Busby saw New Zealand as comprising any number of tribal ‘sovereignities’.⁶⁵ He sought to federate or confederate these sovereignties into a collective sovereignty, expressed through a tribal assembly or parliament. The 1835 Declaration (‘He Wakaputanga’ in the native language) constituted this assembly, or ‘Congress’ (‘w[h]akaminenga’), and declared it to be the institutional basis of the ‘Independent State’ of the ‘United Tribes’. The document also envisaged that this Congress would meet annually to make laws for dispensing justice, preserving peace, and regulating trade. The last section of the Declaration document petitioned the King of England to continue as a ‘parent’ of New Zealand’s ‘infant state’, words which echoed the sentiments of the 1831 letter.⁶⁶ An ‘American’, or perhaps European, influence on Busby’s language is apparent in the use of language like congress and ‘articles of

⁶³ More favourable, recent appraisals include P. G. McHugh, ‘“A Pretty Gov[ernment]!”: The “Confederation of United Tribes” and Britain’s Quest for Imperial Order in the New Zealand Islands during the 1830s’, in L. Benton and R. Ross, eds., *Legal Pluralism and Empires, 1500-1850* (New York: New York University Press, 2013): 233-58; Edwin Fletcher, ‘A Praiseworthy Device for Amusing and Pacifying Savages? What the Framers Meant by the English Text of the Treaty of Waitangi’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Auckland, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti*.

⁶⁴ Irschick, *Dialogue and History*.

⁶⁵ Busby to Col. Sec., N.S.W., 13 May 1833, ‘Despatches from the British Resident’, MS. 345, ATL, 31-32.

⁶⁶ ‘He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni’, 6248, IA 9/1, ANZ; and English text or ‘translation’ of Declaration of Independence in *Facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, 1877), 4-5.

confederation'.⁶⁷ Such can be seen in Busby's description of the New Zealand Declaration in 1837, in the following terms:

The articles of Confederation having established and declared the basis of a Constitution of Government, it follows, I think, that the rights of a Sovereign power exist in the members of that confederation, however limited the exercise of those rights has hitherto been.⁶⁸

From the beginning of his appointment as British Resident at the Bay of Islands, Busby hoped that he could deal with the chiefs as a collective; at least, he hoped to encourage them to act collectively. In so acting they would supersede their various tribal authorities or sovereignties and transform themselves into what Busby imagined to be a 'national' body. In 1834, northern chiefs, facilitated by Busby, adopted a flag that would fly from New Zealand-owned ships, allowing them to trade freely as the ships of a foreign nation in British ports at New South Wales and elsewhere.⁶⁹ Busby referred to the flag as the 'National Flag of New Zealand' and denominated its adoption by chiefs as their first 'National act'.⁷⁰

It is reasonable to see in Busby's Declaration something of the Scottish Enlightenment and the influence of Adam Smith and the historian Adam Ferguson, who wrote of the rise of civilization from hunter-gatherers, to nomadic tribes with their flocks or herds, to settled agriculture, to civilized and polite commercial society.⁷¹ J. G. A. Pocock has written about how this 'Enlightenment anthropology' influenced Westerners' visions of tribal societies, including those of New Zealand.⁷² John Stuart Mill set out the Smithian or stadial scheme in his

⁶⁷ cf. The Articles of Confederation (1777) of the 13 original states of the United States and their language of confederacy/confederation; and David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁶⁸ Busby to Col. Sec., 16 Jun. 1837, MS. 345, ATL, 251.

⁶⁹ In the first instance, this was done to avoid the trading monopoly of the East India Company being used as a justification for seizing New Zealand vessels not licensed by the Company; see Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, 185.

⁷⁰ Busby to Col. Sec. NSW, 13 Jan. 1834, MS. 345, ATL, 72-73; Busby to Col. Sec. NSW, 22 Mar. 1834, MS. 345, ATL, 84-86; Busby to Col. Office, 2 Apr. 1834, CO 209/1, ANZ.

⁷¹ See Burrow, *A History of Histories*, 324-325; for Busby's background, see Eric Ramsden, *Busby of Waitangi: H.M.'s Resident at New Zealand, 1833-40* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1942), 23-37; and Ged Martin, 'James Busby and the Treaty of Waitangi', *British Review of New Zealand Studies* 5 (1992): 13-22.

⁷² J. G. A. Pocock, 'Tangata Whenua and Enlightenment Anthropology', ch. 12 in *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); see also, J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion: Narratives of Civil Government*, vol. 2 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Pat Moloney, 'Savagery and Civilization. Early Victorian Notions', *New Zealand Journal of History* 35/2 (2001): 153-76; and Mark Hickford, '“Decidedly the Most Interesting Savages on the Globe”: An Approach to the Intellectual History of Maori Property Rights, 1837-53', *History of Political Thought* 27/1 (2006): 122-67.

influential *Principles of Political Economy* (1848).⁷³ ‘Enlightened’ Scots like Smith and, it seems, Busby (who was raised in Edinburgh), had embraced the Union of Parliaments of 1707 and the emergence of the refined commercial society from the tribal chiefdoms of Scotland earlier in the century. Samuel Johnson, on his 1770 tour of Scotland, observed this progress of ‘civilization’, which Johnson described as a process in which the Highland clan’s ‘dignity of independence’ was ‘depressed’, its ‘contempt of government subdued’, and its ‘reverence for chiefs abated’.⁷⁴ As discussed above, the contrast between civilized government and feudalism was a common trope of eighteenth-century Enlightenment writers. Parallels were often drawn between the tribal chiefdoms and feudal states of Europe of the past (even the recent past, as in the Scottish instance), and the tribes and states that contemporary Europeans encountered during their imperial expansion overseas.⁷⁵ As Scotland had been transformed into a commercial nation, governed by a parliamentary assembly that included its own representatives, so too could a Māori trading nation governed by a chiefly ‘Congress’ emerge from many tribal polities.

Thomas Babington Macaulay, who was born in the same year as Busby (1800), described the ‘indissoluble’ governmental union of England and Scotland in his 1839 review essay on Gladstone’s *Church and State*:

Of the ancient national feeling there remains [in Scotland] just enough to be ornamental and useful; just enough to inspire the poet, and to kindle a generous and friendly emulation in the bosom of the soldier. But **for all the ends of government the nations are one.** [emphasis added]⁷⁶

Busby’s despatches on the Confederation of Chiefs between 1835 and 1839 often suggest, if not state, the view that the British nation, being educated in the arts of government, could assist the New Zealanders in establishing their own national government. The exact end of this connection might be expressed as the ‘two nations’ eventually becoming ‘one’, at least in so far as civil government was concerned. In this respect, Ged Martin has drawn a parallel between the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and the 1707 Act of Union, suggesting that Busby could well have seen these ‘unions’ within the same frame.⁷⁷ (This is an important clue to the meaning of

⁷³ John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy* (London: 1848), 18-26.

⁷⁴ Cited in Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2000), 244.

⁷⁵ See, for example, ‘Colonel Tod’s Annals of Rajpootana’, *Edinburgh Review* 52/103 (1831): 86-109; and Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, 66-71, concerning Henry Maine’s constructions of ‘feudal’ India.

⁷⁶ [T. B. Macaulay], ‘The State in its Relations with the Church. By W. E. Gladstone, Esq., Student of Christ Church, and M.P. for Newark’, *Edinburgh Review* 69/139 (1839): 231-280, at 259.

⁷⁷ Martin, ‘James Busby’, 21.

‘he iwi tahi tatou’ announced at Waitangi by Hobson in 1840, and examined in chapter three, viz., oneness for governmental purposes did not mean oneness for all purposes.)

Busby’s thought was also attuned to the institutional apparatus he would need to carry out his plans. His proposals reflect British imperial practice elsewhere, including in India. Some months after the adoption of the ‘national flag’, Busby proposed to his superiors in New South Wales that he form a ‘native guard’ of 20 natives, along with a small constabulary that would include ‘two young Chiefs’. And he proposed to educate such high-born youths, no doubt in British literature and government.⁷⁸ He toyed, also, with the concept of a ‘treaty’ with northern chiefs, under which Britain would obtain the right to exact shipping or harbour duties. Under this scheme, British subjects operating ships would be exempt from direct chiefly authority. Busby thought the American Government might recognise such a treaty. It is possible to read these despatches as Busby speculating on how Britain could begin to carve out a jurisdictional enclave in northern New Zealand, beginning with trade, much as it had done in India where informal (commercial) empire had become formal (governmental) empire over time. At the same time, Busby continued to seek ‘legal authority’ from New South Wales, by which he meant some greater police or enforcement powers alongside the fledgling authority of the Confederate Chiefs.⁷⁹

Busby’s requests for military backing became particularly acute and strident following an incident where a meeting facilitated at his Residency became the scene of an armed shoot-out between groups who disagreed over a land sale.⁸⁰ Two groups also fought over control of the main British shipping port at Kororāreka (Russell).⁸¹ Busby seems to have realised that, if the Confederation were to exercise an executive power to detain and punish offenders, this had the potential to provoke retaliation as it could be construed as a breach of native customary law.⁸² He became less optimistic about the possibilities of an effective chiefly Congress. At this juncture, in 1836, we could read in parallel John Stuart Mill’s thoughts on the French historian, Guizot’s lectures. Mill’s language appears strikingly relevant to the enterprise Busby was attempting:

M. Guizot then examines the situation of the feudal landholders, relatively to one another. He observes, that from their mutual relations to each other, and to their liege

⁷⁸ Busby to Col. Sec., 28 Nov. 1834, MS. 345, ATL, 103-106.

⁷⁹ Busby to Col. Sec., 10 Sep. 1835, MS. 345, ATL, 138-142; Busby to Col. Sec., 11 Sep. 1835, MS. 345, ATL, 142-147.

⁸⁰ Busby to Col. Sec., 18 Jan. 1836, MS. 345, ATL, 175-185.

⁸¹ Busby to Col. Sec., 4 May 1837, MS. 345, ATL, 242-245; Busby to Col. Sec., 16 Jun. 1837, MS. 345, ATL, 245-263.

⁸² Busby to Col. Sec., 18 Jan. 1836, MS. 345, ATL, 183-185; Busby to Col. Sec., 26 Jan. 1836, MS. 345, ATL, 187; Busby to Col. Sec., 20 Feb. 1836, MS. 345, ATL, 196.

lord, there naturally grew up in their minds some notions of mutual obligation, of fidelity, of adherence to engagements, of devotion to a common interest; but that the attempt to convert these moral sentiments into legal obligations, and to create national institutions and a regular government, always failed; and failed inevitably: for it was an attempt to establish, in a rude state of society, that kind of government, the existence of which is only possible in high civilization,—a federal government.⁸³

This language bears comparison with that Busby employed at various times. In a despatch immediately after the Residency shoot-out he stated that he had not ‘lost sight of the duties which fall upon the confederated Chiefs, by their late act of union...[but] these duties exist as yet only in theory...’. The New Zealanders, he said, had ‘not yet conceived of the ideas of authority and subordination’.⁸⁴ British intervention was required. Even in the 1835 Declaration text itself, the thought was expressed that the United Tribes of the Confederation would, in the ‘infancy’ of their state, need the protection of Britain. Until ‘educated into liberty’, as Uday Singh Mehta has characterised this paradigmatic thinking, they would require the advice and support of a civilized state or empire.⁸⁵ Thus, the Declaration declared an independent state and at the same time made that state dependent on an empire. Nevertheless, as Burbank and Cooper have argued, among much other recent scholarship, nations and empires are not mutually exclusive phenomenon.⁸⁶ Thomas Jefferson could say, as late as 1775, that he ‘would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation’.⁸⁷

I have suggested that Busby’s Declaration text (in English) hints strongly at American constitutionalist influences. The influence of American colonial history on British political thought is a large field, but it featured in the 1830s among the arguments for colonial reform (as chapter two will further explore). American involvement in the Napoleonic wars (on the opposite side from Britain) and the presence of American whalers and traders throughout the Empire, including in New Zealand, made American colonial history and international relations a live subject for an imperial functionary like Busby. In 1844, Busby visited the United States, when he met the prominent American jurist Joseph Story at Massachusetts.

⁸³ [J. S. Mill and J. B. White], ‘Guizot’s Lectures on European Civilization’, *London Review*, 2 (1836): 306-36, in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. J. M. Robson, vol. 20 (Toronto, 1985): 367-93, at 388.

⁸⁴ Busby to Col. Sec., 18 Jan. 1836, MS. 345, ATL, 184-185.

⁸⁵ Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 199.

⁸⁶ Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010).

⁸⁷ J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 121.

The two men discussed the property rights of British subjects and aborigines under British imperial law.⁸⁸ After recounting these conversations with Joseph Story, Busby cited Blackstone to assert that the law of England guards with ‘jealousy’ against ‘the interference of the Crown or its Ministers with the rights of individuals, arising out of their property in land, as established by the Municipal Law’.⁸⁹ Thus, while Busby’s employment of ‘American language’ in his Declaration text is suggested by his use of the notion of ‘articles of confederation’ combined with that of a declaration of independence itself, his thinking can also be located firmly in the context of the British domestic constitution and the influence of constitutional paradigms across the British empire. To emphasize a federal constitution – a constitution of equal sub-parts that remain separate polities to some extent – is also probably a distraction from Busby’s main aim, which was to arrange a native assembly to make overarching law – more in the vein of an aristocratic parliament or a House of Lords.

Against this backdrop of imperial constitutionalism, the Declaration’s last paragraph features prominently the British monarch as the ‘parent’ who will look out for the concerns of his imperial wards, or constitutional ‘infants’. J. C. D. Clark has argued that the British conception of ‘nationality’ until well into the nineteenth century was built around allegiance to a monarch rather than to the abstract state or *ethnie*: ‘providential destiny as demonstrated from scripture and history, not ethnicity, was the earliest matrix of English national identity’.⁹⁰ This certainly seems true of the Declaration’s appeal to Kingly protection. Busby claimed that the ‘sentiment and language’ of this appeal was that of the New Zealand chiefs.⁹¹ It was doubtless also informed by the 1831 letter. But it clearly also reflected Busby’s own British conceptions of constitutional monarchy.

British constitutional history was never far away. Busby, reflecting the prevalent *mentalité* of the British jury, proposed that the New Zealanders might form juries in which they were ‘witnesses’ to the facts, or the guilt or innocence of the accused. In arguing for this more archaic form of English jury, Busby cited the authority of Sir Francis Palgrave, probably from his work *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth: Anglo-Saxon Period* (1832).⁹² By engaging in a form of jury adapted to their state of civilization, Māori would progressively learn English judicial procedures and mores. Busby was confident that: ‘Thus would the way

⁸⁸ James Busby, *The First Settlers in New Zealand and Their Treatment by the Government* (Auckland, 1856), 13-14.

⁸⁹ Busby, *The First Settlers in New Zealand*, 14.

⁹⁰ Clark, *The Language of Liberty*, 52.

⁹¹ Busby to Col. Sec., 16 Jun. 1837, MS. 345, ATL, 263.

⁹² See ‘The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth. Anglo-Saxon Period;... By Francis Palgrave...’ *Edinburgh Review* 55/110 (1832): 305-38, at 323-24.

be prepared for confiding to the [Māori] people the trust of Jurymen, in like manner as to the Chiefs of Congress, that of Legislators, when a generation should arise sufficiently enlightened and virtuous to be capable of these high functions'.⁹³ Similarly, Busby saw the Congress as 'a School in which the Chiefs would be instructed in the duties required of them'.⁹⁴ According to the *Edinburgh Review* in 1830, Thomas Jefferson had considered the jury as a 'school' in which was learned 'the exercise of civil duties as well as rights'.⁹⁵

By June of 1837, Busby was proposing a British protectorate for New Zealand, which he advocated based on British experience in the Ionian Islands (after the Treaty of Paris) and 'on the border of our Indian possessions'.⁹⁶ In this more fully-fledged proposal, the New Zealand chiefs would come under the protection of His Majesty's Government, which would supply actual military power and a state apparatus to support the legislation of the Confederation of Chiefs. This apparatus is reminiscent of imperial practice elsewhere. It included the following: indirect taxation (shipping and trade duties) to fund 'Civil Government'; the chiefs of the Congress appointed as 'Conservators of the Peace' in the localities; a native Council acting with a British Resident as the executive branch of Government; an 'independent' native police force, backed by British military; schools and a government newspaper; and the constitution of native juries.⁹⁷ With this proposal, Busby summoned up a whole institution of imperial government, informed both by metropolitan history and imperial practice.⁹⁸ The suggestion of imperial-funded schools and newspapers is a recognisably 'modern' or recent phenomena in this list. It seems to reflect the Anglicizing policies promoted by Macaulay and missionaries in India and elsewhere in the empire at about the same time, and which had also been actively promoted by indigenous intellectuals such as Rammohan Roy.⁹⁹

The New Zealanders and the Confederation

Following historical anthropologist Bernard Cohn, we can inquire to what extent the new language of the Declaration and the event itself – the act of entering into such a document –

⁹³ Busby to Col. Sec., 16 Jun. 1837, MS. 345, ATL, 256.

⁹⁴ Busby to Col. Sec., 16 Jun. 1837, MS. 345, ATL, 252.

⁹⁵ 'Memoirs, Correspondence, and Private Papers of Thomas Jefferson, late President of the United States;... London: 1829', *Edinburgh Review* 51/102 (1830): 496-526, at 517.

⁹⁶ The Treaty of Paris with respect to the Ionian Islands is discussed in Shaunnagh Dorsett, 'Metropolitan Theorising: Legal Frameworks, Protectorates and Models for Māori Governance 1837-1838', *Law & History* 3 (2016): 1-27.

⁹⁷ Busby to Col. Sec., 16 Jun. 1837, MS. 345, ATL, 245-263.

⁹⁸ See also McHugh, "A Pretty Gov[ernment]!".

⁹⁹ Rammohan Roy, 'A Letter on English Education' (Calcutta, 1823), in *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, ed. Jogendra Chunder Ghose (Allahabad, 1906), 471-74.

shaped indigenous conceptions of their various islands and tribal polities as a united ‘Nu Tireni’ (New Zealand).¹⁰⁰

Firstly, some general comments about what the Declaration was intended to effect in the context of a tribal society. ‘He Wakaputanga’ – the Declaration text in the native tongue, which was signed or marked by chiefs – reached out to grasp at something beyond the tribal polities and geo-politics of the time. It aspired to confederate both related and distant political communities and create a new political community (or ‘nation’). The revolutionary character of this text in its indigenous setting has not been sufficiently emphasized in the historiography. The intellectual revolution it heralded is seen by its reference to these distant ‘hapū’ or tribes as ‘tauiwi’ or foreigners. Thus, even ‘foreign’ tribes were to be embraced by this new imagined political community, to employ Benedict Anderson’s celebrated turn of phrase.¹⁰¹

It is reasonable to say that ‘He Wakaputanga’ created a Māori or New Zealand state on paper before there was any clear conception in indigenous minds of a ‘Māori nationality’, that is, an imagined political community that comprised all tribes. Even the chief Hone Heke, who took an axe to the staff flying the Union Jack in 1844, we could describe as the first patriot – as Christopher Bayly described Rammohan Roy – rather than the first nationalist.¹⁰² It is possible to agree with a recent history that the process of selecting the 1834 flag and drafting the Declaration ‘had undoubtedly contributed to the Māori participants’ sense of identity as an independent *people*’, but we must be careful not to overstate this effect on consciousness. The same history also considers that the Declaration and the assembly it spoke of ‘together represented a step further: that is, toward a functioning Māori *state*’, a state in which individual chiefs would be subject to the collective authority of the United Tribes. The Declaration proposed ‘a major shift in a new direction’.¹⁰³ This assessment sits uncomfortably with the Waitangi Tribunal’s 2014 view that He Wakaputanga was in essence a declaration by independent hapū leaders of their (independent) traditional authority, and was not intended – despite the Māori language text – to establish anything new by way of an assembly (Congress) to make laws for tribes.¹⁰⁴

However, ‘He Wakaputanga’ – the document and the act of making it – clearly inaugurated something new. At minimum, it suggested – *at the level of political thought* – the possibility

¹⁰⁰ Cohn, ‘Anthropology and History’, 73.

¹⁰¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

¹⁰² Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*, 59-60; cf. Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 149-50 (‘Precolonial patriotism connoted a link between land and people without the land being too closely delimited’).

¹⁰³ *Tangata Whenua*, 187-188.

¹⁰⁴ See Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti*, 214, and the further critique of Tribunal’s findings in footnotes below.

of a completely different form of polity from that of the hapū (tribe). Conversely, to suggest that those northern chiefs had conceived of the independence of a political community characterised as ‘native/māori’ or ‘New Zealand’ is to define in ethnic and territorial terms what was much more about seeking to regulate the law and order problems associated with incoming settlers and their new ways in a locale. For a start, the Declaration text did not employ the notion of ‘tangata Māori’ – that is, of a ‘native person’ or the native population. In 1835, this usage was developing and was employed in 1840 in the indigenous language text of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The concept of ‘state’ in 1835 is arguably more problematic than that of a Māori nationality or nation. There is, in fact, no word in the Māori language that comes close to rendering the Western notion of ‘state’. The best the translators of the Declaration could do was use the concept of ‘he W[h]enua Rangatira’. This was used to translate ‘an independent state’ in the English text, mirroring the use of ‘rangatiratanga’ for ‘independence’ in the same article (or clause). Its use in this way was clearly a neologism of the missionary translators as there is evidence that the original sense of ‘he whenua rangatira’ was a ‘state of peace’ or ‘quiet land’. Even if ‘he whenua rangatira’ were to be re-rendered into English as ‘a chiefly land’, this still has a quite different sense from ‘independent state’.¹⁰⁵ (Interestingly, somewhat later uses of ‘whenua rangatira’ that show up in a *Papers Past* search for the period c. 1848-1916 show English translations consistent with the connotation of land in a state of peace or a ‘chiefly’ or ‘free’ country, rather than a state.¹⁰⁶) The translators in 1835 also rendered ‘infant state’ very loosely as ‘Tamaarikitanga’ – literally, ‘childhood’, which connotes the sense of imperial trusteeship. To suggest that the Western concept of ‘state’ – in the sense of government of a defined territory – is present unambiguously in the indigenous language text, or in ‘native’ minds, in 1835 does in fact seem a doubtful exercise of reading-back into the early nineteenth century much later notions of ethnic nation-states, or later pan-tribal political developments such as the 1880s-90s Māori parliament movement.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ See William Williams, *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language* (London, 1852), 137; H. W. Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language* (Wellington, 1971), 323; see also Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti*, 172-75, 199.

¹⁰⁶ Results of ‘exact phrase’ search of ‘whenua rangatira’ numbered 16: https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers?items_per_page=10&phrase=2&query=whenua+rangatira&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA. The search function is not without its errors, as there are other examples: in the 1845 text *Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha*, discussed in chapter five, where the translation is ‘a noble and free country’: see *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 8. (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/03/31/9>).

¹⁰⁷ See also Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti*, 203, 214-215. While the Tribunal agrees with this chapter that the Declaration effected no Māori or supra-tribal state, its conclusion that rangatira saw it as a simple affirmation of the existing political structures based on tribal

At the same time, it would be wrong to underestimate the intellectual transformations that had been occurring in indigenous minds over some decades. Marsden had signalled, in 1815, the New Zealanders' fascination with other political forms, including kingship. If we observe Cohn's dicta of anthropological history concerning 'events which affect and transform structures', we can see 1835 as an event that did carry significant symbolic potential, around which meaning grew. The 1835 document was also a *written text* containing *new language* – language that carried symbols and skeins of ideas propelling (or reflected in) other developments in the periods that followed. The textual (and contextual) factors influencing the emergence of the 'King Movement' amongst some tribes of the 1850s are considered below (in chapters six and seven).

What were the key concepts, in the Māori language text of 'He Wakaputanga', that were novel and contributed to the transformation of indigenous political institutions in subsequent years? The core concept of confederating both related and 'foreign' tribes has been touched upon but needs some further elaboration with respect to the concept of a single 'Nu Tireni' or New Zealand. In the Māori language text, the chiefs declared themselves to be 'nga Tino Rangatira o nga iwi o Nu Tireni' – the 'hereditary chiefs and heads' of the 'tribes' or peoples of 'the Northern parts of New Zealand'. And the Congress was given the native name 'Ko te Wakaminenga o nga Hapu o Nu Tireni' – the 'United Tribes of New Zealand'. 'Nu Tireni' was repeated throughout the text, in three of its four clauses. By 1835, northern chiefs were becoming familiar with Europeans addressing them as 'the chiefs of New Zealand'. On his New Zealand arrival in 1833, Busby had presented a letter from the Secretary of State which addressed them as such.¹⁰⁸ Busby's own speech on arrival did the same.¹⁰⁹ The 1831 petition to the King from 13 northern chiefs had also adopted this appellation.¹¹⁰ But the extent to which chiefs had themselves adopted 'Nu Tireni' is uncertain. 'New Zealand' was a British appellation, adapted from the Dutch East India Company's 'Nieuw Zeeland' of the seventeenth century.¹¹¹ In the mid-1830s, it is uncertain whether chiefs apprehended 'Nu Tireni' as a bounded territorial entity encompassing the various islands that the British understood as

autonomy is problematic, even based solely on a fair reading of the Māori language text. This states, for example, that the highest authority in the land of the Assembly/Congress of New Zealand resides with the great chiefs 'of our gathering' (that is, the Congress).

¹⁰⁸ Lord Viscount Goderich to the Chiefs of New Zealand, encl. 4 in James Stephen to John Backhouse, 12 Dec. 1838, in *GBPP*, IUP, vol. 3, 55-56.

¹⁰⁹ *Letter of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Goderich and Address of James Busby, Esq. British Resident, to the Chiefs of New Zealand/ Ko te Pukapuka o te Tino Rangatira o Waikautā Koreriha, me te Korero o Te Puhipi ki nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani* (Sydney, [1833]), BIM 20, ATL.

¹¹⁰ W. Yate to Col. Sec., N.S.W., 16 Nov. 1831.

¹¹¹ John Wilson, 'European discovery of New Zealand - Tasman's achievement', *Te Ara: the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/european-discovery-of-new-zealand/page-3>, updated 1 May 2016).

‘New Zealand’. Since these Antipodean islands were only just emerging from the ‘musket wars’ that had decimated or displaced a significant proportion of tribes, it is even more difficult to see how chiefs could conceive of ‘New Zealand’ as anything other than a vague territorial appellation of the British, let alone imagine it as shorthand for the metes and bounds of their own political community. Nevertheless, the idea of this ‘native New Zealand’, and even a single indigenous political community under a king, had been promulgated by Europeans for some years, as the account of Marsden’s discussions with chiefs has shown.

Some further nuances in the Declaration text can be noticed, including that the chiefs are chiefs of the ‘iwi’ or peoples of Nu Tireni, while the Congress is an assembly of the ‘hapū’ of Nu Tireni. Scholarship today understands hapū to have been the operative social or political units, or ‘tribes’, of Māori society up until at least the mid-nineteenth century, after which larger pan-hapū or ‘iwi’ groupings became more prominent, at least partly in response to British pre-conceptions and administrative imperatives (including census taking).¹¹² The root meaning of iwi appears to be the concept of bones or a rigid structure of some kind.¹¹³ An early dictionary of 1844 also gives the meaning as ‘tribe’.¹¹⁴ In other texts of the 1840s-50s, ‘iwi’ is used for a group of people, sometimes but not always with the connotation of ‘race’ or ‘tribe’ in English.¹¹⁵ However the generic sense of iwi as people or tribe underwent various alterations in meaning as it was used in biblical and government texts from the 1830s onwards. Hence, the text of He Wakaputanga carries some linguistic or conceptual ambiguity about the relevant political unit(s) when it refers to chiefs as chiefs of both ‘iwi’ and ‘hapū’. It is possible to see in this the influence of the missionary translators of the text. In scriptural translations, the prevalent biblical notion of a distinct ‘nation’ was often rendered as ‘iwi’.¹¹⁶ The changing uses and meanings of ‘iwi’ is a key focus of the thesis, especially from chapter three onwards.

The idea of a chiefly assembly – Congress or ‘Te Wakaminenga’ – has been explored in its British constitutional contexts. There is no doubt that although collective decision-making was

¹¹² Ballara, *Iwi*; and Heather Angela Ballara, ‘The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu’, Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1991.

¹¹³ See Richard Benton, Alex Frame and Paul Meredith, eds., *Te Mātāpunenga: A Compendium of References to the Concepts and Institutions of Māori Customary Law* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2013), 100; cf. Edward Tregear, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Wellington, 1891), 109.

¹¹⁴ William Williams, *A Dictionary of the New-Zealand Language, and A Concise Grammar; to which are added A Selection of Colloquial Sentences* (Paihia: Church Missionary Society, 1844), 30.

¹¹⁵ Sir George Grey, *Ko Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna Maori* (London, 1854), 16, 36, 37, 40, 45, 46; cf., Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology, and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race* (London, 1855), 61-62.

¹¹⁶ See Benton *et al.*, *Te Mātāpunenga*, 100; and Māmari Stephens and Mary Boyce, eds., *He Papakupu Reo Ture: A Dictionary of Māori Legal Terms* (Wellington: LexisNexis, 2013), 15.

customary, the form of an annual assembly and its purpose – to make laws or ‘ture’ for the regulation of trade and the preservation of peace and good order – were very new. Henare underlines this novelty: ‘The idea that Māori would pass legislative law and that it was to apply to all Māori represented a radical development in Māori custom law and practice’.¹¹⁷ The idea of legislation was not so much a development of custom as a radically new idea or practice that had the potential to transform or transmute custom, or displace it altogether. Equally, the flexibility of New Zealand custom, and ‘philosophical and religious thought’, made the reception of such new ideas possible.¹¹⁸

The way in which the concept of kingship appears in the text is also noteworthy. It is used to render the ‘sovereign power and authority’ of the United Tribes – ‘ko te Kingitanga ko te mana’ (literally, the kingship and the authority). This use of ‘kingitanga’ in the Declaration text would appear to be an abstract sense of the highest authority, rather than the office of ‘King’, which could only be filled by a single person. Several other ‘tauiwi’ or ‘foreign’ chiefs from outside northern New Zealand signed the document. In 1839, the influential chief from the Waikato region, Te Wherowhero, was the last to sign. In 1858, almost two decades later, he was made the first Māori king. In this, there is a conceptual irony: having declared his authority ostensibly as member of an aristocratic assemblage of chiefs, he is later appointed as a Māori monarch. A parliament and a king are not, of course, necessarily inconsistent with each other. But the various textual uses of kingship, and the actual political form it later acquired in the ‘Kingitanga’ movement, illustrate the fluidity of such concepts – a fluidity in meaning and political consciousness that is also very evident in British and European constitutional history.

The concept of kingship recurs in recorded discussions between European and Māori prior to British annexation through the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. In June 1839, the Anglican missionary, Richard Davis, wrote to Busby of his constitutional discussions with certain chiefs:

I believe there are strong desires in the minds of many of the chiefs to change their Political economy. They are convinced while every one is his own Master, and at liberty to do as his mind[,] which is in too many cases under no moral control[,] may dictate that there is but little prospect of their being able to preserve the Sovereignty of their country or to live in peace. They have therefore some of them serious thoughts of having a meeting to arrange matters for the election of a King.¹¹⁹

To this the British Resident responded that chiefs had also put to him ‘whether I would not be their King if so allowed by the Queen’. Busby had rebuffed such proposals and stated to Davis

¹¹⁷ Henare, ‘From Tribes to Nation’, 191.

¹¹⁸ Henare, ‘From Tribes to Nation’, 189.

¹¹⁹ R. Davis to J. Busby, 29 Jun. 1839, MS. 352, ATL, 36.

that he thought ‘a King from amongst themselves is quite out of the question’, that such an idea would tend to ‘defeat’ the object of ‘establishing peace and order in the Country’. He thought, instead, that the missionaries and settlers might ‘prevail upon the Chiefs to send a deputation of their number to England with full powers from the rest to treat with the English Government’, for this would be most likely to achieve ‘a satisfactory arrangement’. Busby’s letter to Davis also inferred that he was in some difficulty with his New South Wales superiors due to Busby allegedly ‘interfering to change the present political relations of the Natives’.¹²⁰ It is possible this was a reference to the Declaration, which Busby continued to hold out hopes for as late as 1839 when he was still collecting chiefly signatures. A couple of months after the Davis correspondence, Busby wrote to his brother in New South Wales, suggesting that ‘the confederated chiefs should be induced to send two of their number [to England] with me as Plenipotentiaries’ with a view to providing ‘for the administration of justice in cases affecting the natives also’.¹²¹ This private letter is clear evidence that Busby still saw the Confederation as relevant and conceived of representative chiefs treating with Britain on its behalf.

He Wakaputanga undoubtedly brought Britain and its empire closer to tribal New Zealand. This can be seen, as Manuka Henare has written, as the furtherance in northern minds of a relationship with British monarchy initially formed by chief Hongi Hika’s meeting with King George in 1820.¹²² But it is arguably the ‘liberal’ ideas carried by empire – specifically the constitutional ideas wrapped up in both British history and contemporary political thought – that in both the immediate and longer term had greater influence on indigenous minds than the formalities of empire enacted through a British Resident or a British governor. While a British king and governor embodied a new world of cultural meanings, it was the broader political ideas themselves – ideas about kingship, assemblies, law and courts, and civil government generally – that would have various consequences and expressions in tribal and pan-tribal movements in the decades that followed. The emergence of a ‘Māori’ or indigenous ‘national’ consciousness was one of these consequences that was encouraged by British discourse in important ways, including the conversations of Samuel Marsden and James Busby, culminating in the 1835 Declaration – ‘the high water-mark’ of European attempts to create a unitary native government.¹²³ For some imperial or colonial agents and architects of

¹²⁰ J. Busby to R. Davis, 11 Jul. 1839, MS. 352, ATL, 36.

¹²¹ J. Busby to A. Busby, 14 Sep. 1839, MS. 347, ATL, 124-125.

¹²² Henare, ‘From Tribes to Nation’, 180, 195-196.

¹²³ This is the Waitangi Tribunal’s assessment, that the Declaration/He Wakaputanga was the high water-mark of European attempts to mould northern rangatira into a single/unified government. This assessment has some merit. As queried above, the Tribunal also found that, for northern leaders involved, He Wakaputanga was a declaration of mana (authority) regarding their own territories. If this is all the Declaration was (to Māori), then it effected very little in European terms by way of a unitary, supra-tribal state – especially in the institutional form of the Congress, whose ostensible role

the 1830s, however, it is also possible that a supra-tribal consciousness was not foreseen with any clarity.

Whether such consciousness was inconsistent with a unitary civil government or political society comprehending both indigenes and settler colonists was a real question to be tested by subsequent ideational and political events.

it was to make law ('ture') for this state and exercise functions of government ('kāwanatanga'). Rather, the Tribunal reads Māori intention in the Declaration as an effort by the rangatira of hapū 'to serve hapū interests by co-opting British wealth and power'; they did not want 'regular government' only the enhancement of traditional mana. This finding on the meaning and effect of He Wakaputanga effectively deprives the reo Māori text of much of its meaning: see Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti*, 214-15, 271-74.

Chapter 2: ‘Settler Nationality’ against Empire: the Colonial Reformers and the Case of New Zealand, c. 1839-1846

Introduction: the ‘Liberal-Radical moment’ of colonial reform

A copy of Charles Buller’s *Responsible Government for Colonies* (1840), held archivally in Wellington, has a hand-written annotation inside the front cover. It purports to be a copy of a note written by Henry Samuel Chapman in his copy of the same work. The note reads:

This book was written by Charles Buller, M.P. for Liscard which was his father’s borough before the Reform Bill ... The chapters appeared originally in the form of letters in the *Colonial Gazette* edited by [Robert] Rintoul the proprietor of the *Spectator*. Before they were printed they were read and discussed in the presence of E.G. Wakefield, Rintoul, & myself [H.S. Chapman], & in one or two instances, J.S. Mill was present – as he was when C. Buller’s Speech on Colonization [1843] was read on the Sunday before it was delivered. The name ‘Mr Mother Country’ was suggested by E.G. Wakefield ...¹

This annotation provides a glimpse into the workings of an important coterie of colonial reformers and Radical-leaning MPs and intellectuals. At this period, of the late 1830s, they met often to read and discuss draft pamphlets and speeches on colonial reform before they went ‘public’. This chapter undertakes a study of this group, locating them in their intellectual and imperial contexts.

Chapman’s note is suggestive of the nature of British politics in the early-to-mid nineteenth century: it was fiercely contested by small pressure groups or coterie, who were informed by differing traditions of thought, often derived from bookish knowledge, but also increasingly finding new vehicles in the burgeoning printed world of the newspaper and journal. Politics was less about party than about policies or issues. To the extent there were party formations, the old Whig and Tory dichotomy was breaking down with the expansion of the public sphere, particularly pressures from the aspirant middling classes and the activist working classes. To use a few inchoate words, politics was ‘liberalizing’, ‘radicalizing’, or ‘democratizing’ – though we must be careful about the pace and extent of these changes in terms of core institutions of British government – both metropolitan and imperial.

¹ [Buller, Charles], *Responsible Government for Colonies* (London, 1840), Pam 1840 BUL 71, ATL.

For the colonies of white settlement, including New Zealand, it can be argued that the form of their political and governmental institutions of the 1840s and 1850s were shaped by this ‘Liberal’ or ‘Liberal-Radical moment’ – as I am characterising it – in the domestic and imperial politics of the far-flung British Empire. That moment reflected in turn an historical conjuncture: the transformations in the constitution and economy, and empire, that have been called the ‘Age of Reform’. Key reforms included the abolition of civil disabilities of both Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics in the late 1820s, allowing these groups to enter Parliament and hold public offices; the extension of the vote to a new swathe of the emergent middling classes and industrial cities in the Great Reform Act of 1832 – ‘a fundamental broadening of the political nation’²; the implementation in the 1830s-40s of free trade policies in the British empire and the rolling back of mercantilism, seen prominently in abolition of the trade monopoly of the East India Company in 1833 and repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846; the emergence of ‘the condition of England question’ (the phrase coined by Thomas Carlyle in 1839) concerning the industrial and rural squalor of much of the working classes, and, associated with this, the debate on colonies and their purposes, including as migratory destinations for the poor and other classes competing in an overcrowded marketplace. The period was also marked by the campaign to abolish slavery throughout the British empire and by protracted debate on the employment and civil status of slaves now ‘freed’. Movements for ‘reform’ during the first decades of the nineteenth century encompassed a broad spectrum of interests and agendas. In the reforming 1830s themselves, a range of interest groups seeking greater changes than those accomplished by governments comprised a spectrum of Whigs, Radicals, Owenites, Evangelicals and paternalist Tories.³

Similarly, when thinking of historical causation and conjunctures in the metropolitan discourse on empire and colonization, it is important to note the influence of specific coteries – the activity of small semi-organised groupings that pushed British imperial policy towards settler self-government or ‘responsible government’ (together with ‘systematic colonisation’). There is an argument that this Liberal-Radical moment *of empire* can be traced to the activity of a coterie of Radical MPs, colonial reformers and intellectuals, who have already been identified. This fascinating group, which included Charles Buller M.P., Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Henry S. Chapman, and John Stuart Mill, had more than one connection to each other, to New Zealand, and to the wider British empire. Much historiography highlights the

² Martin Hewitt, ‘Introduction: Victorian milestones’, in M. Hewitt, ed., *The Victorian World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012): 1-53, at 5; yet compare the ongoing influence of elites in British politics as described by Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*; Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*; Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*; Peter Mandler, *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform, Whigs and Liberals, 1830-52* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

³ Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes, eds., *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 41-52.

Radical politics and intellectual currents of the 1830s-40s, but there has been little focus – certainly in New Zealand historiography – on this specific Radical network, its ideas and influence on colonial reform, and its connection to New Zealand.⁴ Tony Ballantyne has recently highlighted some connections between key personnel in the Radical or reformist print culture of the metropole.⁵ Damen Salesa has provided one of the most detailed and sophisticated accounts of the philosophic Radical-Liberal group and its ‘new’ colonial projects, and he rightly associates these projects with the metropolitan, reforming milieu.⁶ Salesa productively frames these projects as ‘racial amalgamation’, while most of the historiography on the Colonial Reformers is concerned with political economy or Wakefield’s theory of systematic colonization.⁷ This chapter is distinguishable from this recent work in its focus on conceptions of political community, government or authority involved in the colonial project, and it explores how these conceptions reflected the expanded notions of the political nation of the Age of Reform – tending to be ‘horizontal’, ‘democratic’, ‘Radical’, and even ‘Romantic’ in character.⁸ The political dynamism and intellectual ferment of 1820s-30s Britain is thus an integral part of explaining the influence, if not the very existence, of a colonial reform movement; and it is these links that are the focus of this chapter.

If the spectrum of reforming groups in the 1830s-40s was wide, so was the variant interests assembled under the term ‘Radical’, from the popular radicalism earlier associated with figures such as William Cobbett, Francis Place and (differently, and earlier again) John Wilkes,

⁴ Useful surveys of the Radical and Liberal milieu include: J. P. Parry, ‘Liberalism and Liberty’, and E. F. Biagini, ‘Radicalism and Liberty’, in P. Mander, ed., *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); in relation to imperialism, Miles Taylor, ‘Imperium et Libertas? Rethinking the Radical Critique of Imperialism during the Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 19/1 (1991): 1-23; and for Australia, David Llewellyn, ‘Bentham and Australia’, *Revue D’Études Benthamiennes* 19, <https://journals.openedition.org/etudes-benthamiennes/8517> (accessed June 2021); for cf. with another coalition of interests and ideology, see Jeremy Black, ed., *The Tory World: Deep History and the Tory Theme in British Foreign Policy, 1679-2014* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

⁵ Ballantyne, ‘Remaking the Empire from Newgate’, 41-43 (Rintoul at the *Spectator*, and J. S. Mill; concerning whom, see below).

⁶ Damon Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 28-53.

⁷ Insightful recent studies of Wakefield and systematic colonization, including the influence of stadial theory on his political economy, are Philip Steer, *Settler Colonialism in Victorian Literature: Economics and Political Identity in the Networks of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 35-51; Ballantyne, ‘Remaking the Empire from Newgate’; and Olssen, ‘Mr Wakefield and New Zealand’.

⁸ Katherine Smits discusses the Radical concerns for political equality and the advocacy of J S Mill for settler self-government, although she mainly engages with another large body of literature on the nature of Mill’s liberalism and how his support of empire and various colonial projects related to his liberalism: see Katherine Smits, ‘John Stuart Mill on the Antipodes: Settler Violence against Indigenous Peoples and the Legitimacy of Colonial Rule’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54/1 (2008): 1-15.

to the popular Chartist movements of the late 1830s-40s, to the philosophic Radicals or parliamentary Radicals, some of whom are the focus of this chapter and who were typically proponents of more moderate reform (at least when compared with plebian radical or Chartist groupings).⁹ The character of this grouping is thus perhaps best captured with the appellation of Liberal-Radical (or Radical-Liberal) to distinguish it from the more popular or democratizing forms of radicalism.

This chapter will touch on a few of the key print and periodical texts of this Liberal-Radical coterie to see how they constructed the argument for settler representative government. This story began in earnest with the Durham Report of 1839. Then, and associated with these arguments, the chapter will examine the concept of settler or colonial 'nationality'; how this was constructed or imagined by this Radical grouping. A striking feature of these arguments was the conscious attempt to create a new colonial public or 'public sphere' through the vehicle of print itself – especially the newspaper. These new publics were to be engendered in contradistinction to a distant and disengaged metropolitan public, features that disqualified the metropole from being a participatory part of the new colonial communities. Lastly, arguments for settler nationality often had to contend with questions over the relationship of indigenes or other *ethnie*, nations or races with the new settler polities. The colonial reformers' arguments were focussed on projecting a vision of new *settler* political communities; their emphasis on *self*-government, which often employed the trope of municipalism – *local* self-government – tended to minimise the extent to which these imagined political communities could meaningfully incorporate other political communities within their orbit.

The Liberal-Radical coterie: who were they?

This Liberal-Radical coterie was an important exception to the continuing dominance of aristocratic and landed elites in British politics. The range of their imperial involvements is striking. Almost all had Canadian careers, in some form. Some key members had both Australian and New Zealand careers. If we were to further characterise this Liberal-Radical coterie: it was middling-class in social background, with a significant representation of government employees; was utilitarian in philosophy, with an important admixture of Romantic thought; and was Liberal-Radical in political alignments and concerned to combat social and economic ills at home partly through state-sponsored colonization schemes. It was also attuned to the economic opportunities presented by colonies – that is, as a means to

⁹ See Burns and Innes, *Rethinking the Age of Reform*, 24-25, 32-35; and Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?: England, 1783-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 328-32, 342-46, 424-29; for eighteenth century radicalism, or extra-parliamentary urban political culture, see Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); see also Colley, *Britons*; and E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Books, 1991).

deploy both capital and labour overseas. This chapter focusses on only some of the Liberal-Radical coterie – on their ideas of colonial government reform. Others important to the wider Radical, reforming milieu, including the parliamentary Radicals, William Molesworth and John Roebuck, have not been included in this survey.

John Stuart Mill was of course the son of James Mill, a leading philosophic Radical and utilitarian. Both father and son were career employees of the East India Company in London. John Stuart is considered by some today a leading exponent of what is now called classical liberalism, associated with ideas of individual liberty and *laissez faire* economics. Such a categorization tends to obscure more than it reveals. Mill's philosophic and political outlook was a complex mixture of Benthamite utilitarianism, economic and constitutional liberalism, Romantic concern for the social, and an imperialism and political outlook informed by extensive historical reading, including of the classics. He had correspondents all over the world, including French philosopher Auguste Comte and historian politician Alexis de Tocqueville. He was a friend of Thomas Carlyle, especially in the wake of his early twenties 'mental crisis', and his maid once accidentally burnt Carlyle's manuscript on the French Revolution.¹⁰

Charles Buller was born in Calcutta in 1806, the son of an East India Company civil servant. Buller, too, was a friend of Carlyle. A leader of the Radicals in the House of Commons in the 1830s, Buller, along with other parliamentary Radical colleagues, saw the 1832 Reform Act as a partial measure. Buller was an enthusiastic supporter of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theories of systematic colonisation as a means of diffusing the surplus capital and labour of England. He was a member of Wakefield's National Colonization Society, as J.S. Mill was. In January 1838, he accepted the post of chief secretary to Lord Durham, nominally leader of the parliamentary Radicals and appointed as governor of the Canadas in 1837. In 1837, Buller joined the New Zealand Association. When its place was taken by the New Zealand Company, he drafted the Company's charter and acted as its agent in negotiating with the Colonial Office after 1840. He drafted a constitution for New South Wales in 1838, which contained a large degree of popular participation. He made his widely publicized speech on colonisation (that referred to by Henry S. Chapman's note in the archival copy of *Responsible Government* highlighted above) in parliament on 6 April 1843, which, according to a biographer, was a *tour de force*. It was reprinted in Wakefield's *A View of the Art of Colonisation* (1849).¹¹

¹⁰ See Robson, ed., *Collected Works*; and the extensive secondary literature on Mill, which however is usually less focussed on his imperial thought and more on his British domestic philosophy and economics.

¹¹ H. J. Spencer, 'Buller, Charles (1806-1848)', in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 613-617.

Henry Samuel Chapman was in his earlier life a newspaper proprietor and editor in Canada. The newspaper Chapman founded with Samuel Revans in Canada – the country's first daily newspaper – advocated responsible self-government. He returned to England in 1835 and became involved in the Liberal-Radical coterie. In England he was a paid agent of the Canadian Liberal party. Chapman edited the *New Zealand Journal* – a weekly published in the period 1840-1846 – under the oversight of E. G. Wakefield, before migrating to New Zealand in the early 1840s to become a junior member of the fledgling New Zealand Supreme Court. In 1843, he published *The New Zealand Portfolio*, which included arguments for responsible government in New Zealand. He later went to Australia and had a political career before returning to New Zealand.¹² Chapman corresponded with J. S. Mill throughout his life, including on the state of New Zealand colonial politics.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield, erstwhile resident of Newgate prison (where he was sent for abducting a heiress), became the leading theorist of systematic colonization in the 1830s. It is easy to be dismissive of Wakefield, because of his colourful private life and the 'mixed blessings' of his colonial legacy. It is clear, however, that his contemporaries, especially his close associates thought him a leading theoretician of political economy, particularly that pertaining to colonies. Wakefield's biographers, Phillip Temple,¹³ and David Moss,¹⁴ have sought to modify some of the harsher judgements of Wakefield. What is not also generally appreciated about Wakefield is the extent of his active political involvements and imperial connections. After his release from prison in 1830, he formed the National Colonization Society. Its early members included none other than Charles Buller, John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham, and Robert Rintoul – editor of *The Spectator* magazine. Other members of significance were Sir William Molesworth, Colonel Torrens, and William Hutt.¹⁵ This was an expanded version of this Radical, reforming coterie.

In 1834, Wakefield was involved in forming the South Australia Association. In 1836, the South Australia Bill became law, providing for self-government when the population reached 50,000 and prohibiting convict transportation. Wakefield quickly became a critic of the administration of the colony.¹⁶ After the 1838 Durham expedition in the Canadian provinces, Wakefield returned to that country three times: in 1841, for the North American Colonial Association of Ireland, regarding an immigration and canal building scheme near Montreal;

¹² D. G. Edwards, 'Chapman, Henry Samuel', in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c14/chapman-henry-samuel>).

¹³ Philip Temple, *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002).

¹⁴ David J. Moss, 'Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796-1862)', in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 56 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 731-34.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 732.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 732.

in December of the same year, when he encouraged the government to include the French Canadians in the new constitution – via letters to the *Colonial Gazette*; and in November 1842, when he was elected (for a brief period) to the assembly.¹⁷

To these middling-class Radicals should be added an aristocratic element – Lord Durham – a Whig parliamentarian and cabinet member in the Melbourne Ministry of the late 1830s. Lord Durham had helped draft the Reform Act of 1832, and was earlier involved in the failed New Zealand Company of 1825.¹⁸ In 1837, Wakefield recruited him for the new Association. Durham asked Wakefield to join his Canadian expedition, which he did, although the Colonial Office denied Wakefield an official position. On their return to England, Durham was reluctant to submit his report of 1839 to the Commons, ‘but Wakefield forced his hand by leaking it to *The Times*’, according to Wakefield biographer David Moss. Durham admitted paying close attention to Wakefield’s advice in the report, but, as with Buller, it is not known what his exact contribution was. A popular epigram put the contemporary speculation succinctly: ‘Wakefield thought it, Buller wrote it, Durham signed it’.¹⁹ Wakefield was clearly the author of an appendix to the Durham Report in which he sought to apply his colonisation system to British North America.²⁰

Like other political and reformist coterie, this Liberal-Radical group was well read, prodigiously so in the case of such as J. S. Mill.²¹ They had worked-up ideas about the British constitution, political economy, the Empire, and many other subjects. As they were a coterie, they had coalesced around a specific political platform: in the domestic politics of the 1830s, a leading policy platform was the secret ballot, which was meant to put a stop to aristocratic or untoward influences supposedly more in play when voting was by public polling. These philosophic and parliamentary Radicals were involved in many of the leading 1830s and 40s reforms, including free trade and Poor Law reforms; and many were concerned with Irish reforms. For the (external) empire, it was colonial reform. As with other parliamentary groupings of the time, however, ‘party discipline’ or organisation was loose to non-existent, and they did not present a unified front on many questions.

¹⁷ Ibid., 733.

¹⁸ Ged Martin, ‘Lambton, John George, first earl of Durham (1792-1840)’, in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 32 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 334-38.

¹⁹ Moss, ‘Wakefield’, 733; see also, Martin, ‘Lambton, John George’, 336-337.

²⁰ Moss, ‘Wakefield’, 733.

²¹ Matthew Birchall’s recent article refers to the extensive collection of historical works in the New Zealand Company’s library in London, including ‘eight volumes of American charters, along with contemporary company prospectuses and a smattering of classic texts on the history of corporations’: see Matthew Birchall, ‘History, Sovereignty, Capital: Company Colonization in South Australia and New Zealand’, *Journal of Global History* (2020): 1-17, at 12, doi:[10.1017/S1740022820000133](https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022820000133).

Beyond ideological ends, they had means. In addition to meeting to debate ideas, advocacy in Parliament, and direct political lobbying, they also had the press and world of early Victorian print. They possessed their own learned periodical, *the London and Westminster Review*; which was created to compete in the same marketplace as the Tory *Quarterly Review* and Whig *Edinburgh Review*. They had close associations with the daily or weekly press. One of their number was Robert Rintoul, editor of the *Spectator*, a weekly with a decidedly Radical slant. In 1839 the *Spectator* began to publish in tandem with itself a weekly named the *Colonial Gazette*.²² The *Colonial Gazette*, which commenced publication in 1838, was in fact the mouthpiece of the early colonial reform movement itself.

Henry Chapman was a prolific contributor to the Radical press, not only the Canadian and New Zealand colonial newspapers, including, as noted above, the *New Zealand Journal*. In the mid-to-late 1830s, he appears to have assisted with the editing and publication of the *London and Westminster Review*.²³ In 1841, he published a lengthy appraisal 'Comparative Prospects of our Colonies' in its successor title, the *Westminster Review*.²⁴ As befitted the fraternal nature of the political presses, one of the works reviewed in this 1841 piece was the *New Zealand Journal* – a case of reviewing one's own newspaper. Another was Wakefield's *England and America* – a case of reviewing the works of one's close associates, a frequent phenomenon.

The first New Zealand newspaper also began its life in tandem with the first New Zealand Company settlement in Wellington. Essentially a New Zealand Company promulgation, the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* was first printed in London in 1839, then in Wellington in April 1840.

Advocating for settler Representative Government: the Durham Report (1839)

The production of this Radical coterie most well-known to posterity is the Durham Report. In Canadian historiography, the orthodoxy used to be that the report was Canada's gift to the white settler world, laying the platform for a new type of colony.²⁵ For all its fame, the report is a prolix production. And its authorship is still opaque. However, tradition ascribes it to not only Lord Durham, but to his two ghost-writers, Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield. How this somewhat incongruous group could have been thrown together in such a way as to

²² See *Colonial Gazette*, no. 36, 3 Aug. 1839.

²³ As indicated by letters from Mill to Chapman, Nov. 1835 and Feb. 1836 (the immediate reference is to the *London Review*, a predecessor title), see Robson, ed. *Collected Works*, vol. 12 (letters nos. 153 and 162).

²⁴ *Westminster Review* 35 (1841): 131-187.

²⁵ See D. R. Owram, 'Canada and the Empire', in R. W. Winks and A. Low, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 5, *Historiography* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 146-62; and Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?*, 567.

become the joint authors of an important state paper is an intriguing phenomenon, but it reflects the strong advocacy and influence of this group of Radicals at the time. It also reflects the Liberal-Radical moment of the 1830s in domestic and imperial politics.

John Stuart Mill later confirmed the tradition of the report's authorship. In his *Considerations on Representative Government* of 1861 he identified its 'joint authors' as Mr. Wakefield and Charles Buller and stated that the Report inaugurated a 'new era in the colonial policy of nations'.²⁶ So what was this 'new era' of colonial policy? In brief, it was that settler colonies should be allowed to manage their own internal affairs through elected representative assemblies, from which the Executive Government of the colony would be drawn and to which it would be 'responsible' or accountable – 'responsible government'. This was the Westminster system of government transplanted to the colonies – considered a radical plan in the context of Crown colony or imperial government at the time. The suggestion that the franchise or right to vote would be broadly based was also Radical. Although this is not clearly articulated within the Durham text, the language of 'popular' government certainly implied it.²⁷ Mill himself suggested that by 1861 British colonies possessed 'very popular constitutions' or governments 'constituted on highly democratic principles'.²⁸ Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* defined 'popular' as 'vulgar; plebeian' (from the French, 'populaire', and Latin, 'popularis') and 'suitable to the common people' (from Milton).²⁹

Alexander Brady has written, concerning J.S. Mill's ambitions to form a strong Radical grouping both in and out of Parliament in the 1830s, that the Durham Report was 'a Radical rather than a Whig or Tory document'. Mill had pinned his hopes on 'radical Jack' – Lord Durham – to coordinate a Radical party in Parliament, but these hopes were dashed when Durham died in 1840.³⁰ Brady also notes, however, that Mill's radicalism, including his support for the 1830 French overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy, was tempered by the

²⁶ Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 19, 563; see also J. S. Mill to Sir W. Molesworth, 19 Oct. 1838, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 13, 390 (letter no. 248); Alexander Brady, 'Introduction', in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 18, xlv-l; Georgios Varouxakis, *Liberty Abroad: J. S. Mill on International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 127-128.

²⁷ *Report on the Affairs of British North America from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner* (Montreal, 1839), 29 (comments that the North American colonies possessed representative Assemblies 'established on the basis of a very wide, and, in some cases, almost universal suffrage', yet despite this the system of imperial government meant 'the people' had no 'efficient control' over their 'rulers'); and see 106-108 (the Report's 'Conclusion', which proposes a union of the provinces via a representative assembly and 'popular' government responsible to it).

²⁸ *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 19, 563.

²⁹ Johnson, *Dictionary*. In most Liberal-radical versions, voters would be drawn from the adult male population who owned some property or had some measure of education; in more purely radical (working class or Chartist) versions, voters would be all adult males.

³⁰ Brady, 'Introduction', in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 18, xiv.

aftermath of this revolution. His belief in popular representative institutions remained, but this needed an effective system of popular education and the strong influence of enlightened minorities.³¹

The Durham Report identified the malaise of the Canadian and North American provinces as a lack of accountability of the imperial rulers to the local settlers and their assemblies. With respect to Lower Canada, the problem was both unaccountable rulers and the fostering of French nationality, which created a separation between the races. The Durham Report's simple remedy for this antagonism of race was reiterated many times, including:

Had the sounder policy of making the Province English, in all its institutions, been adopted from the first, and steadily persevered in, the French would probably have been speedily outnumbered, and the beneficial operation of the free institutions of England would never have been impeded by the animosities of origin.³²

It was a 'vain endeavour', asserted the Report, to attempt to preserve a French Canadian nationality when English immigration was inevitable; sooner or later 'the progress of Anglo Saxon colonization' in the Canadas would overtake and 'the English race' would 'predominate' due to 'their superior knowledge, energy, enterprise, and wealth'.³³ The report described a situation of institutional plurality under British imperial government that was, apparently, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, considered plausible, but which had now been shown – argued Durham and his collaborators – to be conceptually and practically faulty:

Thus two populations of hostile origin and different characters were brought into juxtaposition under a common government, but under different institutions; each was taught to cherish its own language, laws, and habits, and each, at the same time, if it moved beyond its original [geographic] limits, was brought under different institutions, and associated with a different people.³⁴

The report's language of Anglo-Saxon superiority assumed large proportions.³⁵ It is easy to see that this language played to a strong cultural Anglo-Saxonism of the period. This was stimulated in part through the novels of Sir Walter Scott, and the writings and ravings of such

³¹ Ibid., xv; and see xvii-xviii.

³² *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, 26.

³³ Ibid., 27.

³⁴ Ibid., 26-27.

³⁵ Ibid., 29-31.

as Coleridge and Carlyle, which in turn reflected some strands of the continental Romantic movement.³⁶

The policy of the Durham Report might be called a policy of institutional amalgamation – or, more crudely, the imposition of English-style institutions on all groups in the Canadas, and the fostering of British (or English) immigration, which would soon swamp the older French rural population. But the reasoning for this is more interesting, linked as it was to changing concepts of nationality and the relationship of settler nationality to the government of settler colonies accountable to their own unitary public spheres. These elements are extrapolated on below.

Charles Buller, *Responsible Government* (1840)

Charles Buller's *Responsible Government*, published in 1840, was a republication of various articles published during the preceding year in the *Colonial Gazette*. It was intended to support the main arguments of the Durham Report. It did so in a pointed and concise way – without the profuseness of the parent document.

Buller argued (in chapter one) that the present government of colonies was contrary to the constitutional 'birthright' of Englishmen, in that it denied them any share of self-government.³⁷ Settler assemblies 'every where' were denied influence on the imperial executive of the colony: the latter administered the laws, expended the public funds, directed 'the whole internal policy' of the 'community', even though the assembly had no confidence in them and no control over them.³⁸

This was contrary, argued Buller, to the principle of the 1688 constitution, which he maintained was that 'the Executive cannot for a long time differ from the majority of the Representative body'.³⁹ He argued this same principle could be viewed in the conduct of municipal bodies and commercial companies, 'in which the burgesses and shareholders have a voice in the management of their affairs'.⁴⁰ And it contrasted with the 'Old Colonies of England' in America.⁴¹ As a result, the colonies were in a state 'always verging on revolution'.⁴² Arguments from municipal government were carried through into the mid-1840s by the same

³⁶ See Mandler, '“Race” and “Nation”'; see also Billie Melman, 'Claiming the Nation's Past: The Invention of an Anglo-Saxon Tradition', *Journal of Contemporary History* 26 (1991): 575-95; Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

³⁷ [Buller], *Responsible Government*, 3-4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 10.

Liberal-Radicals, as Mark Hickford has recently highlighted.⁴³ In 1846, Wakefield could argue in correspondence with Gladstone that ‘municipalities’ were the ‘germ of a Responsible Government in a colony’.⁴⁴ Hickford also identifies the opposition at the imperial centre to extrapolations from, or colonial applications of, the principle of municipal self-government. Disraeli could write in 1851 that the colonial reformers’ argument for ‘local government’ was tantamount to ‘dissolving the Empire’.⁴⁵ Lord Stanley, in 1845, characterised settler ‘representative government’ as ‘republican’ – where this descriptor was anathema not praise.⁴⁶ Such responses demonstrate how, in the 1830s-40s, settler self-government, especially so where associated with the loss of the American colonies, was not looked on with much favour by many at Westminster.

But Buller and his colleagues did not appear worried about using the American experience as some sort of precedent. It could be employed as a ‘stick’ – representing the fear of ‘losing’ the American colonies and thus, by analogy, colonies more recently established. America seems also to have been in the background as an implied ‘carrot’ – with real irony, given the ‘loss’ narrative. For the reformers positively characterised a colony as an independent, or at least, semi-independent, new community. Buller articulated (in chapter three of *Responsible Government*) the constitutional principles of ‘self-government’ and ‘the rights of Englishmen’. There is no reason, said Buller, why ‘national vanity’ or vague notions of ‘colonial dependence’ should prevent these new ‘communities’ – ‘like the great community from which they are offsets’ – from managing their own affairs.⁴⁷ The proper relation between the empire and its dependencies did not dictate that English settlers ‘must be content to be governed in a manner the most repugnant to every notion that education and custom have implanted in their breasts’.⁴⁸

It is quite evident from Buller’s analysis that there could be settler communities distinct from any broader community that included the home nation or empire. And because these communities were competent to govern themselves, they were distinct *political* communities – in essence, distinguishable polities or political societies. As Matthew Birchall has recently highlighted, the colonial reformers and colonization associations, including those connected with South Australia and New Zealand, had originally appealed to the history of the American chartered colonies as a precedent for their own ambitions. This had typically involved an

⁴³ Mark Hickford, ‘Designing Constitutions in Britain’s Mid-Nineteenth Century Empire – Indigenous Territorial Government in New Zealand and Retrieving Constitutional Histories’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 46/4 (2018): 676-706.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 685.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 698.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 683.

⁴⁷ Buller, *Responsible Government*, 23-24.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

argument for the self-government of colonies, an argument that the Colonial Office was wary of in the 1830s, especially when it would establish settler ‘republics’ or sovereignties over large territorial expanses with little accountability to Westminster (including regarding the rights of indigenes, although this concern was more prominent for the case of New Zealand).⁴⁹

Buller’s argument in *Responsible Government* was therefore a re-run of the appeals to American precedent, except this time specifically in relation to settler constitutions and expanded on with the concept of a government accountable to ‘public opinion’. In chapter six, entitled ‘Mr Mothercountry, of the Colonial Office’ (someone has annotated ‘Mr Stephen’ in a copy I have),⁵⁰ Buller argued that it made no sense for the colonies to be governed from the imperial centre because the nature or quality of ‘public opinion’ and debate on colonial questions, in the press and in Parliament, was usually poor or partial – largely due to communication difficulties and misinformation, and the few people in Britain who had any real experience or knowledge of the colony.⁵¹ In 1844, a New Zealand newspaper, the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, extracted a piece from the London *Morning Herald*, which made a related point: that the official ‘blue books’ on the colonies ‘will never create a colonial public in England’, in large part because they were so voluminous and ‘uninteresting’.⁵²

In his conclusion, Buller again identified the key structural problem of imperial governance as its ‘irresponsible’ nature, which he understood to mean an authority without accountability to any relevant public. His language is striking:

The evils which we have described, are those which necessarily result from the attempt to conduct the internal affairs of the Colonies in accordance with the public opinion, not of those Colonies themselves, but of the Mother Country. We have shown that in England there is really no public opinion on Colonial questions; and that what is called the opinion of the public, is in fact nothing but the opinion of the very small number who are habitually occupied with such subjects.⁵³

Buller’s argument can be encapsulated or paraphrased as follows: rule from the Colonial Office, in its little *cul-de-sac* in Downing Street, does not allow for the proper influence of ‘public opinion’ because there is no real ‘public’ scrutiny of colonial policy.⁵⁴ Indeed, since the

⁴⁹ Birchall, ‘History, Sovereignty, Capital’.

⁵⁰ Buller, *Responsible Government*, 65. (Note this is not the archival copy referred to at front of chapter, but another copy.)

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 66–69.

⁵² *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* 3/108, 30 Mar. 1844.

⁵³ Buller, *Responsible Government*, 98.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 73–74.

domestic public are ill-informed or disengaged on colonial questions, there is no real public opinion in England.⁵⁵ The only place where the relevant public opinion exists is in the colonies themselves. But the imperial executives – the governors and councils – in the colonies are ‘entirely free from popular control, and consequently equally independent of popular support’.⁵⁶ This leads to the rule ‘of cabals, and cliques, and compacts’. By contrast, the character of settler self-government would (or should) be participatory and open, with debate in a colonial assembly and an active colonial press.⁵⁷

The last element of an active colonial press is more implicit than explicit in Buller’s text, however contemporaneous issues of the *Colonial Gazette* argued for the vital role of the colonial journal in settler politics. In part this was as a means of effectively reporting colonial affairs back to London. Meanwhile, the *Colonial Gazette* would fulfil its important function of informing multiple colonial populations of the decisions and changes in policy of the Imperial Government. In doing so the *Gazette* would be an ‘eye’ on the British Government, making accountable to ‘public opinion’ the ‘irresponsible’ Colonial Office.⁵⁸ Similarly, the *New Zealand Journal* advocated for the principle of a colonial newspaper to support the ‘special public’ of the young New Zealand colony – a ‘special public’ which included those emigrating and their friends and interested parties in Britain.⁵⁹

The *Colonial Gazette* also proclaimed itself independent of party; it was ‘neither Conservative, nor Whig, nor Radical, but purely Colonial’.⁶⁰ Despite these protestations, the source of the paper was in Radical or Liberal-Radical politics; in fact, in this Liberal-Radical coterie.⁶¹ As moderate Radicals,⁶² they believed that education was an important qualification for effective or truly liberal government. J. S. Mill wrote in ‘State of Society in America’ (1836): ‘High wages and universal reading are the two elements of democracy; where they co-exist, all government,

⁵⁵ Ibid., 68 (‘A railway or a turnpike bill ordinarily interests more Members than any measure affecting the most vital interests of our most important colonies’.)

⁵⁶ Ibid., 100.

⁵⁷ See Buller, *Responsible Government*, 73-77, 88-89, which describes the actual situation of colonial policy made without real parliamentary or public (or press) scrutiny; by a Mother Country ‘shrunk’ to the person of some back-office functionary – thus to be designated ‘Mr Mothercountry’; see also, 105-107.

⁵⁸ *Colonial Gazette*, 7 Aug. 1839; *Colonial Gazette*, no. 51, 13. Nov. 1839.

⁵⁹ *New Zealand Journal*, 21 Mar. 1840, 37.

⁶⁰ *Colonial Gazette*, 7 Aug. 1839.

⁶¹ This term is justified, *inter alia*, by J. S. Mill’s reference to a ‘Radical’ grouping in Parliament that he hoped would be the nucleus of a strong ‘Liberal Party’, see letter to Sir William Molesworth, 19 Oct. 1838, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 13, 390 (letter no. 248); letter to John Robertson, Nov. 1838, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 13, 391 (letter no. 250); Buller was also, reportedly, one of the first to refer to himself as a ‘Liberal’ in the context of parliamentary politics: see Spencer, ‘Buller, Charles’.

⁶² A term used by J. S. Mill, see letter to Sir William Molesworth, 19 Oct. 1838, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 13, 390 (letter no. 248).

except the government of public opinion, is impossible.’ In other words, a ‘reading’ or educated public of middling class means would ensure viable democracy; in this context, aristocratic or elitist, oligarchic government would be impossible.⁶³ The concept of a republic or democracy built on an adequate diffusion of general education was an idea also held by many of the American ‘founders’.⁶⁴

As much as Mill and his Liberal-Radical colleagues believed in the benefits of a literary or general education for society, they also saw that public opinion was shaped by the newspaper and periodical press. In 1847, writing to Henry Chapman, Mill labelled *The Times* ‘the substantial ruler of the country’ because of its ability to direct the public mind on key issues of the day.⁶⁵ Much later, in 1861, Mill wrote in *Considerations on Representative Government* about the unifying force of a common national press or public sphere.⁶⁶ Mill also believed that imperial federation was impossible because there was no common public that united the British metropole and the colonies, in part because of distance and the impossibility of common debate (and, impliedly, a common press).⁶⁷ Buller had made this central point in his *Responsible Government*, namely that because there was no ‘public opinion’ or critical public debate on colonial matters in the metropole, then rule from Westminster – in reality, the Colonial Office – was unaccountable and ‘irresponsible’. The only way, therefore, to make the rule of colonies accountable was to centre political authority in settler authorities accountable to their individuated settler ‘publics’.

The Radicals’ use of the phraseology of ‘public opinion’ and its variants such as ‘public mind’ drew on a linguistic inheritance formulated in the eighteenth century. In the analysis of Buller, Mill and their associates, informed or critical public debate was necessary to the effective working of representative government. Bolingbroke and Edmund Burke were part of the earlier conceptual development in England.⁶⁸ This was not *ancien régime* politics, rather liberal politics where legitimate authority resided in the *demos*, the people. As Jürgen

⁶³ [J.S. Mill], ‘State of Society in America’, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 18, 99. The reference to middle class seems to mean a class with sufficient income to acquire literature and some leisure time to read and engage in public matters; see 107 of this article.

⁶⁴ See T. Jefferson to Pierre S. Du Pont de Nemours, 24 Apr. 1816, in Marvin Meyers, John G. Cawelti, and Alexander Kern, eds., *Sources of the American Republic: A Documentary History of Politics, Society, and Thought*, vol. 1. (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1960), 272-73.

⁶⁵ J. S. Mill to H. S. Chapman, 9 Mar. 1847, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 13, 709 (letter no. 499); see also J. S. Mill to H. S. Chapman, 8 Nov. 1844, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 13, 642 (letter no. 442).

⁶⁶ See Brady, ‘Introduction’, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 18, xliii.

⁶⁷ *Considerations on Representative Government*, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 19, 564.

⁶⁸ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989), 89-95.

Habermas has explained, the development of a modern public sphere, initially outside state structures, was associated in England in the early eighteenth century, and later in other European countries, with the rise of learned journals, and the social institutions of the coffee-houses and reading societies. In these various *fora*, philosophical and political issues were debated and state authority critiqued.⁶⁹ The bourgeois or middling-class emerged as an administrative class and a reading public and began to see themselves as constituting the new ‘public sphere of civil society’. This expansion of a public sphere led to the diffusion of political authority amongst a wider portion of the population. It was, as Habermas defined it, ‘society engaged in critical public debate’ and was accompanied (and, in part, driven) by the expansion of private property and of private commodity markets.⁷⁰ The analysis of Habermas can be applied to the reforming England of the 1830s – a period where the public sphere expanded still further, in part achieved through the explosion of print media, including middling-class and working-class print media, and the new technologies of the railway and steamship that enabled the speedier distribution of printed matter.⁷¹ As Hawkins highlights, ‘public opinion’ was a contested term in the Reform debates of 1830-32; in the influential constructions of Macaulay and others it was identified with respectable, educated, ‘middle-class’ opinion.⁷² As Habermas also underlined, this expansion of the public sphere through the middle decades of the nineteenth century – whereby increasingly greater portions of the population became engaged in public matters – led to a Liberal philosophical reaction. Mill exemplified this reaction in his *On Liberty* of 1859 in which he bemoaned ‘the yoke of public opinion’, that is, the ‘tyranny’ of majority opinion of the unenlightened mass.⁷³

Nevertheless, in 1840, the concept of colonial government being responsible primarily to a colony’s own public (or public opinion) was propounded by Radical voices and had radical connotations – both for the British imperial system, but also for its effect on British domestic politics. Whig and Tory administrations, still dominated in the 1830s and 1840s by landed interests, resisted its application.⁷⁴ In 1972, Ged Martin poured water on the orthodoxy that it was the Durham Report that generated the reforms for responsible government in the

⁶⁹ Ibid., 57-73.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 22-23, 52-53, 74-75.

⁷¹ Hewitt, ‘Introduction’, 6-7, 12.

⁷² Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, 73-75; Hawkins also cites, for example, W. A. Mackinnon, *On the Rise, Progress and Present State of Public Opinion in Great Britain and Other Parts of the World* (1828), which defined public opinion as ‘that sentiment on any given subject which is entertained by the best informed, most intelligent, and most moral persons in the community’.

⁷³ Cited in Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 133; see also Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, 229-230, for similar concerns about the threat of ‘pure democracy’ shared by Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold; for a latter period, see James Thompson, *British Political Culture and the Idea of ‘Public Opinion’, 1867-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁷⁴ See Ged Martin, *The Durham Report and British Policy: a Critical Essay* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972); and Mandler, *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform*.

colonies.⁷⁵ But this was partly because Martin seems to have thought the whole idea of colonial self-government within the empire was an anomaly or contradiction in terms (viz., ‘how could a dependent government be self-governing?’).⁷⁶ W. P. Morrell, in reviewing Martin’s book, pointed out that this was the view of some elite opinion (Cornwall Lewis, for example), however the anomaly seemed to have worked for much of the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Martin also seems to have underestimated the significance of the Radical grouping behind, and even alongside, Durham, including the tradition of the report’s authorship by Buller and Wakefield. He does say it merely parroted existing ideas, noting they were radical ones.⁷⁸ But the significance of this – in its intellectual and broader political contexts – he does not discuss. (Morrell also failed to note any significance here.)

In contrast to Martin, I argue that the report reflected a Liberal-Radical moment when a coterie of colonial reformers had the ear of the British Government. The fact that the report appeared as remedy for a colonial problem – the convulsions in the Canadian provinces – meant that it could then be sheeted across to other British colonial contexts. The government of governors did not of course immediately succumb to the rule of settlers. And the proximity of the report probably did not help its cause in directly influencing colonial reform. But it was a moment or fulcrum around which other wheels were turning – particularly the liberalising or radicalising wheels in British society at the time. In practical terms this transformation took place within another two decades of the Durham Report in the Antipodes, Canada and elsewhere.⁷⁹

To be fair, Martin was not concerned with the Durham Report as a piece of intellectual history, that is, an attempt to situate the text in its intellectual and political contexts; rather, he was focused on the institutional – particularly, governmental – reception of the report in Britain

⁷⁵ Martin, *The Durham Report*.

⁷⁶ Martin, *The Durham Report*, 53-66. Much of this seems a questionable exercise in second-guessing what Durham actually said or thought; in other words, Martin does not read the report as a text in intellectual history or a set-piece in an ongoing debate in imperial policy. As such, it made an argument for the principle of responsible government; whether the *specific* form of responsible government it outlined was that instituted in subsequent years is irrelevant to assessing what the report was intending to achieve *as at 1839*.

⁷⁷ W. P. Morrell, Review of *The Durham Report and British Policy: a Critical Essay*, by Ged Martin, *New Zealand Journal of History* 9/1 (1975): 85-86, at 86; for an articulation of the orthodox view of colonies as politically and institutionally dependent on Britain, see George Cornwall Lewis, *An Essay on the Government of Dependencies* (London: John Murray, 1841).

⁷⁸ Martin, *The Durham Report*, 53-54; see also 33-35, 75-79.

⁷⁹ cf. Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), 413, who, like me, sees the ‘radical’ and ‘democratizing’ identity of the Durham report and its role in reshaping the relationship between imperial centre and settler peripheries: accordingly, he sees it as ‘one of the most important documents of global constitutional history’.

– a different question. Hence, Martin did not explore how some of the text or reasoning of the Durham Report reflected the Liberal-Radical model of government explored in this chapter.⁸⁰ If government was to be accountable to the people, then a critical debating public needed to be present. This was achieved, in large part, through a common press. As Buller and Mill had explained, there could be no common press or common public where communities were separated by great distances. In addition, there could be no common public where communities were sundered by language differences. The logic of this was clearly expressed in the Durham text. To paraphrase, a common public was not possible in Lower Canada, argued Durham, where French and English communities had their own newspapers in their own languages, with little correspondence between the newspapers as to content or perspectives. This meant that the different language communities could have quite different understandings of the same issues, making them unable to reach a shared view or consensus where this mattered.⁸¹ This appears as a commentary on the difficulty of creating a unitary public sphere where there are different populations with their own languages and *fora* for sharing information and debating ideas. (The instance of a British colony with an aboriginal population, such as New Zealand, would be an analogous situation.) Cultural and political divergences were particularly pronounced where there was no common education system in the country, but instead the different language populations were educated in their own schools, imbibing their own national literatures, which expressed ‘utterly different habits of thought’.⁸² The vital necessity of a common system of education for effective governance is a frequent refrain of the Durham Report; as it was a frequent refrain of the Radical writers.

What Martin also did not explore is how some of the text or reasoning of the Durham Report reflected emerging concepts of nationality, also associated with Radical voices. In particular, how could colonial government – in the Radical form of a responsible settler assembly and executive – operate where the political nation consisted of more than one people or nation who possessed their own strong sentiments of nationality? Other writings of J.S. Mill contemporary with the Durham Report, together with periodical and newspaper literature, assist to fill out the intellectual contexts.

⁸⁰ Andrew Sharp recently responded to a review by Ged Martin of his Samuel Marsden biography that Martin did not appreciate his history as, in essence, a piece of intellectual history (although Martin, to my mind, certainly seemed to appreciate the various imperial and intellectual contexts of Marsden’s times and *mentalité*): see Andrew Sharp, ‘Response’ to Professor Ged Martin, review of *The World, the Flesh and the Devil: the Life and Opinions of Samuel Marsden in England and the Antipodes, 1765-1838*, (review no. 2156) DOI: [10.14296/RiH/2014/2156](https://doi.org/10.14296/RiH/2014/2156) (accessed, 14 May 2020).

⁸¹ *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, 15.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 15.

Intellectual contexts for imagining 'settler nationality': J.S. Mill and Radical and Romantic imaginings of political society

In March 1840, John Stuart Mill reviewed the political thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge in the pages of the *London and Westminster Review*.⁸³ In this essay, itself an important contribution to contemporary political thought, Mill identified three principles of 'social union', that is, three key conditions that he considered were necessary for society to be established and maintained. The first principle was that of education: successful societies devised 'a system of education' which inculcated a 'restraining discipline' in which individual impulses were subordinated to the ends of society. Mill considered that the 'entire civil and military policy of the ancient commonwealths was such a system of training' but in 'modern nations' this was mostly supplied by 'religious teaching'.⁸⁴

The second condition of 'permanent political society', Mill thought, was 'the feeling of allegiance, or loyalty'.⁸⁵ This feeling of allegiance could be attached to a common God or gods, to certain leaders, to law, to ancient liberties, or (rather prophetically) to 'principles of individual freedom and political and social equality'.⁸⁶ Only where such a 'fixed point' remained agreed upon could the social union be maintained; if not, 'the State is virtually in a position of civil war; and can never long remain free from it in act and fact'.⁸⁷

Mill's third principle or condition of political stability was 'a strong and active principle of nationality'. When he revised the Coleridge and other essays for publication in the late 1850s, the word 'nationality' in this phrase was replaced with the words 'cohesion among the members of the same community or state'.⁸⁸ The original 1840 version in any case elaborated on what Mill meant by 'nationality'. He expressly did not mean something 'vulgar' in its 'antipathy to foreigners', its parochialism or chauvinism, but 'a principle of sympathy, not of hostility; of union, not of separation'. He continued:

We mean a feeling of common interest among those who live under the same government, and are contained within the same natural or historical boundaries.

⁸³ [J. S. Mill], 'Coleridge', in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 10. It is interesting, in terms of intellectual/political context, that Mill noted in his *Autobiography* (some decades later) that he was primarily writing the Coleridge essay 'for Radicals and Liberals' in order to supplement their typical modes of thought with thinking from a different school (that is, the 'Germano-Coleridgean' school); cited in Robson, 'Textual Introduction', in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 10, cxxi.

⁸⁴ [Mill], 'Coleridge', in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 10, 133.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 134-135. The collection of essays published first in 1859, then in 1867 as a second edition, was called *Dissertations and Discussions*.

We mean, that one part of the community shall not consider themselves as foreigners with regard to another part; that they shall cherish the tie which holds them together; shall feel that they are one people, that their lot is cast together, that evil to any of their fellow countrymen is evil to themselves; and that they cannot selfishly free themselves from their share of any common inconvenience by severing the connexion.⁸⁹

Mill continued by stating that ‘the countries which have had that feeling in the strongest degree have been the most powerful countries; England, France, and, in proportion to their territory and resources, Holland and Switzerland; while England, in her connexion with Ireland, is one of the most signal examples of the consequences of its absence’.⁹⁰ So although England internally and in its external relations was a powerful state, the lack of ‘national’ feeling or imagination as between the inhabitants of Ireland and England meant that there was little ‘nationality’ embracing both islands.

In Mill’s mind, therefore, the concept of nationality was bound up with the possession of a common government or state. However, government *per se* was not sufficient, as the populace still needed to ‘consider themselves’ as ‘one people’. Thus, a political community, to exist, needed to be ‘imagined’, to use Benedict Anderson’s phraseology. And, in Mill’s mind, an emotional element was also requisite – a feeling of sympathy or connection that bound people together. This element of experienced or ‘felt’ community almost certainly reflected the influence of the Continental Romantic movement on Mill’s thought, and especially the influence of some at least of his leading contemporaries, including Thomas Carlyle and Coleridge himself.⁹¹

One usage of ‘nationality’ in newspapers and periodicals of the time was that denoting a separate political community in the sense of separate political or governmental institutions.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 135. The original 1840 wording has been used here in preference to the 1859/1867 version.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 136.

⁹¹ See J. S. Mill to J. Sterling, 20 Oct. 1831, in Robson, ed., *Collected Works*, vol. 12, 74–88 (letter no. 43), a remarkable letter in which Mill discusses and/or discusses meeting, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Robert Southey, Carlyle, James Stephen, Buller, and Wakefield’s Colonization Society; see also John Breuilly, ‘The Principle of Nationality’, and John Morrow, ‘Romanticism and Political Thought’, in G. S. Jones and G. Claeys, eds., *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and for thinking on ‘nationality’ among the Liberal Anglicans, beginning with Coleridge, and continuing through Thomas Arnold, F.D. Maurice, and Arnold Toynbee, see H. S. Jones, ‘The Idea of the National in Victorian Political Thought’, *European Journal of Political Theory* 5/1 (2006): 12–21; and Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, 215–41, who writes of the influence of Romantic thought as filtered through the writings of Mill, Southey, Coleridge, Carlyle, and Arnold that, ‘[p]olitics and institutions became seen less as acting *on* society than as embedded *in* society’.

This was one element of Mill's definition; in this sense it could be applied quite readily to new colonies. But this political sense of 'nationality', it seems, was quite new.⁹² Another key element of Mill's definition of 'nationality' – as denoting an element of conscious collective sympathy, or perhaps 'national feeling', appeared in the contemporary press; but this usage also was of recent derivation.⁹³ Sometimes 'nationality' simply referred to distinctive peoples or races, or their especial attributes or characters – without any governmental sense.⁹⁴ In August 1842, the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* reflected the newer political senses of 'nationality' in citing material from the *Colonial Gazette* that discussed the political situation in Upper and Lower Canada. The writer opined that:

The union of the Canadas, however well calculated eventually to end the contest between the English and French races in Lower Canada, has as yet had no influence that way. By reducing the French to a minority, it has destroyed all hope of distinct nationality; but it has left them opposed to the Executive, and with reason, for they are not represented, though supposed to be so.

The article then elaborated on 'instances of the oppression exercised by a majority over an irreconcilable [sic] minority'. French people were not being protected by the law; the reason suggested for this was that 'there is hardly a French magistrate in all French Canada'. French or French-speaking government personnel were lacking.⁹⁵ The writer, here, appeared sympathetic to the idea that the French population of Lower Canada would want to retain their institutional separateness or nationality. Or, at the least, that they needed to be more properly incorporated within the governing apparatus to ensure that their basic rights were recognized.

⁹² *Edinburgh Review* 71/144 (1840), 517-518; cf. the *OED*, which gives as its fourth sense of 'nationality' the meaning 'separate or complete existence as a nation; national independence or consolidation' – the earliest example of this usage being from the *Examiner* in 1832.

⁹³ cf. this meaning of 'nationality' as 'nationalism' or 'attachment to one's country or nation; national feeling', which the *OED* traces only from the 1770s; example of this, referring to the Scots 'common nationality' when in London, in *New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, 7 Feb. 1843 (citing the periodical *Charles Knight's London*); another example in the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 11 Jan. 1845, citing from Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843) on 'English Nationality' as a 'second skin' of the English people, bound up with a shared sense of history, language, and religion.

⁹⁴ This reflects the original sense of 'nation' given by the *OED* as simply a distinct race or people united by common descent, language or history; this is also the first and earliest sense given for 'nationality' in the *OED*. The *OED* indicates that the political sense of 'nation' as a 'separate political state ... occupying a definite territory' is of more recent origin (as per above).

⁹⁵ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 6 Aug. 1842.

Another reading is that union of the races within the one national polity would not be effective without proper representation in the governing framework.⁹⁶

The relatively new meanings of ‘nationality’ can be explored in their contemporary imperial and colonial contexts of the 1830s-40s, and as an exercise in a broader history of ideas. A colony lent itself to the institutional sense of nationality as a distinct political community built around the governor and his officials, royal instructions and public seals, laws and regulations, and machinery such as courts, constables, and gazettes. But there was also the ideological or imaginative construction, in which the colonists or ‘the people’ understood that they belonged to an entity called a colony that was more than the sum of its parts, that somehow tied together small coastal enclaves over often huge expanses of unsettled space. The coastal enclaves or settlements may originally have stemmed from quite different geographic sources, possessed varying political, civic and religious cultures and institutions, and be formed for different purposes. This is in fact a reasonable description of the New Zealand colony of the 1840s, which, as another New Zealand Company-affiliated Radical, William Fox, argued in 1851, was in reality ‘the six colonies of New Zealand’ – the colonies of Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth, Canterbury, and Otago. Fox argued from this ‘social’ diversity of the colonies and the physical distances between them that there should be ‘a complete localization of the institutions of government’. It was inimical, Fox asserted, to attempt to govern these various colonies ‘by a system of centralization’ – that is, government of the whole from one location.⁹⁷ This was one part of Fox’s overall argument for settler self-government over all ‘local’ matters.

The call for ‘local’ or ‘municipal’ government was a consistently deployed trope of the Radicals and colonial reformers.⁹⁸ Fox’s text reads as another reiteration of the arguments of the Durham Report and Buller in 1839-40. As with Buller, Fox also deployed the precedent of America, not only in arguing for the principle of colonial self-government, but in arguing that

⁹⁶ Such articles often speak with multiple voices and so capturing ‘the point’ of the argument is a slippery exercise. The *Colonial Gazette* was, as noted above, affiliated to the Radical coterie or colonial reform movement and it is possible to see this writer as a devotee of the Durham report. The language of racial or national characters and, at the same time, a single governmental framework or single institutional nationality, seems to borrow closely from the pages of Durham, Buller and Wakefield.

⁹⁷ William Fox, *The Six Colonies of New Zealand* (London: John W. Parker & Son, 1851), 17-18.

⁹⁸ See Hickford, ‘Designing Constitutions’, 684-685; various support for provincial government as against a central government or assembly was evidence in the debate on the New Zealand Constitution bill, introduced by the Colonial Secretary Sir John Pakington on 3 May 1852; Adderley even cited Fox’s *Six Colonies* in support of this view; other speakers, such as Lord John Russell, were more interested in the balance of rights and interests as between the native people and the colonists (especially if the newly constituted government(s) were effectively to govern areas in which there were large native populations, that is, outside the colonial settlements): see House of Commons Debate, 3 May 1852, *Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. 121, cc. 102-38; debates in the press also canvassed similar issues, especially whether New Zealand was to become one or several governments: see *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 Jan. 1853.

New Zealand's six colonies were as different from each other as the American colonies were different from each other; hence, each 'colony' should be self-governing, with a 'federal' government conjoining them on matters of common interest (such as customs regulations). The 'American' influence is evident in both language and constitutional design.⁹⁹

Fox's *Six Colonies* was published in 1851. For over a decade in New Zealand, there had been no common governmental body that bound the 'six colonies' together – apart from the Governor and his small, appointed executive and legislative councils – which as Fox argued, were distant both physically and ideologically from most of the colonists. There was certainly no representative or democratic system. The Constitution of 1846 intended to bring in representative government, in a complex of layered institutions, but Governor George Grey prevented its establishment. It was not until the 1852 Constitution that representative government was established, and the first settler parliament was called two years later. Despite this lack of 'national' institutions for the colonists, some at least were adept at imagining a settler 'nationality' – in federal and other formats.

Benedict Anderson, in *Imagined Communities*, wrote that many of the nation-states that emerged in the nineteenth century were former 'administrative units' of European empires.¹⁰⁰ Hence, imperial institutions preceded nations; but it is a fascinating question whether this institutional creation actually generated new sentiments of nationality (or nationalism) itself among people groups ruled by empires. India is a prominent example. Certainly, it would have been almost impossible to imagine 'India' as a single political community apart from the institutional creations of the British empire that ruled the subcontinent.¹⁰¹

There is a real question here how, even in the colonies of settlement, the governmental institutions of empire helped to generate the colonists' imaginative construction of new political communities. It is difficult here to disengage one's historical view from the subsequent developments of the later nineteenth century and twentieth century. Crown colony government was a model that was substantially not replaced for one to two decades after 1840, when responsible government became a reality. And the institutional and symbolic connection

⁹⁹ Fox, *The Six Colonies of New Zealand*, 159-161; even Tories such as Gladstone could speak in glowing terms of the 'municipal' character of the early chartered colonies, that were envisaged as communities of free Englishmen; Gladstone critiqued the change in colonial policy to Crown-colony government over the previous 70 or so years, such that 'the idea of a colony' had changed; Gladstone also supported the provincial legislatures in the New Zealand bill: see House of Commons Debate, 21 May 1852, *Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. 121, cc. 952-61.

¹⁰⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 53-54 (quoting Victor Turner on how the journey or pilgrimage between various parts of empires created new meanings or consciousness).

¹⁰¹ However, the 'imagining' of India has, in large part due to religious, ethnic, regional and language diversity, been a challenge since 1947: see Sunil Kilnani, *The Idea of India* (London: Penguin, 2003).

to monarchy and empire represented by governors remained significant for colonists long after governors had ceased to exercise real political power.

That the colonial reformers expended so much ink and paper on the very issue of colonial self-government suggests that the later developments were not inevitable – they were hard won, and it took in fact an insurrection in the Canadas to act as a pivot point for this reformist program. From this it can be surmised that the idea of a colony as a separate political community, as a separate ‘nationality’ – that is, the primary community with which colonists identified – did not instantly crystallize when a new colony was created by the imperial power. Nor did it necessary crystallize once self-government was granted – in New Zealand’s case, by the 1852 Constitution. In this respect, the colonial reformers were significantly ahead of their time, because they were arguing that a colony was a separate political community from the outset.

The important generative role of ideas and ideology in political imaginings should not be forgotten. In his *Liberty Before Liberalism*, Quentin Skinner suggested that the liberal theory of free states – associated with the ‘commonwealth’ arguments of the seventeenth century Puritans – succumbed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to what is now known as classical liberalism – the idea that a primary role of the state is to preserve individual liberty by not unjustly or unnecessarily interfering with an individual citizen’s chosen course of action. This ‘negative liberty’ Skinner contrasted with the neo-Roman or commonwealth idea that only in free states are individuals free, as free states are, by definition, those who direct themselves collectively – in the standard version, via representative assemblies of the citizenry. The discrediting of the neo-Roman view, according to Skinner, was due to such thinkers as Hobbes, Paley, Blackstone, Bentham and Austin – who reiterated the principle of negative liberty.¹⁰²

There is some reason to doubt Skinner’s view that these neo-Roman or commonwealth views faded away in the nineteenth century, as it is possible to discern this tradition in the arguments of the colonial reformers. This is so because the argument for responsible government emphasized the rights of the collective group of freeborn English settlers to govern themselves. Such ‘republican’ ideas also seem evident in the Chartist or popular radical democratic theory of early to mid-nineteenth century more broadly. One can think, too, of Thomas Babington Macaulay’s staunch defence of the Puritan Commonwealth in his celebrated essay on Milton of 1825.¹⁰³ Although the nineteenth century is now understood as the age of classical liberalism and the rights of individuals, there continued to be emphasis by intellectuals on collectives,

¹⁰² Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁰³ [T. B. Macaulay], ‘Milton’, *Edinburgh Review* 42/84 (1825): 304-346; see also John Clive, *Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 81-94.

including municipal authorities, corporate commercial bodies, and colonies themselves. While reflecting contemporary Romantic influences, J.S. Mill's 1840 definition of political society as founded on loyalty to a bedrock idea or institution and a principle of sympathy amongst its members seems also to reflect the collective emphasis of the seventeenth century 'Commonwealth-men'.¹⁰⁴

Settler nationality versus 'native nationality' (or humanitarian imperialism), 1830s-40s

Such commonwealth or 'freeborn Englishmen' understandings of English or British political community should not be underestimated in the colonial context, as settlers were led often by a class of men who in contemporary British political settings were Radical or Liberal. To what extent did such colonial leaders turn their minds to how their own emergent political institutions and nationality might interact with a native or indigenous nationality?

It turns out that such language figured in the debates between 'colonial reformer' and 'humanitarian' factions over the shape of imperial and colonial authority. As Marsden and Busby had used the language of nation and nationality in imagining a supra-tribal Māori political society or government, British commentators aligned with disparate coteries continued to employ and debate such concepts. In 1842, Wakefield acolyte, William Fox, described the 'desire' of the Protestant missions in the country as 'to elevate the native character, and establish the aborigines as an independent civilized nation'.¹⁰⁵ In 1851, Fox described in more colourful language the missionary 'idea ... to erect the New Zealanders into an independent state – a sort of Levitical republic, like that of the Jesuits at Paragua, guided, and in fact ruled, by the missionaries themselves. Colonization was death to such a scheme...'.¹⁰⁶

In the mid-1840s debates over the ownership of 'waste-lands' in New Zealand, Charles Buller, who became a spokesman for the New Zealand Company in the early 1840s, spoke of a New Zealand native nationality in terms of a basic political or territorial independence from

¹⁰⁴ For the 'Commonwealth' allusions in Coleridge, see Morrow, 'Romanticism and Political Thought'; Wordsworth also advocated a Romantic vision of little agrarian republics or a 'pure Commonwealth' of free-holding crofters, see Karen O'Brien, 'Colonial Emigration, Public Policy, and Tory Romanticism, 1783-1830', in D. Kelly, ed., *Lineages of Empire: the Historical Roots of British Imperial Thought* (British Academy Scholarship Online, 2012); see also Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism*, 50, 59, 73-74, who expressly acknowledges that the commonwealth tradition was deployed in the American War of Independence, in which the colonial complaint was that the commonwealth(s) of the thirteen colonies could not direct their own affairs; Skinner notes, too, that Thomas Jefferson read James Harrington, see *Liberty Before Liberalism*, 20.

¹⁰⁵ William Fox, *Colonization and New Zealand* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1842), 7.

¹⁰⁶ Fox, *The Six Colonies of New Zealand*, 76.

colonial interference. Writing to Lord Stanley Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1845, Buller stated that:

The avowed object of the missionaries has been to prevent colonisation; to preserve the nationality of the New Zealanders; to keep them apart from European contact, and to maintain their exclusive property in the whole soil of the islands. The Company's system, on the contrary, was to treat the soil as unappropriated wherever it was not in some way occupied; to vindicate to the Crown the ownership of all unoccupied expanse; to encourage the settlement of European colonists, and to turn to account those peculiar facilities which the aboriginal race of New Zealand appear to possess for inter-mixture and amalgamation with the European population. These two systems are essentially antagonist. You cannot attempt to act upon both without vacillation or inconsistency, or so as to give either a fair chance.¹⁰⁷

By speaking of two populations – ‘the aboriginal race’ and ‘the European population’ – Buller was, in effect, collapsing the distinctiveness of tribal polities and settler coastal enclaves into a project of ‘amalgamation’, very similar to that articulated by Buller and colleagues in the Durham Report when speaking of the French and English colonists of the Canadas. Buller again appealed to American precedent in calling for a ‘proprietary charter’ for the New Zealand colony, akin to that given to Lord Baltimore, Lord Delaware, and William Penn. Buller's letter to Stanley, or parts thereof, was reprinted a number of times in the New Zealand settler press – a demonstration of the issue's centrality to settler politics.¹⁰⁸

That the humanitarian missionary lobby – both in the metropole and colony – was intent on preserving, or more accurately, encouraging the formation of, a Māori nationality is a striking statement. In basic contrast with the New Zealand Company version of ‘amalgamation’ (Buller's word), the missionary societies wished to maintain native communities in ownership of the ‘soil’ of their country. There was an intent to maintain both a separate ‘peoplehood’, viz. ‘nationality’ and a territory. Fox went further and suggested a native ‘independent state’ was in view; he may or may not have been thinking of the 1835 Declaration here, but if so, this was identified as a missionary project. In different versions of this, there was also a need for imperial ‘protection’: as the great Undersecretary, James Stephen, himself stated, writing in his personal capacity in the *Edinburgh Review*: the primary political identifications or

¹⁰⁷ C. Buller to Lord Stanley, cited in *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 17 Jan. 1846.

¹⁰⁸ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 8 Nov. 1845; *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 6 Dec. 1845 (these quote Lord Ingestre to Lord Stanley, which essentially repeats Buller's letter).

concerns of the Clapham coterie were ‘rather cosmopolitan than national’. Stephen explained his meaning:

Every human interest had its guardian, every region of the globe its representative. If the African continent and the Charibbean [sic] Achipelago were assigned to an indefatigable protectorate, New Holland was not forgotten, nor was British India without a patron.¹⁰⁹

To paraphrase – the humanitarian coterie of Clapham imagined Empire as a place of protection for aboriginal populations. This simple sentence – ‘cosmopolitan rather than national’ – represented a major difference between the advocates of settler representative government on the one hand, and the advocates of slavery’s abolition, and, it might be added, the advocates of the Treaty of Waitangi, on the other.¹¹⁰ This can be seen in the different stances on the role of Crown government and governors in colonies of settlement – the first wishing to cut (or at least drastically diminish) the institutional ties or controls; the second wishing to retain them – in large degree because of concerns over treatment by aboriginals by white settler populations.¹¹¹ This humanitarian programme was advocated clearly in the 1837 *Aborigines Report* (Buxton report); among its various recommendations were the granting of sole jurisdiction over native peoples within colonial borders to imperial governors (rather than settler authorities) and for extension of criminal jurisdiction beyond formal borders in order to protect indigenous communities (with agreement of the relevant native leaderships). The Report called for the support of missionary endeavours in encouraging ‘the social and political improvement of the tribes’ and sought restrictions on labour contracts with indigenes.¹¹² The Report’s basic prescription was encapsulated in the phraseology that British imperial authority should foster the spread of ‘civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and ... knowledge of the true God’.¹¹³ This promotion of civilization and commerce (incorporating stadial assumptions about ‘advancement’ from barbarism to civilization), land and political (or ‘civil’) rights, in tandem with the spread of true religion, had become an

¹⁰⁹ [Sir James Stephen], ‘The Clapham Sect’, *Edinburgh Review* 80/161 (1844): 251–307, at 275.

¹¹⁰ According to Buller, the Treaty of Waitangi was based on ‘the missionary principle’: see C. Buller to Lord Stanley, cited in *New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian*, 8 Nov. 1845.

¹¹¹ See statement of G. W. Hope in Parliament, defending the Government’s (Lord Stanley’s) stance on native ownership of property and the inappropriateness of granting the colonists a ‘popular legislature’ (advocated for by Charles Buller in the same debate) given there were only 15,000 colonists, while the interests of 100,000 natives would require representation: see House of Commons Debates, 17 Jun. 1845, *Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. 81, c. 755.

¹¹² *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)*; reprinted, with comments, by the “*Aborigines Protection Society*” (London: William Ball, 1837) [**Aborigines Report**], at 116–121; Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, at 142–46.

¹¹³ *Aborigines Report*, at 105.

integral part of the Clapham-humanitarian or Evangelical vision of a Christian empire by the late 1830s, as chapter three explores in more detail.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that, in the 1830s, a ‘Liberal-Radical moment’ in British domestic politics also generated reformist arguments for ‘responsible government’ in the colonies of white settlement. A coterie of colonial reformers, among them John Stuart Mill, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and Charles Buller, argued that colonies should be governed by representative assemblies and executives accountable to ‘public opinion’ in the form of an active settler press. Colonies were imagined as separate polities or ‘nationalities’ – fledgling nations. In writing an intellectual history of empire it should be registered how these arguments represented a marked departure from a Westminster-governed empire, utilised both English constitutionalist arguments and American precedent, and dovetailed with emerging Romantic notions of ‘nationality’ as self-conscious identification with a political community – well before fully-fledged nation-states.

When such colonies were eventually established, they became problematic for other political communities – indigenous communities who already occupied the geographic space colonists sought, and who were generally denied representative rights in the new political order. The case of New Zealand illustrates these theoretical and material conundrums of an activist and Radical ‘settler nationality’. It also demonstrates the extensive imperial networks and careers of these leading colonial reformers.

The Clapham or Evangelical Anglican version of British nationality and imperial political order, and the incorporation of indigenous communities, is explored further in chapter three. The impacts on indigenous conceptions of political order in New Zealand of the new British texts and institutions are explored in chapters four through seven.

¹¹⁴ See also Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, at 114-15; Atkins, *Converting Britannia*, at 146, 170 (including re Sierra Leone as a model of ‘Christian empire’ – ‘a symbiosis of moral government, mission, civilization and commerce’), and, generally, ‘Introduction’, at 1-25 (‘Being concerned with building a Christian nation, [Evangelicals] sought new ‘pulpits’ in public life from which they hoped to reshape discourses of national character, professionalism and individual behaviour’).

Chapter 3: ‘He Iwi Tahi Tātou’? – some British (or Anglican) Visions of Nation and Imperial Government at 1840.

‘The King’s Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign Jurisdiction. Where we attribute to the King’s Majesty the chief government ...’

‘Of the Civil Magistrates’, *The Thirty-nine Articles* (1562)

‘This royal throne of kings, this scepter’d isle...

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.’

William Shakespeare, *Richard II* (c. 1595)

‘We still call the Sovereign the *governor* of the country...’

Quarterly Review (1840)¹

‘Our national experience has given us too deep a sense of the true ends of government, to allow us to think of carrying on the administration of India except for the benefit of the people of India.’

Charles E. Trevelyan (1838)²

Introduction

This chapter further explores English or British understandings of government, nation, and empire in the period in which the Treaty of Waitangi was entered into.³ This examination is embarked upon to unpick or unravel what ‘he iwi tahi tatou’ – ‘we are one people’ – meant. It is suggested, at the outset, that ‘we are one people’ could easily also be rendered ‘we are one nation’, and some of the linguistic nuances are explored below. Whether ‘people’ or ‘nation’, the heart of the question concerns the nature of the people-nation that the contrivers of this phrase had in their minds when they spoke it to Māori. We can legitimately rephrase this question: *what was the nature of the political community (nation) that native New Zealand*

¹ ‘Art. V. Review of Gladstone – The State in its Relations with the Church’, *Quarterly Review* 65/129 (1840), 101.

² Charles E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1838), 187.

³ In this chapter, as in other parts of the thesis, ‘English’ and ‘British’ are mostly used interchangeably. This has contemporary resonance as the terms ‘were largely unproblematic as synonymous terms for most political commentators’: see Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, 45.

was now a part of? To ask about the meanings of ‘one people-nation’ is, therefore, in the context of its spoken declaration by Lieutenant Governor, William Hobson, to ask how the British in New Zealand imagined their political community – or nation – in relation to tribal New Zealand. That it was in some way unified, united or ‘one’ – ‘he iwi tahi’ – is less ambiguous than what ‘it’ was: that is, what the word ‘iwi’/people/nation stood for in this phrase – in the minds of the British protagonists.

Another way to ask this question is to ask what it meant to be an Englishman or Briton in 1840. This highlights the possibility that there were different versions of what Britain or England meant, and what the British nation, its political community or empire meant. Indeed, to ask about ‘Britishness’ in this way is, as the first chapters have already begun to explore, to ask about an entity or identity that was not homogenous or static. For as Tony Ballantyne argues, ‘Britishness was a product of empire, a hybrid and contested identity that was profoundly imprinted by Britain’s global entanglements’.⁴ This chapter argues, without denying the diversity of Britishness, that global entanglements were one critical factor, but ‘England’ or ‘Britain’ was another. Britishness was also ‘a product’ of England’s and Britain’s own evolution, including its internal contestations and its long history of institutional and cultural evolution in church and state – as the reference by Charles Trevelyan in 1838 to ‘national experience’ suggests.

While the ‘New Imperial History’ has legitimately re-framed the history of the British Isles as a case of both internal empire and external empire – without which the nature of ‘Britain’, its history, society and economy, cannot be adequately understood, the subject-matter under discussion should be kept in view. Concerning the history of England’s or Britain’s own state formation, the intra-Britain (and intra-Europe) political contestation has been of primary importance. Critiques of Macaulay’s *History of England* as being insular and marginalising of empire, while they have the merit of standing outside the history constructed by Macaulay, may actually obscure Macaulay’s main purpose – to account for the largely home-grown emergence of an English people and nation as a peculiarly constitutional accomplishment.⁵ It would, therefore, be going too far to explain Englishness/Britishness as a result of engagement with the colonial Other (Highland Scots, Irish, Māori, African, etcetera); for this would be to suppress or distort the internal or ‘island’ or ‘self-referential’ logics of these identities (and the

⁴ Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney, ‘Asia in Murihuku: Towards a Transnational History of Colonial Culture’, in T. Ballantyne and B. Moloughney, eds., *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand’s Pasts* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006): 65-92, at 92.

⁵ See, for example, Catherine Hall, ‘At Home with History: Macaulay and the History of England’, in C. Hall and S. O. Rose, eds., *At Home with Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 32-52; Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

intra-European logics).⁶ Such historiographical debates are relevant because the British (or English) ideas of government and nation – which include the large subset of concepts about church and state – were strongly held conceptions carried by British peoples to new lands, while themselves being still contested within the British body politic. This statement applies strongly to the period of the 1830s-40s, when the political nation was undergoing reform, and the place of the church was up for debate (as some texts below will canvass).

The previous chapter has already explored how the colonial reformers, being mostly of a Radical or Liberal affiliation in British politics, began to conceive of colonies as separate political communities – separate that is from the Home nation or government. To the extent that this new political community included other *ethnie* or people from other nations, such as the old French colonists in Lower Canada, they would need to be assimilated with the dominant English political society or colonial order (an interesting case of the old French neighbour being a ‘colonial Other’). That approach was also in the minds of the Wakefeldian colonists of New Zealand in the early 1840s, or at least of some of their key leaders. The New Zealanders (Māori) would have land reserved for them within the new British settlements. Their chiefs would be the recipients of the most land in keeping with their customary status. That, at least, was the theory of Wakefieldian systematic colonization.⁷ In short, the New Zealanders should be absorbed within the new order, as they could not survive outside it. Tribal society and custom could not be maintained in the new dispensation, as it could not withstand the onslaught of a more advanced capitalist and governmental order – much as the Durham Report had argued the old rural French Canadians would be overtaken by the energetic English.

This was, however, not the only version of ‘nation’ or political community in existence at the time. The humanitarian or Evangelical movement, including the missionaries in New Zealand, were opposed to European colonization, or argued it should be held back, at the least. Dandeson Coates argued for breathing space of 50 years to allow tribal society to advance

⁶ See J. G. A. Pocock, ‘On the Unglobality of Contexts: Cambridge Methods and the History of Political Thought’, *Global Intellectual History* 4/1 (2019): 1-14, in which Pocock argues that the methods of contextualist intellectual history are still relevant to a globalized world, as the way people think (and live) will still in many cases be conditioned by their ‘self-referential’ local contexts.

⁷ See, for example, ‘Exceptional Laws in favour of the Natives of New Zealand’, in *The New Zealand Journal*, no. 3, 7 March 1840, 27 including the sections on ‘respecting the institution of chieftainship’ and ‘social alliances to be formed between the principal English families’; cf. the New Zealand Association, *The British Colonization of New Zealand* (London: John W. Parker, 1837), chs. 2 and 4, which seems to entail the plan that natives would only become British subjects once their territories had been alienated (or ceded) to the British and they would be amalgamated as labourers into the British settlements, and be supported by a poor law if necessary, with however some reserves for chiefs; all unalienated (or uncaded) territory outside British settlements would remain that of independent tribes.

under missionary tutelage.⁸ When it did happen, the missionaries were wary of a strong ‘amalgamation’ policy, especially if that meant Māori losing control of their land and resources. They counselled them rather to hold on to land. They thought that if amalgamation with a British social order was to occur, it should occur when the New Zealanders were willing and able; not because they were being pressured by the presence of colonists. ‘Amalgamation’ was, in this conception, more a by-product of Māori progression, rather than an immediate goal of policy.⁹

This tension between divergent understandings of amalgamation and, in effect, the political community of empire and colony, were carried into the 1840s and beyond by key protagonists. Although Damen Ward is correct to see a general amalgamationist (or assimilationist) principle in differing proposals, the ‘strict application’ models of George Grey *et. al.*, including those making some temporal allowance for ‘exceptional laws’, were theoretically distinguishable from the stance of James Stephen in the Colonial Office, for whom British law was an overarching protective system within which indigenes could retain their self-government and customs as between themselves (unless inconsistent with the public peace or a universal morality).¹⁰ The foundation for a tribe maintaining itself and its customs was the maintenance of tribal estates. As Atkins writes: ‘During the 1830s, benevolent imperial trusteeship and the defence of indigenous land rights against white settlers became articles of faith at a Colonial Office led by Evangelicals and their allies’.¹¹ As Salesa points out, this humanitarian-Evangelical model of imperialism was one of ‘racial separation’ rather than ‘racial amalgamation’, involving at least a minimum of geographical separateness.¹² The Aborigines Report of 1837 was somewhat more circumspect about the possibilities of complete separation, but at minimum counselled imperial control of indigenous engagements with white settlement.¹³

⁸ See Dandeson Coates, *The Principles, Objects, and Plan of the New-Zealand Association Examined* (London: Hatchards, 1837), 41: ‘Only let New Zealand be spared from Colonization, and the Mission have its free and unrestricted course for one half century more ...’.

⁹ These kinds of debates were vigorously pursued into the 1840s and beyond, including over the waste-lands instruction of Earl Grey to Gov. Grey of 1846, which the missionary bodies were vehemently opposed to; Governor FitzRoy, in sympathy with the Evangelical-humanitarian project, clearly thought that the New Zealand Company or systematic colonization project should be halted; the political economy he envisaged was a few European settlers living amongst Maori, rather than Maori scattered through majority European settlements: see Robert FitzRoy, *Remarks on New Zealand* (London: W and H. White, 1846), 58-59, 61-63.

¹⁰ Damen Ward, ‘“Savage Customs” and “Civilised Laws”: British Attitudes to Legal Pluralism in Australasia, c. 1830-48’ in *London Papers in Australian Studies* 10 (2003): 1-35.

¹¹ Atkins, *Converting Britannia*, 172.

¹² Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 36-37.

¹³ *Aborigines Report*, 116-121.

By sketching out, admittedly in the broadest terms, these divergent views on the nature and shape of the New Zealand polity (or polities) in a new imperial-colonial era, it is possible to start to prize open the concept of ‘one people’ and allow some light to shine on its inner-workings. Hobson’s phrase has been so often repeated in New Zealand history texts; what it really meant to those who were using it has seldom been considered.¹⁴ The historiography has tended to assume the amalgamationist vision of the Wakefeldian apologists. But this is to conflate the New Zealand Company with the Church Missionary Society, or Bishop Selwyn or Governors Hobson and FitzRoy – a category mistake. Those who used the term ‘he iwi tahi’/ ‘one nation’ at the time were, essentially, Anglicans,¹⁵ or those sharing, I suggest, an older vision of both British government and British imperial authority. Therefore, this chapter is focussed on unravelling the *mentalité* of an orthodox Anglican vision of nation and government – of political community – attending also to the imperial context of the phrase ‘one people’ spoken in February 1840.¹⁶

As Christopher Bayly highlighted some time ago, Britain’s ‘new imperial age’ following the loss of the American colonies was one of ‘Anglican providentialism’, professionalism and moral seriousness.¹⁷ Much of this shift in imperial values and the nature of imperial political community (as I am characterising it) was due to the influence of the Anglican Evangelicals at the power bases of metropole and empire.¹⁸ This influence was partial, but the Treaty of Waitangi and the first appointments of governor made New Zealand a part of this new Anglicized, moral, ‘humanitarian’ imperial age. The 1837 Aborigines Report captured this conjuncture in the confident statement that since the British Empire had been ‘signally blessed by Providence’, its blessings should be shared with ‘the uttermost ends of the earth’.¹⁹ The Evangelical-humanitarian moment is of course not an unconventional theme in New Zealand historiography, although the most recent orthodoxy is perhaps that it made little difference to

¹⁴ Orange interpreted ‘we are now one people’ in ‘spiritual terms’: ‘there would be many tribes, including the British, but all would be equal under God’; this explanation resonates with the ‘Anglican context’, but leaves out the governmental or ‘peace and order’ imperatives, and the imperial context of protection from other nations/empires: see Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 1987), 56-57.

¹⁵ Hobson himself was, according to his biographer, ‘a firm Christian believer and member of the Church of England’; see K. A. Simpson, ‘Hobson, William’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990) *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h29/hobson-william> (accessed, 14 June 2018).

¹⁶ In his recent work on ‘establishment Evangelicalism’ in the period c. 1770-1840 (associated conventionally with the Clapham Sect but considerably wider than that), Gareth Atkins argues that in terms of ‘British public life’ it makes sense to think of ‘a London-centred Anglo-Britishness’, and that in the political/ecclesiastical establishment ‘Protestant’ was often read as ‘Anglican’: see Atkins, *Converting Britannia*, 24.

¹⁷ Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, 133-63; cited in Atkins, *Converting Britannia*, 144.

¹⁸ Atkins, *Converting Britannia*, 24-25.

¹⁹ *Aborigines Report*, at 105.

Māori, viz., that the New Zealand indigenous experience was not exceptional (or ‘better’). This later scholarship has been critically appraised in a recent article by Philippa Wyatt,²⁰ while Kai Tahu historian Michael Stevens has sympathetically reprised the theme that the Aborigines Report and its humanitarian, transnational networks did matter to New Zealand.²¹ This chapter seeks to interrogate more closely some of the intellectual or cultural roots of this Evangelical-humanitarian movement (and moment). The use of the phrase ‘he iwi tahi tatou’ reflected – perhaps unconsciously or unwittingly – the broader, diffuse project to intentionally incorporate indigenes such as the New Zealanders (Māori) into an empire that protected rights, liberties and (even) local custom and authority. It is the nuances of this phrase, and the way it drew upon older political languages of the nation and government – constituting a *mentalité* of a British/English *longue durée* – that is the concern of this chapter.²²

Historiography and methodology

At the Waitangi treaty signing, when Lieutenant Governor, William Hobson, declared to rangatira (chiefs) signing the parchment ‘he iwi tahi tatou’ – we are (now) one people – what did he mean or intend? It has been suggested in the historiography that Hobson was prompted by Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) leader, Henry Williams, to say this.²³ (If it was not Williams, then it was almost certainly either one of Williams’ colleagues or James Busby, though the latter seems less probable.) When Williams recounted some years (perhaps decades) later how he explained the Treaty to Māori, the concept of ‘one people’ was clearly associated with that of a protecting government or law:

We gave them [the chiefs] but one version [of the Treaty], explaining clause by clause, showing the advantage to them of being taken under the fostering care of the British Government, by which they would become one people with the English, in the suppression of wars, and of every lawless act; under one Sovereign, and one Law, human and divine.²⁴

²⁰ Philippa Wyatt, ‘Keith Sinclair and the History of Humanitarianism’, *New Zealand Journal of History* 54/2 (2020): 1-19.

²¹ [Waitangi Address Dr Michael Stevens - YouTube](#) (accessed May 2021).

²² cf. J. G. A. Pocock, ‘The Concept of a Language and the *Métier D'historien*: Some Considerations on Practice’ (1987), ch. 6 in Pocock, *Political Thought and History*, in which he distinguishes the intellectual historian’s focus on languages from the deeper presuppositions and mental frames of the *longue durée*, while he also indicates that languages (or discourses) at least partially articulate and reflect those mentalities; my concern is to see political languages in a longer view such that they are understood as (often) reflective of deeper mentalities that exert often unconscious and unwitting influence on political thought.

²³ Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, 56-57.

²⁴ H. Williams, ‘Early Recollections’, [nd], cited in Hugh Carleton, *The Life of Henry Williams*, vol. 2. (Auckland: Wilsons and Horton, 1877), 14.

Histories of New Zealand concerned with the Treaty have tended to assume that ‘one Law, human and divine’ meant the imposition of a British legal code, or sameness of legal or customary treatment as between Māori tribes and the settler colony. The Waitangi Tribunal has identified this as the ‘traditional view’, viz.: ‘that Māori and Pākehā were now equal members of the state, with the same rights and obligations’. This traditional view seems to be the assumption embedded in most New Zealand histories, partly on the basis that this is actually how things unfolded in the following decades. All the special legal provisions relating to Māori, however, including of course land law, run counter to such a ‘one law’ view.²⁵ Few historians have analysed what ‘one people’ meant to the British protagonists. Anthropologist Joan Metge is one of only a few scholars that have expended much ink on the phrase ‘he iwi tahi tatou’, with her focus on the linguistic meaning or rendering of the Māori phrase into English. James Belich in *Making Peoples* and Paul Moon in his biography of Hobson made no mention of it. The Waitangi Tribunal in Northland noted that the current author was the only historian providing evidence that dwelt on the phrase (it must be acknowledged now, in a quite cursory way).²⁶

The lack of serious historiographical inquiry into the meaning of the phrase may reflect its brevity and lack of (obvious) content. But it also reflects, I suggest, a failure of serious engagement with British intellectual and cultural history. The argument of this chapter is that the phrase ‘we are now one people’ (or ‘we are together a unified nation’, or ‘we two peoples together make a nation’ – the Māori linguistic senses are important for understanding the inflections of meaning when translated into English²⁷) can be related to the whole history of British conceptions of nation, government and empire. Thus, in order to address this question

²⁵ As noted by Damon Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 105; and see Shaunnagh Dorsett, *Juridical Encounters: Māori and the Colonial Courts, 1840-1852* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017).

²⁶ See Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti*, 424-25, 470-71; Lindsay Head alluded to ‘he iwi tahi tatou’ in the context of her project to historicise the language of the Treaty and other language(s) of modernity that, she argues, Maori adopted in significant ways (which this thesis agrees with, at least in outline); she does not however attempt to locate ‘he iwi tahi tatou’ or ideas of ‘the nation’ in a British domestic or imperial context, and seems to conceptualise the Treaty as (in part) the beginnings of the modern ‘New Zealand nation’ or ‘state’ – a framing that this thesis would mostly see as problematic: see Head, ‘Land, Authority and the Forgetting of Being’, 52, 60, 63, 69, 293, 295. For the language of state, Mathew Arnold could complain, even in 1869, that the English/British did not have the European notion of ‘the State’: see Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, 57.

²⁷ See Metge, cited in Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti*, 424-25; the variations are almost endless because the meaning of the Maori term ‘iwi’ was not static, or was capable of shades of meaning or usage – as this thesis explores in subsequent chapters. Another quite possible translation attending to the indigenous context is: ‘our tribes and your tribes together are now a united tribe’; or, more interpretively, ‘the strength of our respective peoples/tribes is now in their commonality’; see discussion below.

of cultural meaning – it is ‘cultural’ as much as it is ‘political’²⁸ – this chapter enquires into the cultural and historical assumptions revealed in key British texts.

By using this, arguably transitory, phrase to frame this inquiry, I am not seeking to narrate a New Zealand history of the 1840s using the Treaty or its texts – what Mark Hickford has critiqued as the ‘treaty-centric’ lens of much recent New Zealand historiography.²⁹ Nor am I seeking to discover in the Tiriti/the Treaty itself anything necessarily ‘foundational’ for the imperial-colonial state (or, for that matter, the ‘nation of New Zealand’) that was to emerge in the decades to come.³⁰ Rather, the phrase – *he iwi tahi tatou* – is understood as a motif, as representative of a broader *mentalité*. The phrase itself, in its specific context of speaking at Waitangi, may have been of greater or lesser significance for the rangatira signatories as they made their marks on the parchment. That is not the subject-matter of this particular inquiry. The phrase itself is rather employed as a pointer to a much larger inquiry; it becomes a methodological hook for a project to recover cultural presuppositions and mentalities of the British. At the same time, the analysis pays attention to the contexts of its use, who was saying it, and to whom; it is acknowledged that this phrase represented one portion of a contested discourse about the meanings (or intentions) of British empire and government in the New Zealand isles in the particular imperial-colonial conjuncture of the late 1830s.³¹

This chapter seeks to narrate key themes and ideas in the emergence of an English national consciousness. In so doing it relies partly on the secondary literature and partly on the analysis of historical, political and theological texts present in various New Zealand libraries or personal book collections of the 1840s-50s. The primary library utilized here is the largely intact library of C.M.S. missionary Alfred Nesbitt Brown, at Te Papa (or ‘The Elms’), Tauranga.³² This is supplemented by analysis of other library collections or (where the libraries themselves are not intact) library catalogues, including: Bishop Selwyn’s ‘Cathedral Library’, St. John’s College, Auckland³³; Brancepeth House family library and station library,

²⁸ See Geertz, ‘The Politics of Meaning’, and the quotations from this in the Introduction.

²⁹ Hickford, ‘Interpreting the Treaty’, 92.

³⁰ *cf.* Bain Attwood, ‘Towards a Post-Foundational History of the Treaty’, in M. Hickford and C. Jones, eds., *Indigenous Peoples and the State: International Perspectives on the Treaty of Waitangi* (Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2019: 94-110.

³¹ And in so doing, does not resist ‘the chaos of heterogeneity’ identified by Attwood, while it also seeks to locate what the Treaty meant to particular protagonists, as at least partly reflective of those parties’ underlying mentalities: *cf.* Attwood, ‘Towards a Post-Foundational History’, 95.

³² A catalogue of the A. N. Brown library collection can be found at the Turnbull, see qMS-0275, ATL.

³³ See ‘Cathedral Library Catalogue’ [MS., c. 1880s], Kinder Library, St John’s College, Auckland.

Wairarapa (both largely intact)³⁴; Waimate Mission House book collection³⁵; the Sir George Grey library collection held in South Africa³⁶; the General Assembly Library of 1860s³⁷; and the library catalogues of the Auckland Provincial Council (1861 and 1873) and the Canterbury Provincial Council (1867).³⁸

The account below relies on a reading of a select number of texts found in these collections; this selection was at least partly representative of some important intellectual traditions of the

³⁴ I visited the ‘family library’ at Brancepeth station in 2017 (with kind acknowledgements to Edward Beetham); the station library is now held by Victoria University of Wellington Library, in the J. C. Beaglehole collection. The family library, situated in the main house, consists mostly of non-fiction; the station library consists mostly of mid-to-late Victorian fiction, but with a small collection of history (including Macaulay, Carlyle, and Gibbon) and poetry. A fine book history based on the fiction (or novel) collection is Lydia Wevers, *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2010).

³⁵ See Philip G. Parkinson, ‘Transcript listing of books on display in the Mission House, Waimate’, typescript, ref. 2003-105-165, ATL; like other non-fiction collections, this is heavy on histories as well as (of course) theology and numbers of Bibles and Prayer Books, together with a smattering of periodicals (earlier editions of the *Evangelical Magazine* and *Missionary Register*). The histories include histories of England by David Hume (1822 ed.) and T. Smollet (1822), O. Goldsmith’s *History of Rome* (1819), Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion* (1826 ed.), as well as Richard Taylor’s *Te Ika a Maui* (1855).

³⁶ See the published catalogues for Grey’s library: Sir G. Grey and W. H. I. Bleek, *The Library of his Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B.*, 2 vols., (London: Trübner and Co., 1858). Volume one is South African volumes and manuscripts; vol 2 is Australia and New Zealand works; most of these volumes comprise dictionaries and bibles and other literature translated from English (or other languages) into native dialects. Volume 4 of the catalogue, covering early printed books in English was not published until 1867, W. H. I. Bleek, *The Library of his Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B.*, (London: Trübner and Co., 1867).

³⁷ *Catalogue of the Library of the General Assembly of New Zealand* (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1867); earlier partial catalogues (of ‘books recently added’) extant are 1864 and 1866. These catalogues are analysed for the various intellectual/political traditions represented, in S. D. Carpenter, ‘History, Law and Land: The Languages of Native Policy in New Zealand’s General Assembly, 1858-62’, M.A. thesis, Massey University, 2009, 9-20; the analysis in this Ph.D. thesis is different in that it picks through some of the actual content of key works on English/British government and nation(ality), and identifies these key works as present in a range of libraries, c. 1840s-60s.

³⁸ Held at Turnbull Library in a single bound volume, along with catalogues of various other local libraries and athenaeums from the 1880s to early 1900s, see P 017 LIB 1861-1911, ATL, but especially: *Catalogue and Rules of the Library of the Auckland Provincial Council* (Auckland: W. C. Wilson, 1861); *Catalogue of the Library of the Provincial Council of Canterbury* (Christchurch: Press Office, 1867); and *Rules and Catalogue of the Auckland Provincial Council Library* (Auckland: Daily Southern Cross, 1873). What is striking is that the general arrangement of these catalogues commences with history and/or biography, followed by politics, then law, science, and theology, and other subjects (though the 1873 Auckland Council catalogue moves politics further down the order); periodicals are an important category. By way of comparison, see the *Classified Catalogue of the Library of the General Assembly of New Zealand* (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1869), which commences with the physical sciences, philosophy and ‘practical arts and applied sciences’ (agriculture and horticulture, painting, sculpture...), proceeding then to political and social sciences, jurisprudence, history and archaeology, ethnography and geography, biography, poetry and fiction, and sundry other categories. This seems a quite eccentric ordering, but a general shift to put ‘sciences’ first is evidenced in some other local library catalogues from the 1880s onwards.

modern and early-modern era. These select texts have been read together with other evidence, including parliamentary debates and other periodical literature, and the historiography of intellectual and political thought for the period. It may be thought ideal or preferable if we could tell exactly how particular texts were being read, or if they were being read at all, by reference to marginal annotations, or citations in correspondence or pamphlet literature, or the like. My research indicates that such marginalia or direct citations were the exception rather than the rule. Hence, the actual content or subject-matter of libraries becomes important, as well as the way in which these are catalogued or arranged.³⁹

Historiographies of British nationality

What did British nationality mean? How did a national consciousness emerge? How was Britain's political community, nation or empire imagined? Shakespeare's various plays often portrayed England as a free nation governed by kings. In *Richard II*, the character John of Gaunt ruminated on the meanings of 'England':

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle
 This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
 This other Eden, demi-paradise;
 This fortress built by Nature for herself
 Against infection and the hand of war;
 This happy breed of men, this little world;
 This precious stone set in the silver sea,
 Which serves it in the office of a wall,
 Or as a moat defensive to a house,
 Against the envy of less happier lands;
 This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England ...

This speech conveyed in striking language the core elements of English nationality formed by Shakespeare's time: England was a land ruled by kings, a 'realm' or territory, which was also an island whose geography kept out invaders; it comprised a community of 'happy men' or people who derived sustenance from the 'earth' or 'this blessed plot'; this people, or at least their kings, were renowned abroad for both their Christian service and their conquests (as John of Gaunt's speech goes on to pronounce). Hence, Shakespeare's imagined political community included: kings and their territory, or 'statist' notions of nationality; second,

³⁹ See note above on the arrangement of the General Assembly library and provincial council libraries; this chapter can also be understood as a form of book history, for which see Peter Burke, 'A Social History of Knowledge Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History* 4/3 (2007): 521-35.

‘horizontal’ notions of nationality in the people and the land they lived upon;⁴⁰ and religious and imperial (or mediaeval, chivalric) notions; together, it might be added, with an awareness of ‘others’ who saw the English in this way, too – especially as a Christian and conquering people. There was a caveat in John’s patriotic speech, but it helps to enlighten us on another strong aspect of Englishness, which was a consciousness of being protected in their properties and persons by the law. John’s complaint that England had succumbed to evil or oppression was couched in the language of property – it had been ‘leased out’, had become a mere ‘tenement’, such that the ‘bonds’ or ‘parchments’ meant to define and protect rights had become ‘rotten’.

Many historians have studied the origins and nature of English and British nationality, among them Adrian Hastings, Jonathan Clark, Peter Mandler, Boyd Hilton, Linda Colley, and Robert Tombs.⁴¹ These are not all exactly agreed on what English, or British, nationality consists of, or the weight they ascribe to certain features or it; nor are they agreed on causation or origins, or the time of its emergence. However, in broad terms, all their accounts include the elements revealed in John of Gaunt’s speech: kingship, together with law and government – both central and local; English Christianity or Protestantism; and war with outsiders. The one significant causal factor not in this list (or expressly in John of Gaunt’s speech) is print literacy, or a widespread readership in a printed vernacular. All include this as a causal factor in some fashion. I now seek to summarise these slightly varying narratives, to enable different nuances to be revealed.

Peter Mandler, in *The English National Character*, argued for the fifteenth century as marking a ‘turning point’ in the identification or consciousness of both ‘England’ and ‘the English’. But it was not until the sixteenth century, with ‘the spread of the vernacular language in print’, that the sense of Englishness could diffuse itself more widely. Mandler expressly acknowledged at this point Benedict Anderson’s insights on the ways in which a printed vernacular stimulated national consciousness: by connecting a populace across long distances; by giving the common language ‘dignity’ and ‘permanence’ – such as Latin or Arabic previously enjoyed; and

by giving it [the national community] a simultaneity of consciousness, in the awareness, for example, that all the members of the community are reading from the same text on a Sunday morning or, in modern times, every morning from a daily newspaper.⁴²

⁴⁰ The close identity of people with land is seen in the lines ‘This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land’.

⁴¹ For the last, see Robert Tombs, *The English and their History* (London: Penguin, 2014).

⁴² Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 10.

Vernacular English first appeared in the scriptural translations, followed closely by other texts such as John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and, a little later, Shakespeare's plays – 'especially the histories, from which so many of the most treasured evocations of England originate'.⁴³ Mandler argued that literary texts such as those of Shakespeare's John of Gaunt, and histories by William Camden (1586) and Richard Hakluyt (1589) evoked attachments to land and monarchy rather than the English language or people. He stated that, 'Before the American Revolution, no state conceived itself centrally as an expression of the people's will or character'.⁴⁴

In the seventeenth century, Mandler continued, the English common law gained ground as a source of English identity.⁴⁵ In the civil war period, Teutonism or Saxonism, tracing the origins of the English to the Germanic tribes of the sixth-century invasions, gained some prominence. But Royalism reasserted itself at the Restoration. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the constitution or king-in-Parliament became the central motif of Englishness, displacing the monarch alone.⁴⁶ The eighteenth century 'turned out to be the patriotic century *par excellence*'.⁴⁷ After the union of England and Scotland in 1707, there was a common Crown, Parliament and navy, but two state churches and two legal systems – 'Britishness could be celebrated only in strictly institutional ways'.⁴⁸ At the same time, an expanding British empire raised awareness of the diversity of the world's peoples. This contributed to the phenomenon of more British identity abroad than at home.⁴⁹

Linda Colley, in her much-heralded book on the formation of Britishness in the eighteenth century, emphasised the role of both Protestantism and war against outsiders, particularly Catholic France. Regarding Protestantism, she pointed out how a copy of the English Bible, 'the key text of the Reformation', was carried in the coronation ceremony of William and Mary at Westminster Abbey in 1689. This was a new feature of the ceremony, as was the declaration the monarchs were required to make – to rule according to the 'true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law'. Once they were crowned, Bibles were

⁴³ Ibid., 10-11.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 11; while the concept of authority is clearly monarchical, there is a sense in John of Gaunt's speech of 'the people' in terms of what might be called political community: 'this happy breed of men' has a clear relationship to 'this little world' or 'precious stone' of England's island fortress. John also speaks of 'This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land' – seemingly defining the land by reference back to a community of 'souls' or people.

⁴⁵ Mandler, *The English National Character*, 12.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 13-15.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 15.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 17.

handed to each of them – ‘to put you in mind of this rule and that you may follow it’.⁵⁰ For Colley, the influence of Christianity on Britishness was emphatic:

... Protestantism lay at the core of British national identity, and this was only to be expected. Religion was the crucial unifying force in most nations within Europe as outside it. Sweden and Holland, for instance, owed their initial self-definition to Protestantism quite as much as Great Britain did, and so, later on, did the newly independent United States of America ...

And for Colley, as with Hastings and others, religion explained patriotic or national sentiment before the modern era: ‘Here, as in so many other countries, it was religion that first converted peasants into patriots, long before the onset of modernisation in the shape of railroads, mass education, advanced press networks and democracy’.⁵¹

In respect of monarchy, the institutional role of a constitutional monarch under the 1688 settlement was for a long time more important than a popularly diffused idea of monarchy. At least, Colley could detect little attempt in the eighteenth century to foster ‘a popular cult of the monarchy’.⁵² However, by the end of George III’s reign (1820), this had changed, so that:

Ritual splendour, an appearance of domesticity, and ubiquity: this was the formula that George III taught and bequeathed to his royal successors. That it made them captives after a fashion, at the same time as it captivated large numbers of Britons, was the price of its success.⁵³

Adrian Hastings’ book *The Construction of Nationhood* (1997) has had an important influence on the historiography of nationalism, and on the field of nationalism studies. Like Colley, Hastings saw Protestantism as important in the development of English and British nationalism, but he emphasized the formative role of a vernacular literature – at first scripture, followed by secular literatures. He argued against the ‘modernists’ (Hobsbawm, Gellner, Breuilly, Anderson, *et al.*) who he considered identified the nation and nationalism too closely

⁵⁰ Colley, *Britons*, 47.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 369.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 201.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 236; see also Linda Colley, ‘The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820’, *Past and Present* 102/1 (1984): 94-129; and Iain Hampsher-Monk, ‘On Not Inventing the English Revolution: the Radical Failure of the 1790s as Linguistic Non-Performance’, in G. Burgess and M. Festenstein, eds., *English Radicalism, 1550-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 135-56, who argues that the constitutional settlement of 1688 so imbued British linguistic and political conventions that an ‘English Revolution’ did not happen in the 1790s; only a handful of activist intellectuals, such as Thomas Paine, could gesture at a truly unshackled language of political or ‘natural’ rights.

with nation-states, or modern 'citizen-state' formations of the late eighteenth century onwards.

Benedict Anderson, in *Imagined Communities*, argued for the critical role in nationalism's emergence of 'print capitalism' in Europe's New World colonies, which he located in the newspapers of the 'creole pioneers' of the eighteenth century.⁵⁴ Hastings also identified a critical role for vernacular literatures, but located this much earlier in the English and European past – in the vernacular translations of scripture. Not only this, but he also argued that England was the 'prototype' on which other nations evolved.⁵⁵ He cited Liah Greenfeld with approval: 'The birth of the English nation was not the birth of a nation, it was the birth of the nations, the birth of nationalism'.⁵⁶ Hastings argued further that it was the peculiar content of the Christian scriptures that shaped English nationalism and its offshoots. England, he said, was influenced by the scriptural picture of 'a world of nations', which have a divinely-constructed origin and destiny:

Religion is an integral element of many cultures, most ethnicities and some states. The Bible provided, for the Christian world at least, the original model of the nation. Without it and its Christian interpretation and implementation, it is arguable that nations and nationalism, as we know them, could never have existed. Moreover, religion has produced the dominant character of some state-shaped nations and of some nationalisms. Biblical Christianity both undergirds the cultural and political world out of which the phenomena of nationhood and nationalism as a whole developed and in a number of important cases provided the crucial ingredient for the particular history of both nations and nationalisms.⁵⁷

It is worth spending time on Hastings's argument as it forms part of the foundation for an argument that I develop subsequently on early Māori nationality. Hastings traced the origins or meanings of nationality linguistically, that is, through various extant texts in various periods. He began with Johnson's *Dictionary* of 1755 and cited Adam Smith and Edmund

⁵⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*: Anderson also credited the sacred literary languages with supporting the imagined community of a universal Christendom, or a universal Islam; he also pointed to the birth of administrative vernaculars in the European empires before the sixteenth century in some cases, which provided the building blocks of later independent 'state' nationalisms, partly because they helped to break down the dominance of Latin overtime. In this sense, Anderson argued that nationalism worked liked religion – on the basis of a 'sacred' written language. This is a different argument from Hastings and Colley, who say vernacular Christian scripture and religion was itself constitutive of English/British nationalism, and other nationalisms.

⁵⁵ Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 4

⁵⁶ Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 5; citing Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

⁵⁷ Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 4-5.

Burke, before tracing back through Milton, Shakespeare, Wyclif and the English Bible and Book of Common Prayer.⁵⁸ He traced the use of the term 'natio' or nation from the Latin Vulgate into the English vernacular translations of the Bible: a translation of the Book of Revelation, circa 1350, rendered chapter 5:9 as 'all kyndes & tungen & folks & nacions'. The King James version of 1611 rendered this verse similarly: 'of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation'.⁵⁹ Hastings argued from this form of analysis that the world picture or *mentalité* presented by these texts is that 'the world consists of a number of nameable peoples'. There is evidence of this mentality or definition much earlier – a people distinct by 'language, laws, habits, modes of judgment and customs' – in the words of a French Norman bishop in 1140.⁶⁰

In surveying European history and the use of written languages such as Greek and Latin, or more recent vernaculars, Hastings argued:

The more a vernacular develops a literature with a popular impact, particularly a religious and legal literature, the more it seems to push its speakers from the category of an ethnicity towards that of a nation.⁶¹

Hastings stated:

Some may be disturbed by the idea that, in a sense, texts can produce peoples. But there is really no alternative. A community, political, religious, or whatever, is essentially a creation of human communication and it is only to be expected that the form of the communication will determine the character of the community.⁶²

Hastings returned to this theme in sketching out a narrative of English nationalism, referring to the hundreds of editions of the Bible printed between 1560 and 1640 and the 'compulsory weekly attendance at the parish church to hear the services of the Prayer Book which ensured that almost everyone was permeated both ideologically and linguistically with Bible and Prayer Book religion'.⁶³ This is a significant extension of the argument about the efficacy of the texts themselves. It is the practice of *reciting* the texts (or liturgy) in a far larger, even partly illiterate, national community that is equally if not more significant in inculcating a national consciousness. (I will return to this point later with respect to native New Zealand.)

⁵⁸ Ibid., 15.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 16.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 17.

⁶¹ Ibid., 20.

⁶² Ibid., 20.

⁶³ Ibid., 58.

Hastings earlier discussed the influence of the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in the eighth century, which imagined both an English church and an English nation, even although no English state existed at the time. In the later ninth century, King Alfred of Wessex embarked on an ambitious translation of texts into the vernacular, including of Bede's Latin text into English.⁶⁴ Then followed the Anglo-Saxon literature in the tenth and eleventh centuries – theological, legal, historical, philosophical and scientific – about which Hastings wrote: 'If the equation of a significant vernacular literature and a nation bears any weight at all, it must be applicable here'.⁶⁵ Hastings' account of English nationality was not one-dimensional. He also explored the importance of London, commercially and culturally; the importance of the shires and borough courts – 'the building blocks of the nation for a thousand years'; and the importance of the church institutionally in uniting 'England' before there was any political union.⁶⁶ Hastings contended that England was a nation-state by 1066.

Chaucer and Shakespeare, Hastings said, reveal the scope and timbre of a 'horizontal' Englishness in their common man characters.⁶⁷ He further suggested that Magna Carta was important in defining the principle that the monarchy was subordinated to the nation and its legal structure: 'Basically that principle was common to both sides in the Civil War. It was a national presupposition'.⁶⁸ Parliament met regularly in the fourteenth century; Hastings suggested that it 'could hardly have developed as it did except on the already well-established local foundation of shires and boroughs'.⁶⁹

Addressing Linda Colley's thesis in *Britons*, Hastings agreed with her that Englishness, Welshness and Scottishness remained as separate identities alongside the new (or revived) identity of Britain. He thought, however, that Colley had overplayed Britishness, even in times of war, and that she did not adequately acknowledge 'the continued emotional, intellectual and political dominance of the concept of England over that of Britain'.⁷⁰ Another scholar has written that 'For the English, Britishness came to subsume Englishness, so that the two were often indistinguishable; for the Scots, the Welsh and later the Irish, Britishness was much more an overlay'.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Ibid., 36-39.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 41.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 40-41.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 49, 56.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 50.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 51.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 63.

⁷¹ Christopher G. A. Bryant, 'These Englands, or Where Does Devolution Leave the English?', *Nations and Nationalism* 9/3 (2003): 393-412, at 394.

Jonathan Clark has articulated a similar view to Hastings on this point of the centrality of Englishness to the Union equation and the antiquity of English nationality. Like Hastings, he sees religion and law as constituting the earliest sense of an English nation, while war against outsiders also contributed to its formation.⁷² Like Hastings, Clark was happy to begin his narrative of Englishness as far back as the Venerable Bede in the eighth century. In the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth built upon Bede's sense of a God-ordained and blessed – even an 'elect' – English nation.⁷³ In the sixteenth century, Richard Hooker, a key apologist of the English Reformation, gave further intellectual rigour to this picture. To paraphrase, Hooker saw the people of England as synonymous with the people of the English church. The monarch was the 'governor' of both the Church and the civil government. The English Crown and the 'commonwealth' of the English people, therefore, possessed both a secular and sacred character.⁷⁴ (Hooker's theory of the English commonwealth will be elaborated on below.)

Clark reiterated his earlier scholarship that characterised England as a 'confessional state' in the long eighteenth century, that is, an Anglican state defined by its commitment to the tenets of Christian scripture and tradition. In his re-worked second edition of *English Society*, Clark suggested that Anglican 'hegemony' in the state was not without significant toleration of and contest by Protestant Nonconformity or Dissent. Political debate often centred around the religious nature and function of the state – at least until, and probably after, Anglican hegemony was overcome by the reforms of 1828-1832. Contemporaries did not see this process in terms of 'modernization' or 'secularization'; rather the religious character of government and law was a standard assumption.⁷⁵ Thus Clark argued that Christianity gave critical substance, tone and definition to the English sense of a unique people and its government, whilst he acknowledged the diversity within English and, especially, British, Protestantism – from the English Dissenter to the Scots Presbyterian. Religion divided often, and Clark argued, in agreement with others, that the English Civil War and the American War of Independence can be understood as wars of religion, even intra-Protestant wars. Yet a sense of Christian history and tradition spun an overarching web of commonality and community over the various discrete communities of and within the 'three kingdoms' of England, Scotland and Ireland. Clark stated:

⁷² See Clark, 'Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832'.

⁷³ Clark, 'Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832', 267; see also Patrick Wormald, 'The Venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"', ch. 6 in P. Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, ed. S. Baxter (Malden, MA.: Blackwell, 2006): 207-28.

⁷⁴ Clark, *The Language of Liberty 1660-1832*, 157.

⁷⁵ J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics During the Ancien Régime*, second ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 14-42.

The individual was tied to the polity by allegiance, and Christianity was the ideology that interpreted that tie. It was an ideologically engendered allegiance which characterized English society in the long eighteenth century, and which fell into schism in 1776 at a date demonstrably before the emergence of 'nationalism' as we now know it.⁷⁶

In summary, Clark described English identity in the long eighteenth century as constituted by two main ideas: monarchy or a polity defined by kingly law, and a sense of Providential destiny as articulated by the English Church.⁷⁷ These ideas were understood as compatible with commercial progress and some measure of social mobility (although Clark continued to emphasize patrician hegemony in this social matrix).⁷⁸ Similarly, David Armitage has written of the British self-understanding of their *empire* in the eighteenth century as 'Protestant, commercial, maritime and free'.⁷⁹ Kumar has also emphasised the 'imperial' dimensions of British nationalism in a way that makes sense of the peculiar history of the British (and English). He writes, similarly, 'that English nationalism, past and present, is the nationalism of an imperial state – one that carries the stamp of its imperial past even when the empire has gone'. As a 'state-bearing' people, they have not stressed ethnic identity but rather 'parliamentary government and peaceful progress'. Kumar called this a type of 'imperial nationalism'. In the British case (as in the Russian case), a dominant group or *ethnie* was attached to this imperial state or mission as its 'carrier'; however this was about loyalty to institutions not *ethnie* – in the British case, to monarchy, parliamentary government, the Protestant faith, and economic progress.⁸⁰ In the language of nationalism studies, British nationalism would be categorised as a type of 'civic nationalism'.

Anglican conceptions of nation and government: a brief study in texts

As outlined above, a principal aim of this chapter is to recover British, especially 'older' or 'Anglican', mentalities of nation and government. This section highlights a few key works, contained within extant New Zealand libraries dating from the nineteenth century, that reveal that understanding as it had been formulated by Richard Hooker in the sixteenth century and then expressed in the 1830s-40s period.

⁷⁶ Clark, 'Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832', 271-272.

⁷⁷ Clark, *English Society*, 39.

⁷⁸ Clark, *English Society*, 34-37.

⁷⁹ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 7-8.

⁸⁰ Krishan Kumar, 'Nation and Empire: English and British National Identity in Comparative Perspective', *Theory and Society* 29/5 (2000): 575-608.

Richard Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*

The C.M.S. missionary, A. N. Brown, had a sizable library, that is still extant on the site of Te Papa mission station at Tauranga (also known as 'The Elms'). Among his collection of early-to-mid nineteenth century books and periodicals is a text of 1840 entitled *A Digest of Hooker's Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* by the Rev. J. B. Smith (of Christ College, Cambridge).⁸¹ Such a work, and its presence in Brown's library, demonstrates the ongoing salience of Richard Hooker's work to churchmen of Brown's era. This salience is evident also from the title page of the book that identifies the Digest as 'for the use of students'.

Richard Hooker was a leading theologian of English Protestantism and the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* was a leading text of the late sixteenth century. In 'Book 8' of this work, entitled 'On the King's Supremacy', Hooker contended with Roman Catholic and Puritan Reformer arguments on the nature of the civil power in relation to church government – the one contending that the civil power should be subservient to the Roman Church; the other that civil government and church government should be distinct and separate. Hooker contended that it was proper for the civil sovereign to be also the governor of the church. He summarised his review of Jewish and 'heathen' history as follows:

To conclude, 1st, Under the dominion of Infidels [or heathen peoples], the Church of Christ and the Commonwealth did form *two* separate independent Societies: 2nd, Where the Pope of Rome bears sway, these, though forming essentially one Society, are nevertheless *severed*, and the Church is not permitted to depend upon any civil Prince or Potentate: 3rd, **In this realm of England, the Church and Commonwealth, being one Society, the Church is also dependent upon the chief civil Ruler:** and, lastly, **In this respect we resemble God's ancient elect people, who, as a Church and Commonwealth, were one people, under one Chief Governor, on whom they did all depend.** [emphasis added]⁸²

The last few lines encapsulated the Anglican view of 'church' and 'state': the society of the Church and the civil polity were one and the same; as 'one people' both were 'dependent' upon

⁸¹ J. B. Smith, *A Digest of Hooker's Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (London: J. G. F. & J. Rivington, 1840) [ANBL].

⁸² Smith, *A Digest of Hooker's Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 406-407. Cf. Hooker's language of commonwealth with that of Thomas Hobbes, a half-century later, in *Leviathan*, in which commonwealth seems to be another word for 'state' or 'government' or a 'state of civil government' (see Hobbes, *Leviathan*, chs. XVII-XIX); Greenfeld explains that the origin of 'commonwealth' is a translation from the Latin *res publica* or 'republic', which in 16th century England was understood as a 'public wealth' or a 'common state' and synonymous with 'society' or rather 'a well-governed society'; there seem to have been shifts in the meaning of 'commonwealth' from the 16th century through the 17th century, so that it acquired the more governmental or political sense as seen in Hobbes, while retaining the root meaning of 'common well-being' or 'common good': see Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 35.

the civil power or sovereign, who was ‘Chief Governor’. Prominent also was the direct affiliation or identification of ‘this realm of England’ with the people of Israel. As for the nature of the sovereign’s authority, Hooker stated:

In every case, however, when **Kings or Governors** are *once established*, their authority must be considered as approved by God, and themselves as His vicereagents.⁸³

It is clear from Hooker’s use of language that the terms ‘king’, ‘governor’, and ‘sovereign’ were interchangeable:

So that unto Kings, by human right, honour is due by divine right: man’s ordinances being frequently *pre-supposed* as grounds in the statutes of God. And, therefore, **by whatever means Governors are lawfully advanced to their station**, we are thenceforth bound, by the law of God, to obey them, in whatever affairs their power may serve to command. Thus **God doth ratify that sovereign authority**, originating merely in *human* appointment. [emphasis added]⁸⁴

Hooker described ‘the constitution of our own nation’ and the sources of the King’s power as derived in various ways: from the people or ‘body politic’ who originally granted or ‘conveyed’ the power to their ‘Head’; as descending from that original grant by hereditary succession, except with a reversionary right back to the body politic when there was no natural heir; by conquest, ‘limited only by the law of God and nature’; by the terms of an ‘original compact’ with the people, as potentially varied by ‘express enactments’ or ‘silent custom growing at length into prescriptive right’.⁸⁵ Howsoever derived, the king’s power was properly exercised in accordance with law. In a memorable passage expressing this fundamental English constitutional paradigm, Hooker stated:

This kingly power, when properly restrained by law, - but yet not so restrained as to deprive it of supremacy in the very highest matters, which would reduce it to a *name* rather than a reality, - seems to be the most perfect form of government. Where the King doth guide the state, and the law the King, then the whole is harmoniously attuned to general good; even as it hath been well said, [‘the King ruling by law,-the magistrate following,-the subject free,-the whole society happy’]⁸⁶.

⁸³ Smith, *A Digest of Hooker’s Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 410.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 411.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 411-413.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 413, showing here the translation of the Greek quote given in the footnote.

Hooker summed up: 'Hence are apparent the wisdom and beauty of our own Constitution, wherein no person or cause is unsubjected to the King's power; and yet this is so limited, that the law itself is in all things the rule of his proceeding'.⁸⁷

St. John's College Library (or Kinder Library) in Auckland still contains a number of works that originally formed part of Bishop Selwyn's Cathedral Library. This was a library started at the College in the 1840s, housed first at the Stone Store, Kerikeri, that included book donations by various of Selwyn's benefactors in England.⁸⁸ Later book donors included General Cameron of the British armed forces in the early 1860s. Although the complete library is not intact, a catalogue of the library compiled in the 1880s is extant.⁸⁹ Like A. N. Brown's library, the Cathedral Library presents a fascinating picture of the reading and intellectual worlds of the time. Considerably more extensive than Brown's library, its content ranged over similar territory: from theological works, Bibles and Bible commentaries, through periodical literature, classics, history, biography, law, medicine and surgery, and science subjects including astronomy, geology and ethnology.

Richard Hooker's works formed part of the Cathedral Library. Many of these editions were contemporary with the 1830s-40s period, again illustrating the continuing relevance of Hooker's work to early Victorian churchmen.⁹⁰ Further evidence of this relevance is Selwyn's inclusion of Hooker in prescribed reading for students at St John's College.⁹¹ Hooker editions of 1836 and 1839 (and possibly others) are still extant in the Kinder Library.⁹² (Sir George Grey's library also had an early edition of Richard Hooker's *Laws*.⁹³)

Underlining Hooker's importance, too, was the editorship of the 1836 volume by John Keble, a leading spokesman of the Oxford Movement, which sought to keep the English church faithful to older traditions of church theology and practice and resisted interference by the state with Church governance, theology or liturgical practice – especially in the context of the

⁸⁷ Ibid., 413-414 (and see 416 for restatement).

⁸⁸ Allan K. Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy: The College of St John the Evangelist, Te Waimate and Auckland, 1843-1992: A History* (Auckland: The College of St John the Evangelist, 1993), 38-39.

⁸⁹ 'Cathedral Library Catalogue', KL.

⁹⁰ 'Cathedral Library Catalogue', 126: publication dates of 1839 (x1 vol. 'Selections from Bk V'), 1841 (3 vols.), 1845 (2 copies of 3 vols.), 1848 (1 vol. 'Keble's Selections from'); also 1821 (3 vols.) and 1793 (3 vols.).

⁹¹ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 13, 31.

⁹² John Keble, ed., *The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine Mr. Richard Hooker: with an Account of His Life and Death by Isaac Walton*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1836); *The Works of Mr. Richard Hooker, Containing Eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and Several Other Treatises. To Which is Prefixed the Life of the Author by Isaak Walton*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Thomas Tegg, 1839). It does not appear that these two editions were part of the original Cathedral Library, even though this seems likely from their publication dates, as those publication dates or descriptions do not match those listed in the Library Catalogue.

⁹³ See item 100 in Bleek, *The Library of his Excellency Sir George Grey*.

late 1820s and 1830s where state authority was separating itself from sole adherence to Anglican doctrine.⁹⁴ In this respect, Keble was circumspect about Hooker's argument that civil society and church were one society under authority of a single sovereign. Keble's introduction is valuable in explaining Hooker's theory of government, partly because it demonstrates acute awareness both of Hooker's political context and his own of the 1830s. As indicated, Keble was particularly concerned, in his context of the 1830s, to free the Church from the burden of dictation by the civil sovereign. Hooker's argument, he contended, only held so long as the sovereign was a dedicated member of the Church.⁹⁵ He expressly disagreed with Hooker's argument that the civil sovereign needed to be Chief Governor of the church to be truly sovereign. It cannot be, said Keble:

that the sovereign is not a sovereign, if the Church is independent. Surely this is as untenable, as if one denied the sovereignty of the king under the old constitution of England, because the houses of lords and commons had certain indefeasible privileges, independent of him. If *their* veto, for example, on acts of *civil* legislation, did not impeach the king's temporal sovereignty, why should *the Church's* veto impeach the same sovereignty?⁹⁶

Hooker escaped his conundrum of absolute sovereign power, said Keble, by arguing that as originally granted by the people, the King's authority was limited.⁹⁷

What do these texts show? First, that Kingly or 'sovereign' power was understood in the British constitution as limited in various ways, which were not always mentioned in the same breath or emphasised to an equal degree. At least three forms of limitation are discernible, however, and these certainly overlap: limitation by law and perhaps by custom or convention; limitation by original charter or compact; and limitation, in the final analysis, by God's law or natural law. Second, these texts show that the British body politic was understood, at least under the post-Reformation regime described by Hooker, as a perfect unity of 'church' and 'state', in which the sovereign was Chief Governor of both, that is, of a single Christian society that comprised both 'civil' and 'ecclesiastical' realms or institutions. Although Keble, as a high-churchman of the 1830s, was wary of the argument about a unity of church and state – and especially of the subservience of the former to the latter – he did not contend with the argument of limited monarchical power, nor in fact that English society remained fundamentally Christian.

⁹⁴ See Lawrence F. Barmann, 'The Liturgical Dimension of the Oxford Tracts, 1833-1841', *Journal of British Studies* 7/2 (1968): 92-113.

⁹⁵ Keble, ed., *The Works of ... Mr. Richard Hooker*, cvii.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, cviii.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, cviii.

The *Christian Observer* on the English and New Zealand nations

Also in A. N. Brown's library are a number of volumes (c. 1838-1841) of the *Christian Observer*, a well-known periodical that was a key vehicle of the Anglican Evangelical party or 'Clapham sect', as coined by James Stephen (junior) in 1844, as many of its members lived in community around Clapham Common in London.⁹⁸ This prominent group of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activists coalesced from the late eighteenth century around William Wilberforce, John Thornton, and James Stephen (senior), and included the well-known clerics, Charles Simeon and Joseph and Isaac Milner. Later generations of the Clapham families included James Stephen (junior), permanent Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office (1836-1847), and Thomas Babington Macaulay, parliamentarian, member of India's Supreme Council (1834-1838), and best-selling historian of England on publication of his *History* in the 1840s and 50s.

The January 1838 issue of the *Christian Observer* reviewed the 'Public Affairs' of the preceding year, employing other language concerning the monarchy most probably representative of most evangelical Christian opinion of the time:

The chief business of the recent meeting of parliament, has been to legislate respecting the civil list, which being prospective during a reign that, in the order of nature, may last more than half a century, was not a trifling consideration. The two leading sections of parliament agreed to follow, as nearly as possible, the precedent of the late reign; **so that our gracious queen, like her ancestors, will preside over a splendid court, and have the means of powerfully influencing the nation by her character and example. We earnestly pray that God will keep her from the snares of youth and royalty**, and ever dispose her heart to acknowledge him in all her ways, and to seek the best welfare, spiritual as well as temporal, of her dutiful and affectionate subjects.⁹⁹ [emphasis added]

This vision of the role of the monarch as protector of the welfare of subjects and as example to 'the nation' was clothed in evangelical language but in substance (on this point at least) was probably little different from most elite or middling-class opinion. The same article also outlined the crisis in Lower Canada, referring to the 'frequent mismanagement' of that colony and to the 'truckling to disloyalty and popery, which, in their fostered power, now threaten all that is British and Protestant with extermination'. The 'revolt' now threatened to 'rob our gracious queen of a bright jewel of her diadem'. This expression of strong 'anti-popery' sentiment was perhaps more characteristic of the Evangelical party, but certainly the anti-

⁹⁸ Stephen, 'The Clapham Sect'.

⁹⁹ 'View of Public Affairs', *Christian Observer* (Jan. 1838), 68.

French sentiment was strongly represented across the spectrum of the political nation, including in the Durham Report of 1838, which had more Radical or liberal credentials.¹⁰⁰ The articulation of ‘all that is British and Protestant’ as that which the British nation and empire stood to lose if the colony was ‘lost’ is a characterisation clearly reflecting the widespread Protestant (or Anglican) nationalism explored by Linda Colley in *Britons*.¹⁰¹

The use of nation or nationality language continued in the same article, particularly with reference to the schemes of chartered colonisation of New Zealand proposed by E. G. Wakefield. The author referred to the House of Commons’ Aborigines Committee (of 1836-37), including the evidence before the Committee of Dandeson Coates of the Church Missionary Society.¹⁰² The author affirmed the essential argument of Coates that white settlement of New Zealand could only lead to ‘injustice and oppression’. The article condemned the theories of ‘infidel physiologists’ who conjectured that the ‘cerebral configuration’ of the white races was superior. Against this, the article restated a foundation tenet of Christian theology that all races ‘have souls as well as bodies’, had the same Creator, and needed the same redemption. Hence it was ‘enough to say that a nation of civilized Christian New Zealanders, ‘clothed and in their right mind’, would be a blessed spectacle, which ought not to be prevented by the encroaching incursions of European domination’.¹⁰³ Such an ‘auspicious hope’ should not be sacrificed – ‘of seeing a people pass from a savage to a civilized and Christian state, through the agency of Europeans, with the complete preservation of the aboriginal race, and of their national independence’. In which case, ‘every Christian’ would ‘rejoice to see a flourishing branch of the church ... springing up amidst the rocks and valleys of New Zealand!’¹⁰⁴

The language of ‘nationality’ employed here is evidence again of the Evangelical-humanitarian project to preserve New Zealand in the possession of the New Zealanders (Māori) but also to preserve them as a ‘people’ or ‘nation’. Rather than being a political concept, the writer’s conception of ‘national independence’ seemed to be a more basic moral sense of respecting the native people’s possession of their own country.¹⁰⁵ As outlined in chapter two, if this was a

¹⁰⁰ See chapter 2 for the Durham Report.

¹⁰¹ For which, see historiography section above.

¹⁰² The Committee was chaired by Sir Thomas F. Buxton, another prominent Evangelical; a copy of his memoirs (1850, 4th ed.) are in A. N. Brown’s library.

¹⁰³ View of Public Affairs’, *Christian Observer* (Jan. 1838), 70.

¹⁰⁴ View of Public Affairs’, *Christian Observer* (Jan. 1838), 71; for a fuller critique of NZ Association colonization plans for New Zealand, see ‘New Zealand Colonization’, *Christian Observer* (Feb. 1838), 131-140.

¹⁰⁵ Such an ability for coordinate action was what James Busby and various chiefs apparently intended by forming a Confederation of Chiefs in 1835 through the instrumentality of a ‘Declaration of Independence’; but such a Confederation had only reached embryo stage before British government was established in 1840: see chapter/article 1 for fuller analysis.

project of amalgamation (or assimilation) it was quite different from those new colonial projects that urged absorption into colonial political orders and spaces. And if a theory of progressive history or civilizational history was involved, the *modus operandi* was more akin to early modern projects of religious conversion and civility rather than legal-institutional amalgamation.¹⁰⁶

The issue of Church and State remained a live one for the 1830s and 40s, especially for those Anglican churchmen – Evangelical as well as Oxford Movement – who perceived that their Anglican communion was being weakened through legislative fiat. The *Christian Observer* communicated its concerns along these lines, an editorial at the beginning of the 1839 volume stating:

From the Church we turn to the State; chiefly regarding it in its spiritual relations; ... and here very distressing is the aspect of national affairs. We complain not merely that the **Anglican communion** has not of late received that official continuance which was its due as the Establish Church of the land; but that the general policy of **the Queen's government** has very much tended to check the growth of religion; ... When till now were the bishops, the clergy, and the most influential members of the laity of **this Christian and Protestant nation**, at issue with its rulers upon almost every question involving religious obligation, especially the great question of the godly training of the people? When did **reformed England** till now truckle to Romanism, establishing it by stipend in her colonies; and allowing an Italian pontiff to settle with his Irish vassal bishops, what form of education he will graciously permit the Queen's subjects to receive?...¹⁰⁷ [emphasis added]

In this quotation, the identity of England as an Anglican people or 'Protestant nation', in the face of legislative provision for Catholics, is clearly articulated and expressly linked to its Reformed character. These themes were developed further in the May issue of 1839, in a review of William Gladstone's *The State in its Relations with the Church*.¹⁰⁸ The reviewer believed Gladstone had fallen prey to the 'semipapistical theory' of the Oxford Movement while studying at Oxford University, making his view on church-state relations confused and mistaken on important points.¹⁰⁹ The reviewer called Richard Hooker 'the great author of the

¹⁰⁶ See Saliha Belmessous, *Assimilation and Empire: Uniformity in French and British Colonies, 1541-1954* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5-8.

¹⁰⁷ 'Preface', *Christian Observer* (1839), v-vi.

¹⁰⁸ 'Review of the State in its Relations with the Church', *Christian Observer* (May 1839).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 288.

Ecclesiastical Polity',¹¹⁰ and, in the vein of Hooker, set out a middle-road between 'the conflicting theories of Papists and Sectarians':

of the grasping assumptions of the former, who would wield the State as their instrument; and of the reckless impatience of the latter, who would annihilate **the power of the State as the depositary of a high national responsibility**, in order to invest individual conscience with prerogatives and requirements subversive of all public unity and efficiency of action. Our own Church stands at an equal distance from each of these untenable extremes. It is rooted in the acknowledgement that **a community of human beings** who have been blessed with a revelation of the Divine will, is bound not only to recognize the authority of that document, but also to employ a portion of its revenues, influence, and authority, for the propagation of its doctrines, and the maintenance of its prescribed ordinances. To secure these objects, there must be **a National Church** ...¹¹¹ [emphasis added]

Although this discourse concerned the role of the government in supporting true religion, the language used illustrates the role of the government in general. It should express or protect 'national' character. The English government should reflect the undeniably Protestant character of the English nation.

Macaulay's *History of England*

T. B. Macaulay's *History of England* has a claim to be representative of a wide section of British understandings of the English government and nation. The *History*, the first two volumes of which were published in 1848, ranks as one of the most popular and widely read histories of England or in the English language. The popularity of the *History* is shown by the fact that almost invariably every library or library catalogue reviewed for this thesis had a copy of Macaulay's *History* (and usually copies of the *Essays and Speeches*).¹¹²

Macaulay has been identified as a doyen of 'whig history', that is history written in presentist style, in which victors and vanquished in the historical narrative are identified in accordance with a supposed onward march of progress and constitutional liberty. (Interestingly, Herbert

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 288.

¹¹¹ 'Review of the State in its Relations with the Church', *Christian Observer* (May 1839), 287.

¹¹² The Brancepeth 'station library' has a very dog-eared and finger-printed copy of the *History* (2 vols., London: Longmans, 1889) reflecting its heavy use, even by the (mostly) working class employees of the station; the Brancepeth 'family library' still contains an 1864 four-volume copy of the *History*; the A. N. Brown Library has a copy of the *History* (2 vols., 1850, 2 vols, 1855); similarly, the General Assembly Library and Provincial Council libraries. In addition, various original copies of the *Edinburgh Review*, originally in the General Assembly Library, have been curiously annotated with 'T. B. Macaulay' underneath several of his essays (originally published anonymously) – another little pointer to his popularity/importance, that someone bothered to identify his authorship through annotation.

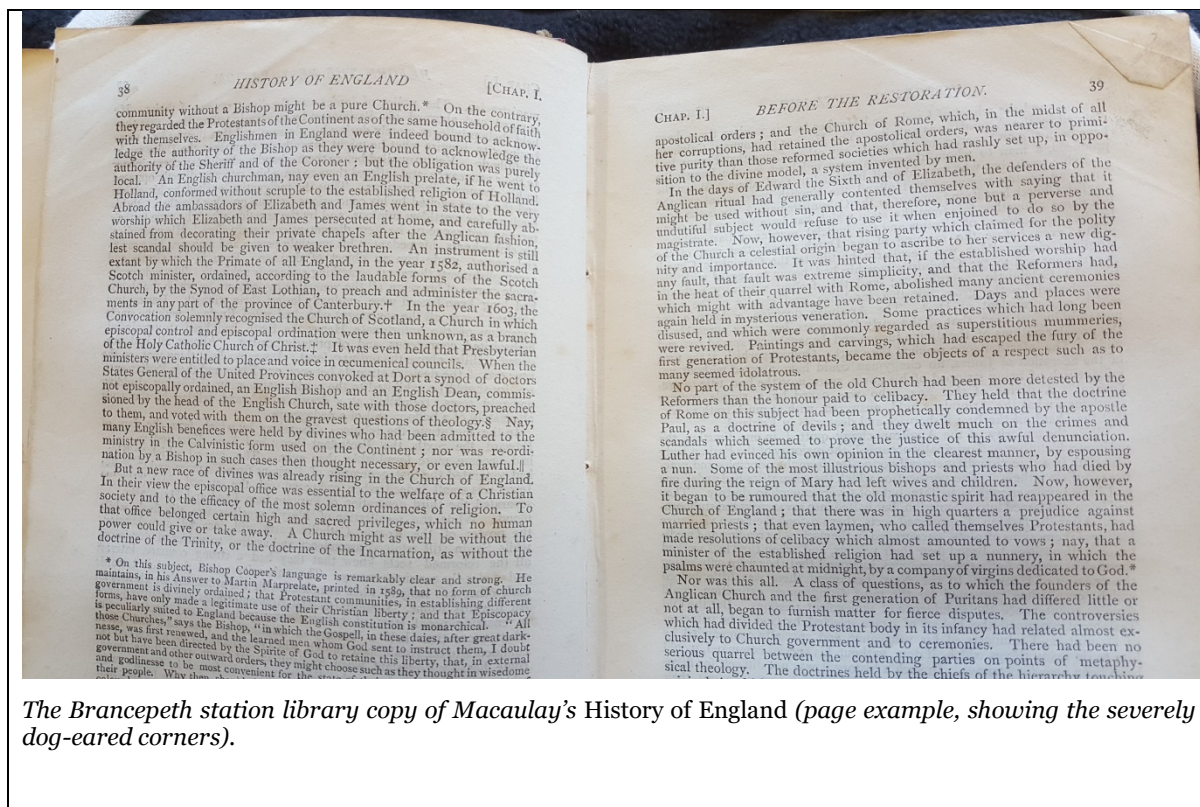
Butterfield's *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931) did not refer to him by name.) For himself, Macaulay seems to have been quite aware that historical writing in England had often succumbed to advocacy for one contemporary political party or the other.¹¹³ John Burrow's justly lauded *A Liberal Descent* is strong on Macaulay as the historian of 'Whig' or 'Burkean' credentials, but almost ignores the wider context of his humanitarian-Evangelical upbringing and his concern with British empire.¹¹⁴ Catherine Hall's recent biography is strong on both those latter aspects, and the way in which he conceptualised and crystallised for his fellow Victorians a particular view of the English nation and its empire.¹¹⁵ John Clive's biography, older now, has probably not been surpassed in its exploration of Macaulay's specific intellectual and political contexts.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Lord Macaulay, *History of England to the Death of William III* (London: Heron Books, 1967), 20-21; cf. debates in historiography as to what extent Macaulay was a Whig, see citations by Hall, 'At Home with History', fnt. 17.

¹¹⁴ J. W. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

¹¹⁵ Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son*; and see Catherine Hall, 'At Home with History' in which Hall characterised Macaulay's history as the literary construction of an island nation, in which England's empire was banished to the margins – except to the extent that the margins would become fully English themselves and part of the story of 'an imperial race'. See my critique of this at beginning of chapter. This leaves open the question of how to read the popular essays on Clive and Hastings, *etcetera*; and there is seemingly an inconsistency with saying empire was banished from the *History* and yet the story is that of an imperial race (an obvious point here is that the bulk of Macaulay's narrative concerns history that happened *within* the British Isles).

¹¹⁶ John Clive, *Macaulay: the Shaping of the Historian* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1973).



The Brancepeth station library copy of Macaulay's *History of England* (page example, showing the severely dog-eared corners).

For present purposes, what is abundantly clear from the *History*, right from its first chapter, is the close association Macaulay makes between the people or nation of England and their government. His history is a history of English government, but also a history of an English people.¹¹⁷ Under his firm, literary hand, an English people emerges from the mists of time as an island nation under constitutional rule. In a passage that is vintage Macaulay, he describes the first emergence of this formation in the thirteenth century:

Then it was that the great English people was formed, that the national character began to exhibit those peculiarities which it has ever since retained, and that our fathers became emphatically islanders, **islanders not merely in geographical position, but in their politics, their feelings, and their manners.** Then first appeared with distinctness that constitution which has ever since, through all changes, preserved its identity; **that constitution of which all the other free constitutions in the world are copies**, and which, in spite of some defects, deserves to be regarded as the best under which any great society has ever yet existed during many ages. Then it was that **the House of Commons, the archetype of all the representative assemblies which now meet**, either in the old or in the new world, held its first

¹¹⁷ Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, 2.

sittings. Then it was that the common law rose to the dignity of a science ...¹¹⁸ [emphasis added]

The same passage continues, describing the flag of England's dominion on the high seas, the ancient universities, and the English language and literature – all these established in the same century.¹¹⁹ In Macaulay's vision, the English government was most peculiarly the government of a free people. The contrast with absolutism in Europe, especially France, is a prominent feature of Macaulay's narrative. In England, however, the sovereign's power, 'though ample, was limited by three great constitutional principles, so ancient that none can say when they began to exist':

First, the King could not legislate without consent of his Parliament. Secondly, he could impose no tax without consent of his Parliament. Thirdly, he was bound to conduct the executive administration according to the laws of the land, and, if he broke those laws, his advisers and his agents were responsible.¹²⁰

What is also abundantly clear in Macaulay is the way government is seen in terms of monarchy or kingship, and yet the king, as 'sovereign', is always the symbolic and actual head of a government rather than a ruler exercising an absolute sovereignty. The language of government – not sovereignty – is paramount in Macaulay's narrative. In this he would appear to be speaking from a long English tradition of conceptualising the nature, and bounds, of government. This is a tradition that in a sense he helped to crystallize for the mid-nineteenth century, but it is a tradition with many precedents in the historical and political literature of the centuries prior. Thus, Macaulay could write of the Tudors:

The temper of the princes of that line was hot, and their spirit high: but **they understood the character of the nation which they governed**, and never once, like some of their predecessors, and some of their successors, carried obstinacy to a fatal point ... Thus, from the age of Henry the Third to the age of Elizabeth, England grew and flourished under a polity which contained the germ of our present institutions, and which, though not very exactly defined, or very exactly observed, was yet effectually prevented from degenerating into despotism, **by the awe in which the governors stood of the spirit and strength of the governed.**¹²¹ [emphasis added]

¹¹⁸ Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, 13-14.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

The point here, is that when Macaulay speaks of the king, he invariably speaks also of the government. The king is, fundamentally, a governor according to law, rather than a mere or abstract 'sovereign'. This conception of the monarchy can be compared to what Claudia Orange called 'the tradition of a personalised, caring Crown' that British missionaries were supposed to have 'long cultivated' amongst Māori – and that was supposed to have been a 'significant element in persuading chiefs' to sign the Treaty.¹²² Whether this image was persuasive for chiefs or not (and it seems in some cases it was), if Macaulay and others in the intellectual firmament are attended to, it can be seen that there was no need to 'cultivate' a tradition, but that such a portrayal of the British monarchy reflected a longer tradition of understanding monarchy as personalised governance. More broadly, these types of constitutional histories of England reflected a predominant English *mentalité* that identified the nation as a political community formed by its constitutional traditions. This *mentalité* is reflected in the various histories that were predecessors or near contemporaries of Macaulay's *History*, and many of these appeared in nineteenth century New Zealand libraries.¹²³

Exploring the national and imperial meanings of 'one nation'

In the preface to his 1844 *Dictionary of the New-Zealand Language* (the first edition of this now seven edition work), Henry's brother, William Williams, made an argument for why English settlers should learn te reo Māori - 'the New Zealand language'. The essential reason was to enable communication between 'the two Races', as English settlers came into more frequent contact with 'the Native Inhabitants'. Williams contended with the contemporary argument that 'the New Zealand language should be discouraged as much as possible, and that the Natives should at once be instructed in English'. While Williams stated that this plan, 'if practicable', would facilitate the advancement of 'civilization', by making available to the New Zealanders 'the immense fund of information to be gathered from books in our own language' (reasoning very similar to T. B. Macaulay's 'Minute on Indian Education' of 1835), Williams

¹²² Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, 56.

¹²³ For example, in the A. N. Brown Library [selection only of histories]: Francis Bacon, *Verulamiana; or Opinions on Men, Manners, Literature, Politics and Theology* (London, 1803); J. L. De Lolme, *The Constitution of England* (London, 1822); Oliver Goldsmith, *The History of England, from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II*, 12th ed. (corrected), *With a Continuation to the Death of George III*, Charles Coote, ed. (London, 1823); John Robinson, *A Grammar of History: Ancient and Modern...* (London, 1828); Sharon Turner, *The History of the Reign of Henry VIII: Comprising the Political History of the Commencement of the English Reformation*, 3rd ed. (London, 1828); F. Guizot, *History of the English Revolution of 1640: from the Accession of Charles I to his Death*, trans. William Hazlitt (London: 1846); Charles Dickens, 'A Child's History of England', *Household Words* 4 (1852): 332-36; Brown's library might easily have included the leading history of England before Macaulay, being that of David Hume (the Waimate Mission house library included an 1822 edition, see footnote above); other leading histories of the time were by Henry Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England* (Paris, 1827), and the Whig statesman, James MacIntosh.

thought it was neither wise nor practicable. His reasoning is most curious as it is based on his assessment of the survival of the different language communities of the British Union:

That it will be difficult to persuade **the Natives, as a people**, to adopt our language to the disuse of their own, may be inferred from the fact, that the Irish and Welsh, even though living in the heart of English towns, continue to use their favourite tongue, and that, too, **after our connection, as one people**, has continued for many centuries.
[emphasis added]

For these reasons, while the New Zealanders should be encouraged to learn English, the English settlers, especially those in frequent contact with natives, should learn the native language.¹²⁴ Both Williams' argument and his own language usage are fascinating, as seen in the quotation above – in that he refers to the New Zealanders as 'a people' while also suggesting, by analogy with the United Kingdom, that they are 'one people' with the English settlers. These usages suggest two different senses of 'one people': the natives remain 'a people' even while they are joined to the settlers as 'one people'. The second part of this statement is, admittedly, only implied, but the implication seems clear. Another way to paraphrase the analogy would be to say that the Irish and Welsh had retained their separate languages and, in this sense at least, their national characters (traits or personalities), even while they were joined with the English and Scots in the Union.

If we assume, for the moment, that 'one people' or 'he iwi tahi' meant neither legal or cultural uniformity, what did it mean? I suggest that it should take its meaning from its context and, in particular, what 'one people under one government' was designed to do. In Henry Williams' words (cited towards the opening of this chapter), the leading purposes of such government were to 'suppress wars' and 'every lawless act' – essentially any activity that would harm social peace and 'good order'.¹²⁵

Governor FitzRoy's August 1845 letter to Hone Heke during the flagstaff war contained similar thoughts, though in more direct language:

... the Queen's flag,- the British flag,- [is] the emblem of security and freedom, which defends and protects half the world, which **secures the lives, the rights and the property** of all men who live under it, and fully guarantees their **freedom and their privileges**.

¹²⁴ Williams, *Dictionary*, 'Preface', v-vii.

¹²⁵ Cited towards opening of this chapter: 'We gave them [the chiefs] but one version [of the Treaty], explaining clause by clause, showing the advantage to them of being taken under the fostering care of the British Government, by which they would become one people with the English, in the suppression of wars, and of every lawless act; under one Sovereign, and one Law, human and divine.'

You signed the treaty of Waitangi, by which the Sovereign of Great Britain is bound equally with yourself.

That treaty is the temporal salvation of New Zealand. By that treaty you secured advantages and privileges which your children will understand fully, though you may not now so clearly comprehend them. [emphasis added]

He further articulated his role as Governor, in somewhat biblical language:

I bear the sword of justice, but I will use it with mercy. I am obliged to put down those who cause tumult and war.¹²⁶

The historiographical tendency has been to interpret such ‘one law’ pronouncements as denoting a single and uniformly applied British legal code. But such was not what FitzRoy had in mind. About a year earlier, FitzRoy’s speech to the chiefs at Waimate had elaborated on the protective nature of the Treaty. Responding to the first felling of the flagstaff by Heke, FitzRoy spoke about the English monarch proposing to make the New Zealanders ‘part of the great British family – the greatest nation in the world: to give them all the advantages of English laws; *but not to interfere with their own laws against their consent*’ [emphasis added]. FitzRoy expanded on the concept of one family in discussing the meaning of the British flag: ‘That flag is considered most sacred, because it defends and protects us. In sharing its advantages with you, we make you our brothers; we place you on equal terms with ourselves. Every advantage that we obtain from that flag is open to you...’. In addition, FitzRoy declared: ‘The Queen of England is the Protector and Defender of all who belong to her nation. By means of her Government, her soldiers, and her ships, she protects their land, their property, and their lives’. The equality promised here was equality of protection but not protection in the enjoyment of the same laws or customs. Waka Nene echoed the concept of the New Zealanders and British becoming one people in his speech, the translator rendering this as ‘one tribe’. Nene stated that: ‘we are one tribe, and will fight for the [flag] staff and our Governor’.¹²⁷

In FitzRoy’s conception, therefore, the British nation was distinguished by its unique monarchy and government that ensured ‘freedom, liberty, and safety’, but it did so without imposing a single code of law or custom on different members of the greater ‘family’. He reiterated this view clearly in his published New Zealand reflections of 1846, stating that the

¹²⁶ Gov. FitzRoy to Hone Wiremu Pokai, 6 Aug. 1845, encl. in Gov. FitzRoy to Lord Stanley, 25 Oct. 1845, *GBPP*, IUP series, vol. 5, 309.

¹²⁷ ‘The Governor’s Address to the Chiefs assembled at Waimate, on the 2nd of September, 1844, and the substance of their replies’ [printed text], in ‘Minutes from the Governor’, 1845/3-287, IA2/2, ANZ. FitzRoy also stated (referring to a decision about how Hone Heke should ‘atone’ for his wrongdoing): ‘I am very desirous of acting in such matters in concert with the principal Chiefs. I wish to consult with them on all important occasions’.

Treaty of Waitangi ‘guaranteed to the natives, their rights, their freedom, and their accustomed privileges’.¹²⁸ The Treaty provided the privileges of British subjects but, under British law, there was ‘full allowance’ for native ‘ignorance’ and their ‘peculiar habits’.¹²⁹ William Martin argued similarly in 1847, that British law, whether in metropolitan or imperial contexts, recognised the ‘custom or law’ of the local country with respect to property rights.¹³⁰ In 1861, in the context of criticising the Government’s Taranaki (Waitara) policy, Martin stated that the application of British law to Māori meant the ‘essential rights of British subjects’ – including the right not to be deprived of life or property without a fair trial – rather than the minutiae of British common law.¹³¹ These were essentially explanations of what ‘one people’ meant in an imperial context, which also reflected customary English notions of political community and the different legal codes within the United Kingdom, including in Scotland. Various scholars have noted the plural or heterogenous nature of Great Britain and its empire, whether viewed as a nation of several nations or peoples (Great Britain), or a political community that was federal with a central imperial parliament and many different local authorities and legal regimes.¹³²

Furthermore, in an imperial context, the very idea that an indigenous people or collection of tribes would become fellow members of the same political community as British nationals, even if organised colonial settlement was only prospective, was a quite profound notion – as well as, to quip, a ‘profound nation’, a profound or unique kind of ‘nation’. To live in Britain and imagine yourself in technical terms as a fellow subject along with millions of, say, East Indians – as William Wilberforce argued in Parliament in 1813 – was one thing.¹³³ But to live in the same geographic space and exist with the same rights was another. It is too easy to slip

¹²⁸ FitzRoy, *New Zealand* (1846), 44.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹³⁰ [William Martin], *England and the New Zealanders: Part I. Remarks Upon a Despatch from the Right Hon. Earl Grey, to Governor Grey. Dated Dec. 23. 1846* (Auckland: College Press, 1847), 39.

¹³¹ Sir W. Martin, *Remarks on “Notes published for the New Zealand Government”, January, 1861, and on Mr. Richmond’s Memorandum on the Taranaki Question, December, 1860* (London: W. H. Dalton, 1861), 46; Martin continued that ‘“The rights and privileges of British subjects” must mean at any rate the opposite to despotism’.

¹³² See Colley, *Britons*, 53-54; Mandler, *The English National Character*, 3, 34; Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 11-23, 175-186; also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 19: ‘These days it is perhaps difficult to put oneself empathetically into a world in which the dynastic realm appeared for most men as the only imaginable “political” system. For in fundamental ways “serious” monarchy lies transverse to all modern conceptions of political life. Kingship organizes everything around a high centre. Its legitimacy derives from divinity, not from populations, who, after all, are subjects, not citizens. In the modern conception, state sovereignty is fully, flatly, and evenly operative over each square centimetre of a legal demarcated territory. But in the older imagining, where states were defined by centres, borders were porous and indistinct, and sovereignties faded imperceptibly into one another.’

¹³³ *Substance of the Speeches of William Wilberforce, Esq. on the Clause in the East-India Bill for promoting the Religious Instruction and Moral Improvement of the Natives of the British Dominions in India* (London: John Hatchard, 1813).

into anachronistic assumptions here, in which the relevant nation in 1840 becomes the incipient Colony of New Zealand; rather, it is clear that the governors and missionaries using such a phrase in the early 1840s at least usually had a different political community in mind – that of the British empire, as constituted by far-flung British imperial authority. By the time Governor Gore Browne addressed the Kohimarama conference in 1860, the Colony was in being and Browne's attention was focussed on the embryonic, and in his view exceptional, *New Zealand* political community that incorporated Māori. The imperial context was still apparent in that 'Colonists' and 'Aborigines' were both subjects of Her Majesty:

No foreign enemy has visited your shores. Your lands have remained in your possession, or have been bought by the Government at your own desire. Your people have availed themselves of their privileges as British subjects, seeking and obtaining in the Courts of Law that protection and redress which they afford to all Her Majesty's subjects ... I may frankly tell you that New Zealand is the only Colony where the Aborigines have been treated with unvarying kindness. **It is the only Colony where they have been invited to unite with the Colonists and to become one People under one law.** In other Colonies the people of the land have remained separate and distinct, from which many evil consequences have ensued. Quarrels have arisen; blood has been shed, and finally the aboriginal people of the country have been driven away or destroyed ... It is your adoption by Her Majesty as her subjects which makes it impossible that the Maori people should be unjustly dispossessed of their lands or property. **Every Maori is a member of the British Nation; he is protected by the same law as his English fellow subject;** and it is because you are regarded by the Queen as a part of her own especial people that you have heard from the lips of each successive Governor the same words of peace and goodwill.¹³⁴ [emphasis added]

This language of equal subjecthood might be compared with Queen Victoria's own 1858 proclamation to the 'Princes, Chiefs and People of India', delivered following the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, in which the Crown was expressed to be 'bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the **same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects**, and these obligations by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil'.¹³⁵ This, however, emphasized the imperial side of the bargain, whereas

¹³⁴ 'Minutes of Proceedings of the Kohimarama Conference of Native Chiefs', *AJHR* 1860, E-9, 4.

¹³⁵ Cited in Mark R. Frost, 'Imperial Citizenship or Else: Liberal Ideals and the India Unmaking of Empire, 1890-1919', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 46/5 (2018): 845-73, at 849.

Governor Gore Browne emphasized the commonality of benefits to be enjoyed (by Māori) as members of the 'British Nation' under 'one law'.

Being a 'member of the British Nation', therefore, meant enjoying rights and privileges as the Queen's subject, in particular, the protection of law and the courts. Wilberforce's 1813 parliamentary speech (referred to above) on Indian education portrayed equality before the law as the most distinguishing feature of the English system:

Of our civil principles and condition, the common right of all ranks and classes to be governed, protected, and punished by equal laws, is the fundamental principle. Equality, in short, is the vital essence and the very glory of our English laws.¹³⁶

There is a consistency in vision of British subjecthood under equal laws – or perhaps, equal legal protection – from Wilberforce in 1813 through to William Martin and Governor Browne in 1860-61. (The specific application of this principle in the context of Taranaki and Waitara was another matter, on which there was a diversity of opinion.) In 1863, James Fitzjames Stephen (son of the Colonial Under-Secretary) discussed the meanings of various 'nouns of multitude' such as 'nation', 'society' or 'family'. These terms denoted 'all the persons who are connected together by some relation common to them all'. Accordingly, 'nation' meant 'the subjects of the same sovereign'.¹³⁷ By 1863, this understanding of nationality as constituted by monarchy was orthodox but was also being seriously challenged by the new theories of nationality associated with the European revolutions and a Radical politics in Britain, and as at least partly reflected in the emergent colonial 'nationalities' of Britain's settler colonies (as chapter two explored).¹³⁸

In 1840, however, it was clearly the older English version of political community, in Evangelical-Anglican clothing, that was reflected in the stance of the Anglican C.M.S. missionaries in the New Zealand treaty drama of 1840. The promise of 'one people' was the promise of a single political community consisting of British settlers and Māori that would be brought into being by the establishment of Her Majesty's Government on New Zealand shores. A governor would govern settlers and tribes, as representative of the Queen's authority. He would administer the law but would also be subject to law – his royal instructions, but also the fundamental maxims and provisions of English law, including the sacrosanct nature of

¹³⁶ Wilberforce, *Substance of the Speeches of William Wilberforce*, 54.

¹³⁷ James Fitzjames Stephen, 'Society', *Cornhill Magazine* 5 (1863): 31-41, at 33; however applying the definition of nation was not always self-evident as Stephen went on to ask: 'When we speak of a nation including the subjects of the same sovereign, in what sense do we use the word "sovereign?" Do the Austrian dominions form one nation? ... is a French Canadian – is a native of the Ionian Islands, a member of the English nation?' [to which there is no immediate answer in this article].

¹³⁸ See also [Lord Acton], 'Nationality', *Home and Foreign Review* 1 (1862): 1-26, concerning which there is more comment in the thesis conclusion.

property, the right to trial by jury and freedom from arbitrary imprisonment. Māori property, rights and privileges would be protected – including chiefly authority and status vis-à-vis their tribes.

This characterisation of what the Treaty of Waitangi/ te Tiriti o Waitangi meant can be partly distinguished from Ned Fletcher's recent argument, based on a close reading and reconstruction of the meaning of the English drafts and text of the Treaty, that Britain intended to obtain sovereignty to govern or control British settlers for the protection of Māori.¹³⁹ While protection is a correct emphasis, and Māori chieftainship and custom was certainly intended to be preserved, my view is that Fletcher (somewhat) mischaracterises direct British rule as applying primarily to British settlers; rather, civil government was intended to apply to all, as per the Māori text of the Treaty (article 1) in which Māori granted 'te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou w[h]enua'/the complete government of their lands. This may be a difference of emphasis (or language use) for, as Fletcher also acknowledges, under the Treaty, Māori custom was to be recognised by the legal framework in accordance with the instructions to Hobson (and as reflected in subsequent legislative provisions including the Native Exemption Ordinance 1844). This intended result is also consistent with the emphasis of James Stephen in the Colonial Office about indigenous populations retaining their customs, enabled by British government or law, which would ensure civil equality but also intervene to countermand inhumane custom or warfare (which Fletcher discusses at length, including the statements that 'internal tribal affairs' were not to be interfered with 'except for the purposes of justice, peace and good order, and [regulation of] trade', along with international relations.¹⁴⁰). Nevertheless, I would characterise the Treaty slightly differently as representing a British intent to obtain British sovereignty in order to establish British government and law for the protection of both Māori and settler – protection both from foreign aggression and from internal disorder. For that to work the legal system needed to apply with *equal force* to all, though not necessarily in the same fashion – a plurality recognised in both the 'internal empire' of the United Kingdom and its 'external empire', as this chapter partly explores.¹⁴¹

Fletcher is right to argue – against the current orthodoxy stemming from Ruth Ross – that the English and Māori versions of the Treaty can be reconciled. This reconciliation should however not be achieved by 'reading down' the application of sovereignty to the entire country, but rather by 'reading up' the intent to establish 'civil government' through the Queen's

¹³⁹ See Edwin Fletcher, 'A Praiseworthy Device for Amusing and Pacifying Savages? What the Framers Meant by the English Text of the Treaty of Waitangi', Ph.D. thesis, University of Auckland, 2014.

¹⁴⁰ Fletcher, 'A Praiseworthy Device', 1043, 1078.

¹⁴¹ See also Lauren Benton and Richard Ross, eds., *Legal Pluralism and Empires, 1500-1850* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); David V. Williams, 'Originalism and the Constitutional Canon of Aotearoa New Zealand', in Hickford and Jones, *Indigenous Peoples and the State*, at 57-74.

sovereignty, as the English and Māori texts of the preamble clearly articulate. The establishment of civil government – an overarching framework of civil order – through the establishment of the Queen’s governor was consistent with the Queen’s own domestic/constitutional status as a ‘supreme governor’ and with the practice of empire. The nature of this Kāwanatanga or civil government should also, in context, be strongly coloured by the humanitarian-Evangelical project to make Britain’s empire a moral and Christian one, for only then could its civilizational potential be achieved in the world.¹⁴²

In summary, I suggest that the best paraphrased translation of the Māori phrase ‘he iwi tahi tatou’ that captures the Māori linguistic sense but more especially the British, or particularly Anglican C.M.S., sensibility of ‘one nation’ is: *the strength of our respective peoples/tribes is now in their commonality under British law/government/sovereignty*.

Conclusions

This chapter has attempted a ‘thick description’ of how missionaries on the ground in New Zealand saw the prospect of British authority in 1840.¹⁴³ I have argued that ‘one people-nation’ did *not* mean the imposition of legal or cultural uniformity. Rather, it meant the New Zealanders were now subjects of the Queen – of a constitutional monarch, who ruled according to law and would protect their rights and liberties. This did not mean, however, that they would automatically become assimilated to English ways or customs or that they would lose their tribal identities, language, and chiefly status. Chiefs would remain chiefs, but all would be protected by a single Government or Sovereign(ity). The analysis of the languages of government and nation above, along with monarchy and sovereign/ty, should highlight one aspect of the misguided current orthodoxy on the Treaty that ‘government’ was a subordinate or merely delegated power of ‘sovereignty’; rather the linguistic and historical uses of these terms, as discussed here, show their practical equivalence for many purposes in English or British political discourse.¹⁴⁴

How then does a plurality of laws and institutions within the British empire relate to the Anglicizing policy of the contemporary imperial moment – apparently represented with force by T. B. Macaulay’s 1835 Minute on Indian Education?¹⁴⁵ In sum, there would be a policy of

¹⁴² Atkins, *Converting Britannia*, at 167-75 (‘Forging an Evangelical Empire’).

¹⁴³ See Geertz, ‘Thick Description’.

¹⁴⁴ cf. Ruth Ross, ‘Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Texts and Translations’, *New Zealand Journal of History* 6/2 (1972): 129-57; it is interesting to note how Ross used the *Oxford English Dictionary* to check for the meaning of ‘pre-emption’ (Ross, *Te Tiriti*, 144), but not for other key meanings in the texts, including sovereign/ty and govern/governor/government – a case of assuming the meaning of words rather than examining their various uses in discourse over the *longue durée*.

¹⁴⁵ Macaulay argued that English language, literature and useful (scientific) knowledge should be taught in the Indian civil service (rather than Sanscrit or Arabic literatures), which would enable

Anglicization, as there was more directly in India with respect to education and the civil service. However, in Evangelical minds in New Zealand this was a ‘soft’ Anglicization – a continuation of what they were already doing through the spread of Christian belief, morality and civilizational or ‘improving’ knowledge. (The latter reflected in part stadial categories but by no means emphasized agriculture or artisanal skills under Henry Williams’ leadership – in a move away from Marsden’s emphasis – although the mission practice of agriculture and practical skills and encouragement of a settled existence remained important to mission life in the 1820s-30s period and afterwards.) At most, the Evangelical missions in New Zealand advocated ‘soft empire’, which would leave intact Māori tribes, custom and chiefly authority and status (though with excesses supervised by civil authority). Soft empire can be related broadly to Anglicizing policy in India of training the indigenous people in the knowledge and arts of English government, as reflected in the 1838 Charles Trevelyan quote at the beginning of this chapter.

The Indian cultural contexts and imperial settings were quite different, but in New Zealand, mission schooling, St John’s College, the Protectorate of Aborigines, and the slightly later incorporation of chiefs within the legal system as assessors and constables is a limited version of what was established in India.¹⁴⁶ It can be contrasted with ‘hard empire’ of the New Zealand Company policy – ‘hard’ because it entailed the partial incorporation of tribes into settler communities through reserves within settlements (the ‘tenths’), and the maintenance of only limited traditional village and cultivation sites outside the settlements. The Anglican, specifically Evangelical-humanitarian stance, by contrast, involved the parallel (if not separate) development of tribal communities, who would retain a reasonable land base and interact with European settlements on terms of economic equality. Specifically, because the relevant governing authority was the Imperial Government, such government could protect

translation of that knowledge into the vernacular dialects of India; some recent scholarship on the Minute and the wider Anglicist-Orientalist debate argues that Indian voices played an important role in the discourse and thereby helped shape ‘colonial knowledge’: Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir, eds., *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843* (London: Curzon, 1999); and Norbert Peabody, ‘Knowledge Formation in Colonial India’, in D. M. Peers and N. Gooptu, *India and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); see also Bayly, *Origins of Nationality in South Asia*, citing Clive Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes. The Mind of the Indian Civil Service* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), and David W. Savage, ‘Evangelical Education Policy in Britain and India, 1857-60’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 22/3 (1994): 432-61.

¹⁴⁶ The somewhat differing models of incorporating Māori custom within the imperial/colonial legal system *per se*, characterised as ‘amelioration’, ‘exceptionalism’, and ‘toleration’, have been highlighted recently in Shaunnagh Dorsett, *Juridical Encounters: Māori and the Colonial Courts, 1840-1852* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017).

all – as the Aborigines Report advocated. It did not require participation in a settler assembly, which implied familiarity with parliamentary procedure and facility in the English language.

These were different ways of conceptualising how Māori fitted into the British ‘nation’, ‘iwi’ or political community: one required absorption into settler modes of tenure and township in order for rights to be protected; the other allowed for ongoing Māori tribal geographies, in which chiefs and people would retain their villages and cultivations, but interact with settler economies within a greater ‘commonwealth’ or civil society protected by imperial government.¹⁴⁷ This was the Christian empire envisaged by the Aborigines Report, the mission societies, and the missionaries on the ground in New Zealand. In the Wakefieldian or settler model, by contrast, real political rights and protections for property would exist only when incorporated as a ‘reserve’ or ‘town section’ within a settler colony; outside this settler colony Māori would be as good as foreign iwi – outside the law because the relevant law was settler law rather than the law of the Imperial Government. This was a ‘flatter’ new world of settler democracy or ‘republics’ (or ‘settler sovereignty’¹⁴⁸), aspiring to leave behind the hierarchical old world of church, monarchy and aristocracy – the older Anglican constitution of the British *ancien régime*.¹⁴⁹ This is not to say that the Christian empire pursued by the Evangelical missions in New Zealand and their Clapham contemporaries in Britain and empire was an Anglican establishment imperial state. Rather they pursued a political community that, while it in some fashion fused religion and law, would protect customary rights and fundamental liberties and keep colonization at bay.

¹⁴⁷ cf. Bain Attwood, ‘Protection Claims: The British, Maori and the Islands of New Zealand, 1800-1840’, in L. Benton, A. Clulow and B. Attwood, eds., *Protection and Empire: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 153-74; protection is a correct emphasis, but Attwood omitted any discussion of Marsden’s focus on kings, courts and juries or what might also be called a British legal order or, indeed, ‘civil government’; further, Attwood’s distinction between the humanitarian discourse of protection and the protection-as-jurisdiction language used by N.S.W. governors and imperial authorities seems overdrawn, because the people using protection language *with respect to native interests*, or provoking the imperial authorities to use it, seem to have been the Evangelical or humanitarian groupings, and the latter were themselves concerned with the mechanics of how to establish legal order at the peripheries of empire.

¹⁴⁸ See Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

¹⁴⁹ As Stephen Howe, among others, has suggested, the older empires often managed to rule different customary and ethnic communities with some success; they ‘constrained, and at their best tried to transcend, the potentially savage ethnic or religious antagonisms among their peoples. And the aristocracies which ruled most of them were often far more liberal, humane, and cosmopolitan than their supposedly ever more democratic successors’: see Stephen Howe, *Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 127; also Krishan Kumar, *Visions of Empire: How Five Imperial Regimes Shaped the World* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017).

Chapter 4: the National Idea in the Text and Practice of the Liturgy at the Paihia Mission, c. 1833-1846.

‘Words are deeds.’

Ludwig Wittgenstein¹

‘Oral languages are proper to ethnicities; widely written vernaculars to nations.’

Adrian Hastings²

‘Adapting Anderson’s argument, we might suggest that [Christian] print religion in general and printed catechisms in particular encouraged the crystallization of imagined communities based on a common language.’

Peter Burke³

‘In a profound sense, much of New Zealand’s history is a footnote to this dual engagement with print and Christianity.’

Tony Ballantyne⁴

‘In the early stages of colonialism everywhere, indigenous peoples seek by their actions to fashion an awareness of, and to assert conceptual mastery over, a changing world.’

Jean and John Comaroff⁵

Introduction: Historiography of the New Zealand Protestant missions

Various intersecting debates in New Zealand historiography concern the origins and nature of Māori ‘conversion’, the connection of Christianity with the colonization and ‘civilization’ project, the specific effects of literacy on Māori knowledge-systems and society, and the degree of Māori agency in these various processes. The late 1960s debate between John Owens and Judith Binney and others was over the origin and definition of Māori conversion.⁶ In 2012,

¹ *Culture and Value*, ed. G. H. Von Wright, trans. Peter Winch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 46e.

² Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 21.

³ Burke, ‘Nationalisms and Vernaculars, 1500-1800’, 27.

⁴ Tony Ballantyne, ‘Print, Literacy and the Recasting of Maori identities’, ch. 5 in *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), 152.

⁵ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, vol. 1 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 229.

⁶ It could not be said that the debate or central definition(s) were settled: see J. M. R. Owens, ‘Christianity and the Maoris to 1840’, *New Zealand Journal of History* 2/1 (1968): 18-40; Judith

Bradford Haami restated both the Binney and Owens' assessments in an insightful review of the transformations in Māori society due to literacy, including early missionary-taught literacy.⁷ The historiography of the last five decades has adopted varied stances towards Christianity, while much of it has drawn the picture of colonization – including Crown- and mission-influenced colonization – to emphasize 'destruction' or 'loss' to Māori society: loss of tribal or chiefly authority, loss of land and language, and destruction of cultural knowledge.⁸ As noted in the introduction, some more recent academic histories emphasize Māori agency and the renegotiation of knowledge rather than a 'loss' or 'fatal impact' picture.⁹

A neglected question in the historiography, however, is the extent to which the engagement with Europe, including the Christian ideas and theologies that were foundational and formational for Europe itself, stimulated changes in the thought and practice of Māori individuals and groups that made them more resilient to the adverse effects of colonization and 'modernity'. Christian thought and practice, including the teaching and education brought by mission communities, had a constructive effect for at least some hapū or iwi. Literacy itself enabled engagement with the new order, as did new agricultural implements and techniques. This chapter can be construed as a contribution to exploring the 'constructive effects' of Christianity in the new world ('te ao hurihuri') of Europeanization and globalization that swept New Zealand in the nineteenth century.

A few recent historians, including Tony Ballantyne and Lyndsay Head, have made arguments supporting this perspective. In an important 2002 piece, 'Print, Literacy, and the Recasting of Maori Identities',¹⁰ Tony Ballantyne argued that Christian print literacy did not dismember Māori society in a 'fatal impact' fashion, nor did it have minimal transformative impact – the

Binney, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment', *New Zealand Journal of History* 3/2 (1969): 143-65; K. R. Howe, 'The Maori Response to Christianity in the Thames-Waikato Area, 1833-1840', *New Zealand Journal of History* 7/1 (1973): 28-46; and see Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand, 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

⁷ Bradford Haami, 'Tā Te Ao Maori: Writing the Māori World', in Danny Keenan, ed., *Huia Histories of Maori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero* (Wellington: Huia, 2012): 163-195.

⁸ Danny Keenan's 2012 overview of both the history and historiography is mostly in this mould, but also discusses tribal resilience and Maori history as 'a history of contact' and globalization, see Danny Keenan, 'Introduction: Land, Culture and History Interwoven', in D. Keenan, ed., *Huia Histories of Maori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero* (Wellington: Huia, 2012), xvii-xl; see also Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990); Ani Mikaere, *Colonising Myths – Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro* (Wellington: Huia, 2011); Moana Jackson, Review of Dominic O'Sullivan, *Indigeneity: A Politics of Potential* (2017), *MAI Journal* 7/1 (2018): 105-108 (in which Jackson critiques O'Sullivan's 'misplaced beginning' of exploring indigenous identity and authority by reference to the colonizing state).

⁹ See Kaa, 'He Ngākau Hou'; Soutar, 'Ngāti Porou Leadership'; Soutar, 'He Iwi Piri Pono'; see also Sir Hugh Kawharu, ed., *Conflict and Compromise: Essays on the Maori since Colonisation* (Auckland: Reed, 2003); and Anderson, Binney, Harris, *Tangata Whenua*.

¹⁰ Tony Ballantyne, 'Print, Literacy and the Recasting of Maori identities'.

‘cultural continuity’ thesis of D. F. McKenzie – but rather that the ideas and language of the Bible helped Māori to re-cast or re-imagine their community or social ordering in various ways. This sometimes expressed itself, or was interpreted by Pākehā, as resistance to the new Pākehā colonial order – as with the Kīngitanga; but whether intended to adopt, resist or adjust relationships with the foreigners’ order, the knowledge and ideas of the biblical texts were instrumental in a constructive or ‘empowering’ evolution of Māori social formations. During the New Zealand wars of the 1860s, warfare and dislocation encouraged an identification with the persecuted children of Israel or the Jews. Thus, Ballantyne emphasized Māori agency in their response to the new literacy, its biblical knowledge, and the colonial order. Ballantyne applied Eugene Irschick’s concept of a ‘dialogic process’, in which imperial legal-political orders emerged through a complex dialogue between introduced colonial ideas and knowledge and indigenous cultural forms and responses. The phraseology of Ballantyne’s argument is worth quoting at some length:

The emergence of new pan-tribal, anti-colonial, prophetic and more conveniently Christian movements was the result of a complex dialogic process, where various Māori groups (differentiated by region, rank, *hapū*, *iwi* and, at a later stage, denomination) exchanged, contested and naturalised new ideas derived from the Bible. This dynamic engagement created new possibilities for the articulation of identity and generated new movements that stressed a pan-tribal identity. In a profound sense, much of New Zealand’s history is a footnote to this dual engagement with print and Christianity.¹¹

Ballantyne’s argument can be compared with Lyndsay Head’s important essay of 2001,¹² in which she argued that Māori engagement with Europe in the period 1840s-60s was neither a case of ‘fatal impact’ nor of the maintenance of ‘cultural independence’. Rather, Māori began to engage with ‘modernity’ and adopt key features of it – in particular, many were influenced

¹¹ Ballantyne, ‘Print, Literacy and the Recasting of Maori Identities’, 152; the reference to McKenzie is to the important essay by D. F. McKenzie, *Oral Culture, Literacy and Print in early New Zealand: the Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1985), in which McKenzie argued that Māori literacy – the ability to read and write – was actually quite limited by 1840, as demonstrated, he said, by the limited number of actual signatures to the Treaty documents (amongst other observations and analysis); McKenzie called Maori literacy by 1840 a ‘myth’ of the missionaries and others that derived from their belief in print literacy as an agent of change; he cited what he considered contemporary evidence for the failure of print literacy to convert Māori to ‘an alien religion’, an ‘irrelevant ideology’, and thought the late 1850s (1860s?) Māori newspapers were a tool in the political fight to protect land – ‘the effective contextual forces, were economic, political and military, not religious’ (ibid., 20-21, 31). In a critical review, Judith Binney disagreed with the central thesis that literacy was unimportant and not widespread in Maori society in the nineteenth century, and that religious change was only skin deep: see Judith Binney, Review of D. F. McKenzie, ‘Oral Culture, Literacy and Print in early New Zealand’, *Political Science* 38/2 (1986): 185-86.

¹² Head, ‘The pursuit of modernity in Maori society’.

by the emphasis of Christianity on social peace and the related ideas of state authority that would establish it. In the 1830s, she argued, northern rangatira began to seek for an alternative to warfare as a structuring concept of tribal existence. They found that alternative in the missionary-taught values of peace and civil order under law.¹³ As Ballantyne argued for the centrality of Christian print literacy in understanding tribal transformations, Head argued that 'it is difficult to make sense of change in nineteenth-century Māori society without attempting to understand the intensity of the relationship between Māori and the Christian faith'.¹⁴

Ballantyne's 2002 piece queried the relevance of John and Jean Comaroff's expression 'the colonization of consciousness' as a description for the effect of Christian print literacy on New Zealand tribal intellects and political orders. The Comaroffs' phrase derived from their influential discussion of the effects of missionary Christianity (of a British, Nonconformist variety) on the Tswana tribe(s) of southern Africa. While that phrase might suggest a totalizing or domineering effect on the intellectual, cultural and social orders of the Tswana, the Comaroffs were really concerned to show that significant changes were occurring, without suggesting that they necessarily erased intellectual and cultural continuities with the pre-colonial Tswana past. As they admitted, even the intellectual 'hegemony' of the British missions was 'invariably unstable and vulnerable'.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the Comaroffs wrote that Christian print literacy was the biggest motor of change, with other factors in play such as contests over physical space (including the location of the mission station in relation to the village) and the use of water resources and introduced British modes of agriculture. As Ballantyne pointed to the effects of Christian missions and literacy on creating a new consciousness of being native or 'maori' people,¹⁶ the Comaroffs noted a similar phenomenon among the Tswana peoples.¹⁷

The Comaroffs thought that it was not so much the overt beliefs and messages of Christianity that affected the Africans as 'the spatial, linguistic, ritual, and political forms' of European culture. In short, the missions were successful in 'implanting the cultural forms of bourgeois

¹³ Head, 'The pursuit of modernity in Maori society', 99-103.

¹⁴ Ibid., 103.

¹⁵ Comaroff and Comaroff, *From Revelation to Revolution*, 314 (and see 225, where the Setswana are described as 'syncretistic' in their approach to adopting European forms; also 229, 245-246).

¹⁶ Ballantyne, 'Print, Literacy and the Recasting of Maori Identities', 150-152.

¹⁷ Comaroff and Comaroff, *From Revelation to Revolution*, 311: 'Those who chose to peruse the Setswana Bible learned more than the sacred story, more even than how to read. They were subjected to a form of cultural translation in which vernacular poetics were re-presented to them as a thin *sekgoa* [European] narrative – and their language itself reduced to an instrument of empirical knowledge, Christian prayer, and just-so stories. It is little wonder that the Tlhaping and Rolong became ever more self-conscious about their own culture as a distinct system of signs and practices; that *setswana* [Tswana values and ways] came to stand in opposition to *sekgoa* [European values and ways] as, among other things, tradition to modernity.'

Europe on African soil', including in the creation of a 'black yeomanry'. And, regarding this last, they also, unwittingly, exposed the tribes to the risk of 'proletarianization', when they lost or alienated their land and livestock and moved to colonial settlements.¹⁸ The general tenor of the Nonconformist missions to the Tswana is almost identical in emphasis to the Evangelical missions in New Zealand, reflecting the same mentality and occurring at the same period of the early to mid-nineteenth century. The Comaroffs described the same emphasis on the Bible or 'Word' – reflecting the 'textualized faith' of early Christianity, which was 'gloriously democratized in the age of the Reformation, when the ideal of literacy put a Bible in the hands of every child of God'. They also noted the Protestant mission's 'ethos of universalism', with its emphasis on the promulgation of the 'sacred text' to all peoples and the belief or assumption that it 'held the ultimate power of transformation'.¹⁹

Tony Ballantyne has restated the argument about the emergence of a 'Māori' self-consciousness in his essay on the role of paper and print in reshaping Kai Tahu knowledge orders.²⁰ There he wrote that the encounter with Europe, from the time of Cook – including with the new media of books and maps, new institutions such as mission stations and schools, and the new skills of reading and writing – 'were an important part of the processes that produced a sense of being "Māori"'.²¹ In this essay, Ballantyne emphasized the materiality of paper as the medium of knowledge holding and exchange: it was this new medium of communication that increasingly transformed Kai Tahu knowledge orders. From knowledge recorded in the minds of learned individuals or *tohunga*, and in special objects such as *rakau* or *whakapapa* sticks, knowledge was contained and conveyed in printed form and letter writing. The letters of *rangatira* to the Crown or government officials 'pushed forward the process of textualizing their status, affiliations, and extent of their authority'.²² Newspapers then enabled Kai Tahu 'to be actively involved in an emergent Māori political sphere', which produced new ideologies and institutions such as *Kotahitanga* (unity) 'that wove iwi together'.²³ Newspapers reported speeches of chiefs in the colonial parliament and thus helped to raise colonial consciousness of Kai Tahu presence, culture and grievances.²⁴ The institution of the colonial parliament led to consolidation of iwi authority in the hands of a few chiefs who became Members of Parliament.²⁵ Many of these transformations were achieved through

¹⁸ Comaroff and Comaroff, *From Revelation to Revolution*, 311-312.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 215.

²⁰ Tony Ballantyne, 'Paper, Pen, and Print: The Transformation of the Kai Tahu Knowledge Order', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 53/2 (2011): 232-260.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 237.

²² *Ibid.*, 248.

²³ *Ibid.*, 253.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 256.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 257.

writing, including the recording of grievances in letters and petitions, and in written *ōhākī* (death-bed instructions).²⁶ Therefore, as with his 2002 piece, Ballantyne continued to argue for the constructive uses of Christian ideas and literacy on Māori society.

Ballantyne and Head focus on the effects of the Bible and some of its ideas or content, as well as the effects of the new print literacy generally on Māori knowledge orders. They do not, however, explore the influence of the daily and weekly practice of the liturgy and hymnal, including the administration of the sacraments (or communion). The liturgical texts have been understudied or undervalued as a primary source, and their role in inculcating new conceptions about society and polity – or political community – has therefore not been examined. This chapter presents an argument that the early translations of the Book of Common Prayer (BCP), which included the catechisms and the Psalms, along with early hymnals, were in many respects more important as carriers of new ideas than the translations of scripture *per se* or any other printed material, especially in the period of the 1830s to mid-1840s, as they were used and repeated weekly, and often daily, by large groups of both literate and non-literate Māori. Therefore, instead of focussing on the Bible *per se*, this chapter focusses on the Prayer Book – while recognising that, in addition to the Psalms read every day, the Prayer Book itself contained a reasonable amount of other scripture portions and provided for an epistle and gospel reading every Sunday and Holy Day.

The Prayer Book analysis below has three interwoven elements in constructing the argument that the liturgical texts were central to the creation of a new pan-tribal consciousness. First, it examines William Colenso's print ledgers from the Paihia mission to understand the volumes of Prayer Books that were printed and how they were distributed through New Zealand. This occurred to such an extent that the Prayer Book text physically diffused itself through much of the Māori population – in fact to saturation levels in many cases and in greater numbers than the New Testament in this period.

Second, the chapter examines the use or *practice* of the Prayer Book in Māori communities and congregations; the Paihia mission, which comprised much of the central and southern Bay of Islands, is adopted as a case study. The importance for cultural and ideational change of the liturgy or Prayer Book has something to do with the lived reality of the text being recited by many different tribal groups and communities at the same time: at least once a week (on the Sabbath) and quite possibly most mornings and nights – as reflected in the services of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer. This feature of the argument is partly based on Benedict Anderson's insight of 'simultaneity', being the way that print literacy provoked a national consciousness because people across a territory or imperial 'administrative unit' had access to

²⁶ Ibid., 258.

and were reading the same newspapers at the same time.²⁷ If this applied to newspapers, then surely it applied to communal worship from the same prayer book across many different groups in various locations.

Third, the chapter examines ‘the world of the text’ – the presence in the Prayer Book of new ideas and concepts of collectivities and political authority. It attempts to link or read together scriptural or liturgical ideas of nationality and government, with British conceptions of nationality and government, as those ideas suggested themselves or were conveyed in the Māori language translations. It also attempts a closer linguistic analysis of the ways in which the Māori language was applied in new ways or to new things within the liturgical texts. It suggests that, in doing so, a process of linked linguistic and conceptual change was occurring.

Phil Parkinson has detailed admirably the translation and printing history of these texts. He argues that the prayer book was ‘arguably more important’ for Māori Christians than the scriptures, and that this reflected both its mass circulation and frequent use in services (not just Anglican but Wesleyan as well).²⁸ This chapter takes the analysis further into the text and practice of the Prayer Book, and also interrogates the way that the text had become part of the discursive world of Bay of Islands Māori; in particular it examines the correspondence of Hone Heke to reveal these effects on political language and mentalities.

In summary, it is argued that Anglican Prayer Book worship was responsible for the earliest imaginings by Māori that they constituted a unique people or nation – ‘nga tangata maori’ or ‘te iwi maori’ – with a unique relationship to the land of New Zealand – te whenua o Niu Tirenī – and that this was a product of both *the content* of the Māori prayer book and its *practice*: the first pan-tribal or supra-tribal practice of the ‘modern’ era or any previous era (except perhaps for warfare or the earliest endeavours to explore and settle the islands of Aotearoa). While the emphasis here is not on the idea of a ‘chosen people’ as such, it seems clear that the story of the people of Israel as God’s people among a world of nations was a key narrative reshaping Māori mentalities. A narrower idea of a chosen people possibly flourishes in various ways in later decades under pressure of war and land confiscation. In the hands of Wiremu Tamehana and others in the 1850s, the Old Testament model of God, king, people and land

²⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35, 44; see also Mandler, *The English National Character*, 10.

²⁸ Phil Parkinson, ‘“A Language Peculiar to the Word of God”: the Anglican Liturgy in the Maori Language’, *Publishing History* 54 (2003): 19-65; in this article he does refer briefly to the importance of the prayer book for English Protestantism and nationality and cites a few contemporary observations of the adoption by Maori communities of English liturgical practice (including quotations from William Yate and a ‘Captain Jacob’).

empowered a critique of imperial authority itself (this, also, was not an explicitly ‘chosen people’ mould of argument; see chapter seven).²⁹

Historiography: models for indigenous nationalisms in imperial contexts

Drawing on the insights of Ludwig Wittgenstein and ‘Cambridge School’ approaches to intellectual history, this chapter explores what happens when words are wrested out of their old contexts and employed in new contexts or for new ‘things’ – as undoubtedly happened when British missionaries translated the Bible and BCP into the Māori language. By putting Hebrew and Greek/Western concepts into a language that often did not contain those concepts, they invariably used Māori words in new ways and thus amended, extended, or distorted the meanings of those words. I explore below how one such word was the word ‘iwi’. Thus, the ‘pen’ of the translator became a ‘mighty sword’ to amend Māori mentalities.³⁰ This was not necessarily the conscious ‘intention’ of the translators – they were not consciously intending to constitute a new ‘Māori nation’ (or supra-tribal native polity) by means of scripture and prayer book translations. It is probably more than coincidental however that many had this intention or purpose in a more general political sense, as chapter three and subsequent chapters explore. In applying Māori words to Biblical and Western notions of collectivity and authority, or ‘nation’ and ‘government’, these new language uses or conventions introduced a new conceptual apparatus into the Māori world.³¹

Recent literature in cognitive science and psychology demonstrates that our language frames, forms and gives content to, our understanding of the world. A leading scholar in this field, Lera Boroditsky of Stanford University, argues that her research demonstrates that ‘people who speak different languages do indeed think differently and that even flukes of grammar can profoundly affect how we see the world’. It is also the case, argues Boroditsky, that ‘changing how people talk changes how they think’.³² So the argument advanced in this chapter is that

²⁹ The argument that the biblical narratives shaped various racial, national and imperial identities in the nineteenth century, including among colonised populations, is fully taken up and examined in various guises and contexts in Gareth Atkins, Shinjini Das and Brian H. Murray, eds., *Chosen Peoples: the Bible, Race and Empire in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).

³⁰ The phrase is James Tully’s: see James Tully, ‘The pen is a mighty sword: Quentin Skinner’s analysis of politics’, in J. Tully, ed., *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988): 7–25.

³¹ Skinner has discussed how ideological and political conventions are altered, and social consciousness along with it, through altered uses of core terms or language: see discussion in Tully, ‘The pen is a mighty sword’, 15.

³² Lera Boroditsky, ‘How Language Shapes Thought’, *Scientific American* 304/2 (2011): 62–65; Lera Boroditsky, ‘How Does Language Shape the Way We Think?’, *Edge*, 6 Nov 2009, https://www.edge.org/conversation/lera_boroditsky-how-does-our-language-shape-the-way-we-think (accessed, 21 May 2018); see also Paul H. Thibodeau, Rose K. Hendricks, and Lera Boroditsky, ‘How Linguistic Metaphor Scaffolds Reasoning’, *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 21/11 (2017): 852–63.

when new words and concepts were introduced into the Māori language, and when old words were given altered meanings by their use in different contexts, this process started to alter the indigenous perception of the world, or their *mentalité*, in certain arenas of thought or belief. I suggest that the understandings of social ordering, especially collective identities and the nature and exercise of authority, started to morph through engagement with the new languages of nation, kingship, government and law in the liturgical and scriptural texts. A new worldview or geo-politics of a ‘world of nations’ – of *iwi* and *tauiwi* – particularly (re)shaped Māori mentalities over time.³³

Adrian Hastings articulated an important argument, one that requires all sorts of qualifications but nevertheless seems to apply to the consciousness of a Māori New Zealand that began to emerge in the 1830s: ‘Oral languages are proper to ethnicities; widely written vernaculars to nations’.³⁴ He elaborated:

... once the ball of a vernacular literature had begun to roll, with translations of the psalms, summaries of the gospels, lives of the saints and manuals of morality, it moved naturally enough from fulfilling religious to secular needs and the impact of codes of law in the vernacular – Welsh, Irish or English – could be as nation-forming as anything religious.³⁵

Hastings also argued, to paraphrase, that a vernacular language in print could multiply its impact through various *fora* of orality. In simple terms, if it was read or spoken out loud in various ways, the reach of the printed material in raising collective consciousness would multiply.³⁶ This point has obvious salience for the argument I am advancing: that it was the *practice* of the liturgy in Māori communities – with or without the ability to read among individual members of congregations – that had the most force in transforming consciousness.

Hastings continued that while evidence of translation into the vernacular is important, evidence of diffusion of this material is better: ‘Only extensive use can bring with it a nationalising effect, and that means use at a popular, and not merely academic level. In regard to such effective diffusion, the presence or absence of a vernacular liturgy was also of the greatest importance’.³⁷ Hastings believed this was critical for the development of collective or

³³ For literature on the history of translation in global contexts, see Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, eds., *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009); Lydia H. Liu, ed., *Tokens of Exchange: the Problem of Translation in Global Circulations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999); and, more generally, Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, eds., *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

³⁴ Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 21.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

national consciousness. He cited what he argued were contrasting examples of Catholic countries where the liturgy had limited influence as it was celebrated in Latin. Peter Burke has argued similarly that translations of scripture and the catechism in various vernacular European languages were instrumental in the development of various forms of national consciousness in early-modern Europe.³⁸

Hastings applied his analysis of England to the development of vernaculars and nationalities in Africa (or their non-emergence). He argued against the view that African tribal or ethnic identities were simply 'invented' by European missionaries, traders and officials.³⁹ However, Hastings argued, 'the existence of nations is another matter'.⁴⁰ The influence of Christianity in Ethiopia going back some 1500 years inspired the construction of the biblical 'model of land, people, monarchy and religion'.⁴¹ Hastings contended that something similar started to happen in other parts of Africa through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as missionaries translated the Bible and other texts into the vernacular languages. In creating grammars and translating the sacred texts they often relied on local variants, but once they had 'fixed' the language through translations, this effectively solidified the group or a defined ethnicity.⁴² In summary, the printed scriptures established or solidified a language community, and encouraged various new forms of collective or 'national' consciousness.⁴³

For India or South Asia, Christopher Bayly queried how the 'derivative discourse' of British or European nationalism became indigenised.⁴⁴ Bayly argued for some degree of continuity between what he termed 'old patriotism' and the flowering of a broader national sensibility. This old patriotism consisted of sentiments of attachment to homelands or regions and loyalty to particular ethical notions of 'good government'. Bayly argued that Indian nationalism 'was widely rooted in society and moulded by ideologies, political norms and social organizations that derived from a deeper indigenous inheritance'; that inheritance had itself 'been modified by several hundred years of contact with the wider world, but it was not in origin or spirit a

³⁸ Burke, 'Nationalisms and Vernaculars, 1500-1800', 25-28. Burke writes, *inter alia*: 'One effect of the rise of Bible reading by the laity, thanks to these translations, was the appropriation and spread of the idea of the "chosen people" or "elect nation", an idea that was incorporated into a number of national narratives'.

³⁹ Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 148-149. According to Hastings, Terrence Ranger revised his original thinking on this, in 'The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa' in T. Ranger and O. Vaughan, eds., *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth-Century Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1993): 62-111, criticising his contribution in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983).

⁴⁰ Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 150.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 151-52.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 152-61.

⁴⁴ Bayly, *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia*, 105.

product of European bourgeois discourse or political organization'.⁴⁵ Bayly's analysis here ran somewhat counter to the arguments of Hobsbawm and Gellner, who have understood nationalism as a quintessentially modern phenomenon produced by the existence of modern (usually Western) state institutions and literate publics.⁴⁶

Indian post-colonial scholars, including Partha Chatterjee and Ashis Nandy, have critiqued in differing ways the 'derivative discourse' interpretation of Indian nationalism. They have examined how Indian leaderships adopted Western state forms and the modern state's 'discourse of power'.⁴⁷ At the same time, Indian nationalist thought emerged through different phases, from an initial encounter with Western liberalism and empire characterised by considerable collaboration of indigenous elites, through a period of contestation with Western (or British) claims to power and rationality, to a searching for an 'indigenous' expression of Indian nationality. So there was an adoption or partial adoption of Western models – 'print literacy, law and liberty' – followed by resistance and a searching for an indigenous articulation of nationalism in the context of uneven power relations (the latter characterised by the Congress movement and the thought of Jawaharlal Nehru).⁴⁸ In a later work, Chatterjee modified his argument, holding that Indian religion and the 'domestic sphere' remained authentic Indian power bases, upon which the Indian nationalist movement acquired strength.⁴⁹ Bayly was critical of this latter argument, contending that there was no reason why

⁴⁵ Bayly, *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia*, 127; see also Sunil Kilnani, *The Idea of India*, who explored the way modern Indian nationalisms have reconstructed the pre-European past in differing ways.

⁴⁶ Refer to the Introduction for the broad outlines of the 'origins of nationalism' debate.

⁴⁷ Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World – A Derivative Discourse?* (Avon: The United Nations University, 1986); Bayly, *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia*, 103.

⁴⁸ Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, 41-51; the analysis of Chatterjee *et al.* identifies elements that derive from western models, but also shows how Indian nationalist discourse is marked by contestation with western discourse and imperial power relations. The question mark in the title (viz., *A Derivative Discourse?*) in fact represents a critique of the idea that indigenous nationalisms are simply 'derivative discourses' – that they are 'modular' anthropological facts – that is, if you have a print language and literacy, the model of the western state, and a native intelligentsia and efficient communication channels, then you get indigenous nationalism. Chatterjee calls this the 'sociological determinism' of Anderson and Gellner: see *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, 19-22; see also Anjan Ghosh, Tapati Guha-Thakurta, Janaki Nair, eds., *Theorizing the Present: Essays for Partha Chatterjee* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011). In effect, the form of Bayly's and Chatterjee's arguments is similar: both seek to identify the 'indigenous roots' or contexts of Indian nationalism and the way in which these melded with introduced, western ideas and institutions. The content of their respective analyses, however, differs.

⁴⁹ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). This Enlightenment-sounding distinction between the private/domestic/spiritual world versus the rational/public/secular world also featured in Chatterjee's earlier analysis, for example the adoption by earlier Indian elites of western ideas of progress while retaining 'the essential character of his culture', being the superiority of Eastern spirituality: see

the domestic sphere and religion should have remained untouched or unmodified by the encounter with Western empire and ideology.⁵⁰

Running through all of these differing arguments however is a significant constant: the role of British/Western print technologies – in the form of newspapers and periodicals especially – in diffusing a knowledge of political subjects and stimulating the emergence of new political consciousness and affiliations. In the early decades of the nineteenth century in Bengal, for example, the flavour of the creole and Indian presses reflected the emergent liberal values of a free press and free trade, participatory political institutions and the rule of law.⁵¹

Bayly also acknowledged the significance of various Indian religions in supporting various forms of collective solidarities, ‘identities’ or ‘consciousness’ (although he queried the methodological usefulness of the last two terms).⁵² He also pointed to the importance of Christianity in encouraging ‘loyalty’ to the British regime and being, at the same time, an important feature of some later Indian nationalisms or patriotisms. Bayly argued, concerning Gandhi that, ‘It was Christian moralizing which informed Gandhi’s encounter with the West, not the West’s rational episteme. In fact, that secular post-Enlightenment rationality has been greatly exaggerated in recent writings on the British Empire’.⁵³

Bayly advanced a ‘three-stage proposition’ about the emergence of nationalism across the globe. First, in several world regions, including some non-European societies, leaderships steadily transformed older patriotic sentiments or ‘attachments to land’ into more aggressive and exclusive understandings of nationality. These processes were responses to warfare, economic and cultural pressures, and the development of communications. Such nations were thus partly organic and partly constructed, reflecting both ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ influences. Second, in Eurasia and North Africa especially, change came more abruptly,

Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World, 64–66; Chatterjee makes a similar argument in ‘The Curious Career of Liberalism in India’, *Modern Intellectual History* 8/ 3 (2011): 687–96; cf. the analysis of Andrew Sartori, who charts the influence of colonial liberal thought (archetypally that of Ram Mohan Roy), succeeded later in the nineteenth century by a form of ‘culturalist’ thought that critiqued the earlier liberalism – identified variously with materialism, commercial society and British rule: see Andrew Sartori: *Bengal in Global Concept History: Culturalism in the Age of Capital* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Ajay Skaria helpfully appraises Sartori’s book as part of a new project of global intellectual history that rejects diffusionist models (in which the West is the model for the rest) and instead ‘situates Bengal in a contrapuntal and global history of the emergence of both liberalism and of ways of questioning it’: see Ajay Skaria, Review of *Bengal in Global Concept History* by Andrew Sartori, *Journal of World History* 22/1 (2011): 181–85; see a similar account of Chatterjee in Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, 196–200.

⁵⁰ Bayly, *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia*, 103.

⁵¹ See also Partha Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), 69–70, 115–21.

⁵² Bayly, *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia*, 213, 233–34.

⁵³ Bayly, ‘Returning the British’, 285.

especially after 1860, in response to European imperialism and international war. In Europe, Hungarian and Polish nationalism was similar in this respect to Indian and Egyptian nationalism. Third, in still other areas, such as central Ottoman lands, Russia, and parts of southern Ireland, nationalism had still not emerged as a coherent set of ideas and political practices, even in 1914.⁵⁴ Bayly advanced a general interpretive or methodological point that the historiographies of nationalism and imperialism have drifted apart, whereas contemporaries saw these phenomena as connected. He argued they should be brought back together as, 'Imperial expansion forced the leaders of states to consider the substance of the nationality they claimed to embody. Equally, the experience of imperial expansion sharpened patriotic identities, amongst both the conquerors and the conquered'.⁵⁵

The interpretive challenge set up in this chapter is to understand how the emergence among indigenous New Zealand tribal groups of a pan-tribal 'native consciousness' or 'national sensibility' reflects these various elements seen in the literature on nationalism and indigenous nationalisms, especially as they developed out of the encounter with Europe. It advances the view that the influence of Christian print culture was paramount, in particular the Anglican Prayer Book text and its practice. The scriptural and Prayer Book translations imported the new ideas of a chosen people or nation, and they did so in ways that resonated with existing indigenous senses of affiliation to tribal peoples and landscapes. Other contextual features were important, as elsewhere in empire: the experience of an incoming population of different people with their institutions of governor, councils, law courts, and military. But the appropriation by Māori of the biblical concept of nation was the first, significant appropriation in the emergence of a pan-tribal political consciousness; and it arguably remained the most important feature of various forms of Māori nationality in the nineteenth century. The rest of the chapter develops this argument.

Colenso's Printing Ledger: evidence of Prayer Book diffusion

Colenso's printing ledger is a valuable primary source.⁵⁶ [Appendix B](#) to this thesis is a transcript of select portions of the ledger for the period 1835-1842, mostly focussing on scripture and Prayer Book translations. It shows the numbers of scripture portions and Prayer Books that were distributed from the Paihia mission's press, mostly to mission stations, but also to select chiefs and other notables. The ledger shows that the numbers of Prayer Books printed and distributed exceeded the numbers of scripture portions by a considerable margin. Even if one includes both the 1841 and 1842 London print runs of the New Testament at

⁵⁴ Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 218-19.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 227-28.

⁵⁶ William Colenso, 'Ledger', fMS-048, ATL.

20,000 copies each, the total of New Testaments including the 1837 Paihia printing would still only number 45,000;⁵⁷ whereas the total number of Prayer Books printed in *New Zealand* by the end of 1842 was 53,000.⁵⁸ This figure does not include the earlier 1833 Prayer Books printed in Sydney. Although the orality of the liturgy was a key feature of its significance for Māori, the numbers of printed Prayer Books in circulation would have cemented the common text, as well as encouraging vernacular literacy. This circulation of the printed vernacular demonstrates the important element of ‘diffusion’ that Adrian Hastings has identified as a critical element in engendering a new national consciousness.⁵⁹ In 1852, a decade after the period under review, William Williams could tell the C.M.S. London Committee that, ‘Every New Zealander who can read wishes to have the work [the Prayer Book] in his possession’.⁶⁰

The ledger shows a variable number of texts distributed to the various stations. We can reasonably infer from this that the tribal populations served by the various stations differed. When stations were in ‘start-up’ mode they arguably had greater need for books. When new stations first appear on the ledger, that is a clear indication that they are in start-up mode. Since Paihia is the focus of this chapter, I have highlighted all mentions of Paihia in the ledger extracts.⁶¹ Paihia and Waimate stations rivalled each other for the most numbers of books, although the southern stations such as Kāpiti and East Coast (Tūranga) received large numbers from the late 1830s. As noted, the total numbers of Prayer Books printed in New Zealand in the specific period extracted from the ledger, c. 1835-42, numbered some 53,000 copies. This is a significantly high number, representing at least one Prayer Book for every two Māori people at c. 1842 – essentially saturation.⁶² There is evidence of not just diffusion

⁵⁷ See C. J. Parr, ‘A Missionary Library: Printed Attempts to Instruct the Maori, 1815-1845’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 70/4 (1961): 429-50, at 440-41.

⁵⁸ See Colenso, Ledger totals in [Appendix B](#).

⁵⁹ Hastings also discussed the role of translations in fixing the form of the native vernacular, another element in the process of engendering a consciousness of a large group; interestingly, Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and Its Inhabitants* (London, 1855) thought that the Maori New Testament, printed in 1835 at Paihia, had ‘tended to assimilate the language throughout the island, and fix it’ (at 209).

⁶⁰ *The Missionary Register* 40 (1852): 222; later in the same volume, Williams’ printing of 5000 copies of the Prayer Book is referred to, with the comment: ‘Our Prayer Book is exceedingly valued by the Native Christians of New Zealand. ... they like to have a copy of the Prayer Book in the basket which they habitually carry about with them to hold the little implements required for daily use’: at 417-418.

⁶¹ As tallied in [Appendix B](#), the Paihia station received in the period 1835-42: 2,070 copies of the Small Prayer Book; 390 copies of the Psalms (note, possibly bound with the Small Prayer Book); 77 copies of Large Prayer Book; 200 copies of St. Luke’s Gospel; 100 copies of Ephesians and Philippians; 600 copies of Isaiah; and over 900 copies of the New Testament (1837 and 1841 printings).

⁶² Based on estimates of Māori population at 80,000 to 100,000 at 1840. Emphasis on printing of scriptural material has usually focussed on the Bible *per se*, ignoring the significant role played by the Prayer Book: see, for example, McKenzie, 28-30; cf. Parkinson, who has more recently highlighted the liturgical printings.

through mission stations, but still wider circulation. Henry Williams reported in 1840 following his journey through the North Island that, 'At whatever place I went to in that unknown part of the island over which I have just traversed our Prayer Book was in universal use'.⁶³ This suggests that indigenous distribution channels considerably extended direct distribution by European missionaries.

Māori Prayer Books and scriptures as personal gifts (between Europeans)

A practice, even culture, of personal gift-giving – of Prayer Books and Bibles in te reo Māori – between close family or associates, is one demonstration of how these items were valued by the mission. An 1848 edition of the Māori Prayer Book (Ranana/London, 1848) in a Hadfield family collection has this inscription on the inside front cover:

The Ven[era]ble Archdeacon Hadfield

from his affectionate Friend & Brother

G. A. N[ew]Zealand

[in pencil] 1853

'G. A. NZealand' is, of course, George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand. Some four decades later, the recipient of the gift, Archdeacon (later Bishop) Octavius Hadfield passed on this Prayer Book to his son, Henry. The inscription continues:

Henry S. Hadfield [in pencil underneath this] for Henry S. Hadfield

From O.H. 1896 [in pencil underneath this] 1896.⁶⁴

An 1852 edition of the Māori Prayer Book was gifted by William Williams to Alfred Brown in 1853.⁶⁵ It carries the inscription:

Ven[era]ble Archd[eaco]n A N Brown

From his sincere friend

Archdn W Williams

May 23. 1853.⁶⁶

⁶³ Cited in Parr, 'A Missionary Library', 439.

⁶⁴ Grant Hadfield, family collection, Fielding, New Zealand.

⁶⁵ Almost certainly one of the number printed when Williams was in London (as referenced above).

⁶⁶ A. N. Brown collection, Te Papa ('The Elms'), Tauranga.

The venerable
 Archdeacon Hadfield
 from his affectionate Friend
 & Brother
 1853 - G. A. Mealand

Henry S. Hadfield
 For Henry S. Hadfield
 from O.K. 1886. -
 1886 -

KO TE PUKAPUKA
 O NGA INOINGA,
 ME ERA ATU TIKANGA,
 I WHAKARITEA E TE HAHĪ O INGARANI,
 MO TE MINITATANGA
 O NGA HAKARAMETA,
 O ERA ATU RITENGA HOKI A TE HAHĪ:
 ME NGA WAIATA ANO HOKI A RAWIRI,
 ME TE TIKANGA
 MO TE WHIRIWHIRINGA, MO TE WHAKATURANGA,
 ME TE WHAKATAPUNGA
 O NGA PIHOPA, O NGA PIRITI, ME NGA RIKONA.

ANANĀ:
 I TAIA TENEI KI TE PEREHI O TE KOMITI MO TE WHAKAPUAKI
 I TE MOHIOTANGA KI A TE KARAITI.
 1848.

In the Brancepeth house family library there are extant two gifts of this kind: a gift of an 1848 Māori Old Testament (selections) from George Beetham to his sister Annie Beetham; and a gift of an 1852 Māori New Testament inscribed 'For George and Hughie, Nov. 4, 1858'. There

is also a first edition of William Williams Māori Dictionary (1844) in the library, with an inscription by one of the Beetham family.⁶⁷

This evidence, albeit limited, of books in the Māori language being gifted between members of the New Zealand mission or their close family members would appear to be part of a wider practice of book giving. Bishop Selwyn's chaplain, William Cotton, was a prolific book giver. In the A. N. Brown collection at Te Papa (Tauranga) there are at least four gifts of books by Cotton to Brown: *The Life of Bishop Jewel* by Charles Webb (London: 1835) – gifted in September 1844; *The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year* (Oxford: 1841) – gifted at Rotorua on 31 October 1843; *College Life: Letters to an Under-Graduate* by the Rev. Thomas Whytehead (Cambridge: 1845); and *Hymns* by the late Joseph Anstice. This last is inscribed as 'from Mrs J Anstice' and then, over page, 'W C Cotton from his most affectionate & loving sister, S Cotton, Dec 19th 1841'. Since it is in the Brown collection, it can only be assumed that Cotton also gave this book to Brown, with its existing personal and family history of giving.

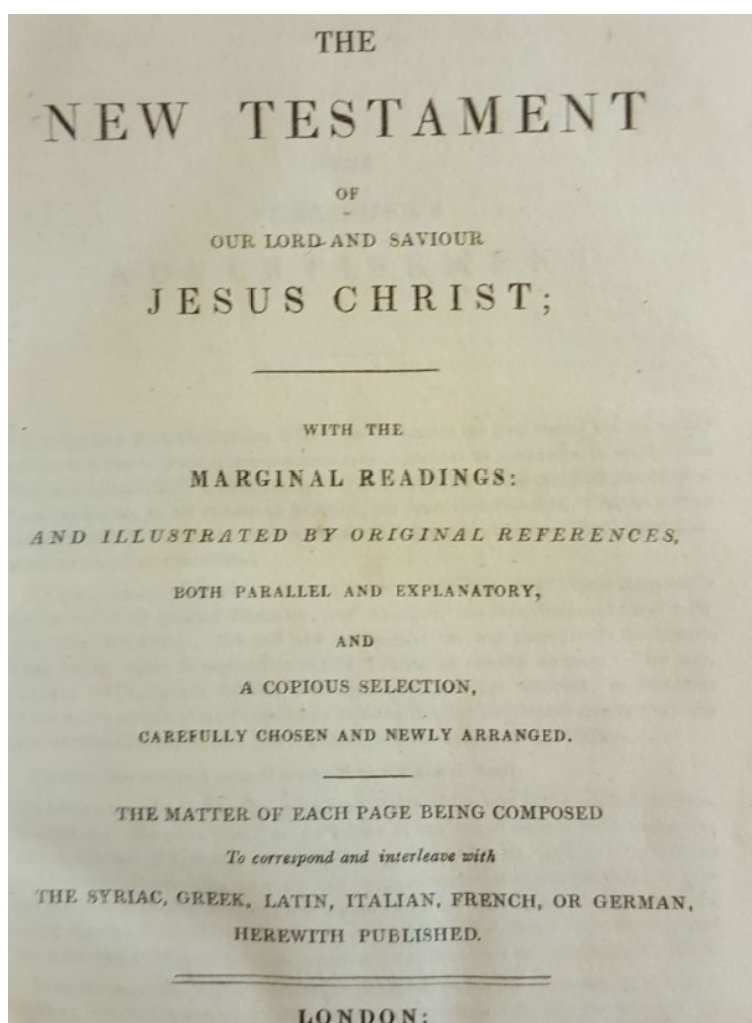
The books used for such gift-giving, as can be seen, were mostly of a devotional nature (prayer books, hymnals, and verses) or otherwise personal in some manner. Another couple of examples from the A. N. Brown library further underline the personal nature of book-giving and illustrate how books and their inscriptions can provide evidence of the ways in which Māori themselves were adopted into the missionaries' familial or Christian kinship circles. A couple of books of older vintage than the 1840s were given by a 'Wm. Thompson' to Alfred Brown: an 1823 Greek and English New Testament – gifted in 1828;⁶⁸ and an 1827 version of *Morning Thoughts in Prose and Verse on Portions of the Successive Chapters in the Gospel of St. Mark*.⁶⁹ This 'Wm. Thompson' – almost certainly short for William Thompson – was apparently, on this evidence alone, some sort of mentor for Alfred Brown. And 'William Thompson' was the baptismal name of one of Brown's most outstanding Māori 'adoptive sons': Wiremu Tāmehana, of Kīngitanga fame.

⁶⁷ It can be noted that the Beethams had a close family connection to both the Māori scriptural translations and the Williams dictionary as Annie Beetham was married to T. C. Williams – son of Henry, nephew of William.

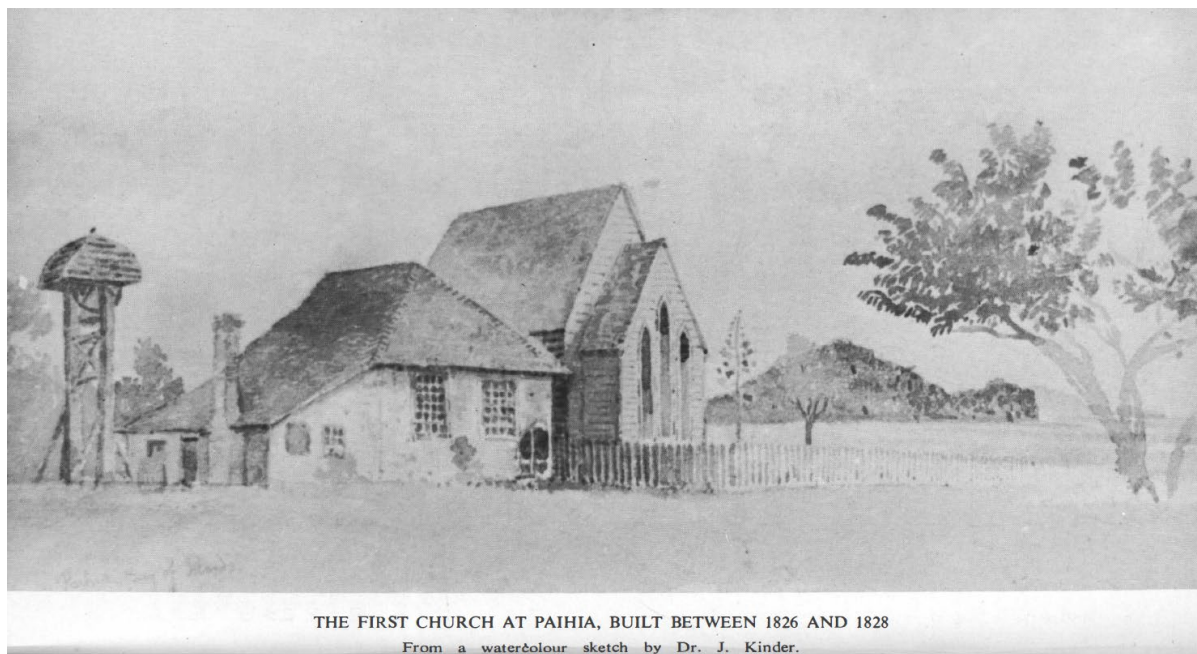
⁶⁸ ANBL.

⁶⁹ ANBL.

The Rev. Alfred Nesbit Brown
with the best wishes & prayers
of his friends & Brother
July 1820. *W. Thompson.*
St. John 5. v. 39th
Joshua, ch. 1, v. 9.
P. Matthew. ch. 28 vs 20. 21.



The practice of the Prayer Book in the 1830s: Paihia and country-wide



Dr. J. Kinder, sketch of first church at Paihia, in L. M. Rogers, The Early Journals of Henry Williams, p. 97.

Henry Williams' journal for 22 November 1839 recorded the state of Christian practice in the Waikanae area of the Kāpiti Coast:

*These Chapels and many others around were built through the influence of a young man instructed in the Paihia school named Matahau. He lived many years with my brother and afterwards with me and had returned some years ago to his relations at this place, amongst whom he has laboured with astonishing zeal and perseverance, has taught very many to read and has instructed numbers as far as he was able in the truths of the Gospel so that many tribes for some distance around call themselves believers, keep the Sabbath, assemble for worship, and use the liturgy of the Church of England.*⁷⁰ [emphasis added]

Williams' journal recorded – with surprise and pleasure both evident – similar observations at various points along the Kāpiti Coast. The highlighted text indicates not just what Williams

⁷⁰ H. Williams, Journal, Saturday, 22 Nov. 1839; in Lawrence M. Rogers, ed. *The Early Journals of Henry Williams* (Christchurch, Pegasus, 1961). Note that all subsequent references to H. Williams journals are from Rogers.

associated with Christian belief and practice – Sabbath observance and people assembling for worship⁷¹ – but also the *modus operandi* of his own mission. The extant journals of Williams for the period 1828-1840 demonstrate the centrality of public prayer and liturgy at his Paihia mission settlement, and at the various other locations of Williams' area of responsibility, including Kororāreka and the southern Bay of Islands (Kawakawa, Waikare and surrounds).

The journals also demonstrate the phenomenal craze in chapel construction around the Bay of Islands, and in other areas of the country such as the Kāpiti Coast. In the latter, as elsewhere, chapels had been constructed by Māori communities without any European missionary being present. Even in the inland Bay of Islands, within easy reach of his own geographical area of responsibility, Williams on one occasion recorded seeing a chapel which he had never witnessed before. In Kororāreka or its vicinity, a place not noted for its religiosity, chiefs were interested in sponsoring chapel construction. Chapel building, Sabbath observance, and the ready use of the BCP and associated hymnals had by the early-to-mid 1830s become commonplace in the wider Bay of Islands area. It is possible to detect a period around 1832-34, where there is a distinct shift by significant local groupings towards such Christian observances and ceremonial. As such, a form of Christian society had emerged definitively by the mid-to-late 1830s in the Bay, and at other places. At Kāpiti, for example, Williams listed among his amazed observations that a leading chief had put some Anglican hymns to his own melody and commenced to recite the service of morning prayer even though he could not read.⁷² This is one instance of the wider point that the Prayer Book did not require literacy to become known and used, and part of the Māori vernacular.

As outlined above, this chapter is interested in how the text and practice of the Anglican Prayer Book inculcated in Bay society new understandings of the world, especially ideas of society and collectivity such as 'the nation', and political or social-structural ideas of government and authority. This question might be simply phrased as what kinds of 'political education' was taking place, either wittingly or unwittingly, through these texts and practices and in the context of a changing political landscape – including intra-tribal and inter-tribal wars. The focus will however be on concepts of iwi or 'nation'.

Although literacy rates were ever increasing – enabling people to read and interpret the texts of scripture and prayer book for themselves – Bay society in the 1830s was still primarily oral

⁷¹ cf. Binney's affirmation of Shawcross' definition of 'conversion', captured in the Māori phrase 'going *mihanere*' [sic], being a Māori who 'attempted to follow the prescriptions and codes of behaviour as laid down by his *mihanere*, and who regularly attended the church services': Binney, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840', 159.

⁷² H. Williams, Journal, Saturday, 23 Nov 1840.

(and aural). Thus, the weekly and often daily practice of corporate prayer, hymnal and liturgy was arguably more important and transformative of Māori conceptions than the printed texts of scripture themselves. Scriptural texts were of course included in the Prayer Book, but these were only a portion of the whole. More prominent in the Prayer Book were the regular parts of the services: the prayers, which followed the same form and content for every service (with variations across the services of Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and the sacrament); the creed (historic summary statement of Christian belief); and the ‘waiata’ or psalms from the Book of Psalms. In addition, there were the hymns, many of which would have been sung with some regularity; and the catechism, included with the 1833 printing of parts of the BCP.

Since it was the services of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer that were for daily use, these were the words and concepts uttered most frequently by congregations. At the Paihia settlement, Williams frequently referred to Evening Prayer conducted on weekdays in his journal. This indicates that services were held regularly, perhaps even on a daily basis (as it would be erroneous to assume that Williams recorded every single instance of holding services). As between the services of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, Williams refers to holding evening services more than morning services. (From this it cannot be deduced that evening services were held more frequently; but there was perhaps something about the evening services that provoked a note in his journal – perhaps they were better attended.)

Before examining some of the content of the Prayer Book, what of its essential nature and character and the possible cultural effects of that in a New Zealand context? Public worship was a novel communal exercise for Māori communities; this was not a regular hui of the community, nor was it a meeting with a single purpose, such as meeting before war, which might involve the karakia or ceremonial of the tohunga. Christian worship brought the community together in a *collective* exercise of spiritual demonstration – everyone was involved, not only the tohunga or priest. The forms of service included declarations of belief or the creeds, prayer to a single Divine Being, the recitation of words from an ancient book – especially the Psalms, and the singing of hymns or songs. These were both new purposes and new kinds of activity. What is more, these were ‘new sounds’ in the land – in part because of how they were collectively spoken and collectively sung, but also because they were quite simply ‘new’. Christian hymnal was quite unlike Māori customary chant, whether mōteatea, pātere, or haka.⁷³ It was made even more distinctive when European instruments were added, such as the organ or piano. Once again, these matters of cultural media or form – when tribes began to use or adopt them on a regular basis – signified important changes in Māori society.

⁷³ Although there are suggestions that hymns were sometimes chanted in Maori services in the early years: see for example H. Kaa, Ph.D. thesis, 225.

This chapter however does not explore these wider shifts so much as the content of the Prayer Book itself and how that content represented or led to linguistic and conceptual change.

The idea of ‘nation’ and its translation in the Prayer Book

One of the central themes or principal structuring narratives of the Christian scriptures is that God has chosen a people or nation from among all the peoples of the earth as the especial subjects of his revelation and providential guidance. This people – the nation of Israel – was to be the means or avenue of God’s blessing to the other peoples of the world. The history or narrative of a ‘people’ or ‘nation’ is therefore a central structuring narrative of the Jewish and Christian traditions. All nations are enfolded into this universal narrative, especially in the era of the new covenant (or New Testament). A central tension or dialectic is set up in the Bible, then, between ‘the people of Israel’ and all the other peoples on earth, in a phrase – ‘Jews and Gentiles’. This distinction comes through in the text of the BCP. The effect of this structuring narrative is to make peoples, tribes, or nations into basic ontological categories of history and social reality: nations simply exist. In fact, the scriptures sometime suggest, that nations are pre-ordained groups of people, often of different languages (following the tower of Babel), that inhabit various parts of the earth at various times.⁷⁴

The key word used to translate nation or people in the BCP and scriptures was ‘iwi’. Originally, the root concept of the word ‘iwi’ seems to have been the idea of bones or the basic structure of a body or thing. Recent linguistic scholarship suggests that before European contact the word iwi denoted genealogical connections but did not distinctly convey the concept of a distinct social or political grouping or what might be understood as a ‘tribe’ by nineteenth century Europeans – for which the word hapū was a more accurate, contemporary equivalent.⁷⁵ Certainly, it did not carry the idea of a ‘nation’ in a European sense of a large group of people united by language, common history, a shared allegiance to a monarch or law, and distinguished from other peoples-nations on those counts. It certainly did not denote, or connote, the ‘nation-state’ conflation of the nineteenth century – that is, anything like a single people with a common government and fixed geographical territory.

At the most basic level of perception, then, the word ‘iwi’, before European contact and before its meaning was applied and adapted to biblical and other texts, was a word that, when it was applied to people or groups, suggested a relationship between kin, perhaps distant kin. It did not denote a basic ontological category of ‘things’ into which the world was divided, nor a basic

⁷⁴ See Acts 17:26.

⁷⁵ Benton, *et al.*, *Te Mātāpunenga*, 100; and Stephens and Boyce, *He Papakupu Reo Ture*, 15; and see discussion in chapter 1.

socio-political entity. However, the word arguably had enough inherent flex and malleability to enable its application in this way. The task undertaken below is to show firstly how the word was used and, second, how it necessarily acquired new meanings from these different applications – applications that were freighted with the various contexts and meanings of the scriptural texts in English and, to some extent, the Hebrew and Greek originals.

This section elaborates on these (postulated) shifts of meaning and consciousness through examining the translation of the texts for Evening Prayer and the Psalms of David (‘Ngā Waiata a Rāwiri’). It is important here that the whole book of Psalms – 150 of them – were traditionally read over a month of services of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer. Typically, therefore, there would be at least two or three Psalms read in both the morning and evening. The result of this arrangement meant that each Psalm was read once a month, or 12 times a year. Some Psalms were themselves part of the liturgy or text of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, hence could be heard practically every day of the week. The repetition of the Psalms, as an integral part of the prayer services, assumes importance for the argument of this chapter, as the Psalms frequently speak of God’s special relationship with the people-nation (‘iwi’) of Israel or Jacob, along with that people-nation’s special relationship with the land of Zion, Canaan or Jerusalem. Thus, the wider story of the Old Testament is delineated in short ‘song’ form in this book of Psalms (literally, ‘songs’). The prominence of the Psalms within the Anglican liturgy in a New Zealand context can be seen by the name that Māori gave to it – ‘Te Rāwiri’ – originally the translator’s reference to Ngā Waiata a Rāwiri, or the Psalms of David, but which at an early date became applied by Māori communities to *the Prayer Book or liturgy itself*.⁷⁶

The text of the service of Evening Prayer consisted of a number of segments, at least three of which referred to God’s relationship with ‘the nations’ or the people-nation of Israel. As the literature outlined above demonstrates, there are connections, causative connections, that have been made between scripture and liturgy in vernacular languages and the emergence of early-modern (and modern) group consciousness. In particular, as Peter Burke has discussed, ‘[o]ne effect of the rise of Bible reading by [various European] laity, thanks to these translations, was the appropriation and spread of the idea of the “chosen people” or “elect nation”, an idea that was incorporated into a number of national narratives’.⁷⁷ As a general anthropological statement, once an important text, especially one of spiritual authority,

⁷⁶ From as early as 1844, the Psalms were referred to on the title page of the Prayer Book with a separate line, viz., “Ngā Waiata a Rawiri”: see BIM 197 (1844); most later printings also carried this on the title page (personal correspondence with Bishop George Connor). The prevalence of the Psalms of David in the texts of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer are also pointers to why the two became conflated in Maori usage.

⁷⁷ Burke, ‘Nationalisms and Vernaculars 1500-1800’, 26.

becomes available in a vernacular language, it is a human tendency for a reader or group of readers to begin to associate or identify themselves with characters or stories that seem to have universal resonance or speak to the particular context in which the reader finds themselves.⁷⁸ It would not be surprising, therefore, if Māori congregations ('whakaminenga') began to notice particular words and their usages within the Prayer Book texts. A word such as 'iwi' and its application to the story of the people-nation of Israel would *prima facie* be a part of the texts that would stand out.

As already outlined, in its original native or 'maori' context, the term 'iwi' meant bones or some significant structure or structuring device, including the kinship or whakapapa connections of a group of people. Thus, the material and metaphorical meanings of 'bones' – 'whakapapa connections' – were the original senses or referents of the term 'iwi'. But the application of 'iwi' to the narrative of Israel and Israel's God – Jehovah or Ihowa – meant that, at least within the scriptural and Prayer Book texts, the term iwi acquired a new sense and referent. And this meant that, within the texts, iwi had acquired a new meaning or 'point': for 'iwi' was now a referent for a divinely-chosen people – Israel – that had a special relationship with land or whenua, and in relation to whom God ('te Atua') was always working to bring about restoration or redemption, and through whom all nations or peoples would be 'saved' ('redeemed' or restored). Ultimately, this was achieved through the God-man, Jesus (Ihu Karaiti), who, before his ascension gave a great commission to take the message to all these other nations.⁷⁹ The term 'iwi' had, therefore, acquired the significant weight of the whole scriptural narrative itself. Through this extension of application, the word iwi had started to 'do' new things.

This new meaning, weight or 'illocutionary force'⁸⁰ can be registered in the distinction made by the translators between God's people Israel – rendered 'te iwi' – and the other nations, or 'heathen' – often rendered 'tau iwi'. William Williams's *Dictionary* of 1844 – the first edition of his dictionary – gave the meaning of tau iwi as 'a strange tribe'.⁸¹ This translation distinction is not always made, as often the heathen nations are also rendered by 'iwi', but key passages

⁷⁸ At least, this type of analogizing has been highlighted by Peter Burke, Adrian Hastings and others, as per the literature review above. See also the article by Thibodeau, Hendricks and Boroditsky, 'How Linguistic Metaphor Scaffolds Reasoning'. In a sense – to state this another way – the divine narrative of God and the people-nation of Israel became for many people-groups the archetype of how God works in and through nations.

⁷⁹ Matt. 28: 18-20.

⁸⁰ The distinction between the locutionary meaning and illocutionary meaning of words has been discussed by Quentin Skinner and other linguistic turn scholars; Merriam-Webster (online) defines 'locutionary': of or relating to the physical act of saying something considered apart from the statement's effect or intention; it defines 'illocutionary': relating to or being the communicative effect (such as commanding or requesting) of an utterance.

⁸¹ Williams, *Dictionary*, 134.

in the evening service do make this distinction.⁸² The whole of Psalm 98 was read at Evening Prayer, and two verses capture the core biblical narrative. The original English version in the BCP 1662 is given alongside the Māori translation in ‘Waiata 98’:

<u>Evening Prayer</u> Psalm 98	<u>BCP 1662:</u> The Lord declared his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly shewed in the sight of the heathen . He hath remembered his mercy and truth toward the house of Israel : and all the ends of the world have seen the salvation of our God ...	<u>1840 ed. (BIM 92):</u> Na Ihowa i wakakite tona oranga ki nga tauwi : nana i wakapuaki tona tikanga. Kua mahara ia ki tona aroha, me tona pono ki te iwi o Ihairaira : kua kite nga pito katoa o te ao i te oranga o to tatou Atua ...

It is interesting how the translator adopted the usual reference to people-nation of Israel, rather than the more metaphorical scriptural allusion to ‘house’ of Israel.

The Song of Simeon, from the Gospel of Luke – which followed Psalm 98 in the service of Evening Prayer – is of similar ‘illocutionary force’ in making the same distinction between God’s people and foreign peoples:

<u>Evening Prayer</u> St Luke 2:29	<u>BCP 1662 (the Song of Simeon or Nunc Dimittis):</u> Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace; according to thy word. For mine eyes have seen: thy salvation, Which thou hast prepared: before the face of all people;	<u>1840 ed. (BIM 92):</u> Tenei ra ka tukua marietia tou pononga, e te Ariki: pera hoki me tau korero. Kua kite hoki aku kanohi: i tau oranga, I meingatia e koe: ki te aroaro o nga tangata katoa;

⁸² An earlier chapter on He Wakaputanga/the Declaration of 1835 has highlighted the use of ‘iwi’ for the northern tribes and ‘tauwi’ for the southern tribes who were invited to join the Confederation; this maintains the basic distinction between a wider kin-group that is known and those unknown or ‘foreign’, as per Williams’ Dictionary of 1844. Reflecting this basic distinction, George Connor, in private correspondence, has noted that ‘tauwi’ was used in other portions of scripture, especially in St. Paul’s letters, for ‘Gentile’ and ‘barbarian’ (this use of course reflects the basic point I am making about the Psalms, where Israel is often ‘te iwi’, and the other nations are ‘tauwi’).

	To be a light to lighten the Gentiles : and to be the glory of thy people Israel .	Hei marama mo nga tauwi hei wakakitenga: hei kororia hoki mo tou iwi mo Ihairaira .

Psalm 67 follows, which does not discuss the people of Israel, but rifts between ‘tauwi’, ‘iwi’ and ‘te tangata katoa’ in translating the peoples or nations of the earth. This conflation of the terms was perhaps not of much significance, and perhaps simply reflects the closely similar meanings of the original passage. Certainly, in the seventeenth century English of the BCP’s translation (and, it might be added, for the early-mid nineteenth century translators), there seems to be little distinction between the concept of ‘people’ and ‘nation’ (or ‘race’). However, as this Psalm comes immediately after the two passages above in the BCP, it is possible to see the translator of both English (1662) and Māori (1830s) as encompassing ‘tauwi’ or heathen nations into the story of ‘te iwi’ or the nation of Israel – thus a conflation of terms made sense.

<u>Evening Prayer</u> Psalm 67	<u>BCP 1662:</u> God be merciful unto us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us; That thy way may be known upon earth: thy saving health among all nations . Let the people praise thee, O God: yea, let all the people praise thee. O let the nations rejoice, and be glad: for thou shalt judge the folk righteously, and govern the nations upon earth. Let the people praise thee, O God: yea, let all the people praise thee.	<u>1840 ed. (BIM 92):</u> E atawai te Atua ki a tatou, e wakapai hoki ia i a tatou: wakatiaho i te maramatanga o ona kanohi ki a tatou: Kia wakakitea ai tou haerenga ki te ao: tou oranga hoki ki nga tauwi katoa . Kia wakapai te tangata ki a koe, e te Atua: kia wakapai te tangata katoa ki a koe. Kia hari nga iwi , kia hau te waiata: e wakawakia tikatia e koe te tangata, a e tiakina nga iwi o te ao . Kia wakapai te tangata katoa ki a koe, e te Atua: kia wakapai te tangata katoa ki a koe.

	Then shall the earth bring forth her increase: and God, even our own God, shall give us his blessing.	Ko reira tuku mai ai te w[h]enua i tana: a ko te Atua to tatou Atua e ho mai i tana wakapai ki a tatou.
	God shall bless us: and all the ends of the world shall fear him.	E wakapai te Atua i a tatou: a ko nga pito katoa o te ao e wehi i a ia.

Here, the connection between God's blessing over the peoples, and the blessing of the earth or 'whenua', must have appealed to a native mindset. (Certainly, Hone Heke emphasized that the land had been given by te Atua in his correspondence of the 1840s; for which, see below.)

When we get to Ngā Waiata a Rāwiri, or the Psalms proper, another fifteen psalms or waiata employ either or both of the terms 'iwi' and 'tauiwi' (that is, outside Psalms 98 and 67 in the text of Evening Prayer).⁸³ Excerpts from these are reproduced by way of Appendix C. In addition then to the Psalms set for reading every day of the year, another fifteen Psalms, across the services of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, employed the language of iwi and tauiwi, usually with reference to God's people Israel and the other nations of the earth (respectively). In addition, there was the Litany, read every day. And the text of Morning Prayer included the phrase and important concept of God's redeemed people (rendered literally in the Māori as 'bought' or 'bought back') – 'Kua hokona tona iwi'.⁸⁴

Other native words, associated with the concept of iwi, were used in the Prayer Book text, including the word hapū for 'tribe'. Hapū, meaning literally 'pregnant' – and seemingly affiliated closely with the concept of 'bones' or iwi – was used in early non-scriptural translations for the English word 'tribe'. In Psalm 78 – also read at Evening Prayer – it was used to translate 'the tribe of Ephraim' and 'the tribe of Judah'.

Evidence of the influence of Prayer Book (and mission teaching) on Bay of Islands Māori

If the practice of the Anglican liturgy or 'Te Rawiri', including the texts of the Psalms themselves, had started to influence native consciousness or perception in the 1830s, we would expect to see that in contemporary accounts or indeed in correspondence from Māori

⁸³ Refer Psalms 22, 44, 47, 57, 72, 78, 81, 86, 89, 105, 106, 108, 117, 118, 147.

⁸⁴ Luke 1:68.

themselves. There is certainly evidence this way, including various requests for copies of the Prayer Book and scriptures, and the various adoptions and adaptations of it made by groups, including those not directly tutored by a British missionary.⁸⁵ Although much of this is anecdotal or circumstantial, it does indicate the way the Prayer Book and scriptural texts were making their influence felt in the contemporary social and political discourse. An early example of this appears in Henry Williams' journal entry from Sunday, 3 February 1833:

Fine. A goodly number of Natives at service. **Chapel very full.** In the afternoon a large congregation of Europeans. Much cast down on account of the Natives at Kororarika. **Tareha in a great rage today at Rawiri** [Taiwhanga?], he came toward him when at Kororarika roaring like an infuriated bull, in consequence of some of the answers in one of **the Catechisms** being opposed to his views of strict propriety, in as much as all men, without distinction of rank are brought under condemnation, who believe not in the name of the Son of God. This doctrine as observed may do for Slaves and Europeans but not for a free and noble people like the Ngāpuhi, therefore they will not receive it.⁸⁶ [emphasis added]

As suggested, the Rāwiri referred to was probably the chief Rāwiri Taiwhanga, one of the first rangatira to be baptised and adopt Christian belief and practice. Since Taiwhanga was of chiefly lineage, it made sense for Tāreha to target him over these liturgical texts – in this case, the catechisms. This encounter shows that the language and discourses of the Prayer Book and Bible were entering Ngāpuhi consciousness by the early 1830s, such that an important chief such as Tāreha would deign to have a verbal stoush over it. These new texts had begun to matter to the wider indigenous discourse.

The apparent irony with this intellectual confrontation is that although Christian theology spoke of the spiritual or human equality of all before God, that did not erase societal or other distinctions made in the Bible as well as contemporary British social attitudes. Middling-class people such as Henry Williams clearly understood that there was some distinction of rank in Māori society; he would often refer to chiefs as 'gentlemen', and sometimes as the 'nobility'. The note of irony in Williams' reference to Ngāpuhi being 'free and noble' is explained by the context or the point Williams was making with reference to the common sinful state of

⁸⁵ See Selwyn letters from Māori, ANG 90, KL; and see the references by Kaa, 'He Ngakau Hou', 225-27, including reports from Henry Williams, William Williams and Robert Maunsell, and the letters from Māori to Bishop Selwyn.

⁸⁶ H. Williams, Journal, 3 Feb. 1833.

mankind apart from belief in Christ. In other contexts, Williams referred quite naturally and neutrally to chiefs as gentlemen or nobility.⁸⁷

In the text above, the statement ‘Chapel very full’ has been highlighted. Around this period of 1832-34, which I have identified as some sort of turning point in the Māori response to the Christian message, Williams made frequent references to a full chapel – not only on Sundays but at other services of Evening Prayer and Morning Prayer. These full chapels at the Paihia services, and at other services around the Bay, including in the southern Bay around Kawakawa, would have been obvious to rangatira such as Tāreha who remained aloof from Christian influence. This basic ‘sea change’ in Ngāpuhi or Bay society, with the growing influence of the mission and missionaries, was another basic reason why Tāreha might have reacted to Prayer Book theology. Something was changing and he perceived it as a threat to his rank and status, or perhaps simply a challenge to the existing or old order of things. (Regarding Tāreha it is interesting to note that, in July 1839, he received personally from the Paihia mission press a copy of the 1837 New Testament.⁸⁸ By itself this is not surprising as a number of chiefs are recorded as receiving copies of Testaments and Prayer Books, but Tāreha was known not to be a supporter of the mission.)

Another indication of this sea change in local Bay society was the significant size of the Paihia settlement by early 1830s. In November of 1830, Williams referred to the Paihia mission settlement as comprising some 200 people, which for the time was a sizeable village.⁸⁹ The following month, in December 1830, Williams recorded at length the great gathering over the school examinations, at which at least one thousand ‘strangers’ attended in addition to the local resident population of the village.⁹⁰ One Sunday in 1835, the Paihia mission was visited by a taua (war party) seeking redress for three women being earlier stopped by Hone Heke when they attempted to ‘carry food’ through the settlement. On this occasion, Williams was quite confident that his community could repel this taua of 70 musket-armed men – if force had been required.⁹¹ This indicates again a community of notable critical mass. As revealed by the account of the school day examinations, this critical mass was not just the sheer size of the settlement, but also its growing social importance for the Bay. This importance might have been underlined by the nature of this village as a new type of society with a mix of Europeans,

⁸⁷ English nobility were also concerned about the social egalitarian implications of Wesleyan-Methodist preaching in the mid-to-late eighteenth century; see E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 46.

⁸⁸ Colenso, Ledger, July 1839; see [Appendix B](#).

⁸⁹ Williams’ journal, 11 Nov. 1830.

⁹⁰ Williams’ journal, 12-15 Dec. 1830.

⁹¹ Williams’ journal, 18 Jan. 1835 (Sunday). Williams concludes this entry: ‘... we were a good deal hurt at this infringement of the sacredness of the day. The eveng. Service tended to restore peace; the Chapel was quite full.’

local and more distant tribes; and where children of former slaves interacted with the children of local rangatira in the schools, at services, and while at work around the settlement.

In the period of the northern war (1844-46) of some Ngāpuhi groups against the British Government, in which the mission-educated Hone Heke was a leading force, the Anglican Prayer Book was visible again. Williams recorded that on one occasion, when Heke was involved in felling the flag staff with the Union Jack at Kororāreka (Russell), he carried his Prayer Book and New Testament with him, asking ‘a blessing on his proceedings’ beforehand, and afterwards returning thanks ‘for having strength for his work’.⁹² That Williams recorded this in private correspondence to a family member suggests he saw it as important. For Heke, it at least signified that he regarded the Prayer Book and scripture as integral to his daily practice, even as he was doing something that he understood Williams did not condone. Heke has been represented in some New Zealand historiography as acting for his own reasons, being Māori ones, but the extent to which Christian belief inflected or suffused his activity has not been emphasised. The contemporary portrayal of Heke has given some support to this historiographical tradition. Williams himself noted that ‘Heke has been represented as a patriot, until he really believes himself to be such’.⁹³ However, even here, the idea of ‘patriot’ is not a concept of plain meaning: if Williams meant a ‘lover of country’ then even that simple definition is inflected with a British or English history.

It seems the Prayer Book had become embedded as part of a new native order that emerged in the 1830s. Heke’s actions and statements represented this new order, even though he was contesting elements of it. When the Prayer Book was revised in the period 1844-46, under Bishop Selwyn’s oversight, the prayers for those in authority switched from the previous version – prayers for the rangatira and their families – to prayers for the Queen and her family. This revised Prayer Book was finally printed in London in 1848.⁹⁴ Even the 1844 edition of ‘te Rawiri’ (an abridged or short-form version of the Prayer Book) had retained the prayers for rangatira – as the relevant political authorities – prayers that were part of the service of Evening Prayer since at least the early 1830s.⁹⁵ The 1844-46 revision of the prayer book

⁹² H. Williams to E.G. Marsh, 24 Jan. 1845 (in Carleton, vol 2., 86).

⁹³ H. Williams to E. G. Marsh, 24 Jan. 1845 (in Carleton, vol 2., 86).

⁹⁴ See Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, re notes on BIM 376; see also Parkinson, ‘“A Language Peculiar to the Word of God”, 40-43.

⁹⁵ See, for example, ‘*Ko te Inoinga mo nga Rangatira maori: ... E tino inoi atu ana matou ki a koe kia titiro atawai mai ki nga rangatira maori; a kia whakakahangia ki tou Wairua Tapu, kia rongo ai ratou ki tau pai, kia haere ai i ou haerenga...*’: *Ko te Pukapuka o Nga Inoinga ... o Te Hahi o Ingarani* (Paihia, 1840), 20 [BIM 92]. The text of this prayer in the 1833 prayer book [BIM 19] is practically identical, as it is in the 1844 abridged prayer book [BIM 197]; for completeness, it should be noted that William Yate’s 1830 prayer book, printed in Sydney, had instead prayers for King George and the Royal Family.

translation under Selwyn – who had presided over the fledgling St. John’s College at Te Waimate mission station (inland Bay of Islands) – must have led to a change in the Evening Prayer text, at least at Te Waimate. We know this because Hone Heke complained of the change. Governor FitzRoy recorded with some colour in his New Zealand memoirs that:

when the now notorious Heke first heard the Queen prayed for in Waimate Church, instead of the chiefs (who were considered the principal authorities previous to 1840), he asked, indignantly, why the Queen of England was exalted to the skies, and the chiefs of New Zealand were trodden under foot.⁹⁶

It is an intriguing fact that it was not until the Selwyn revision, obviously implemented with immediate effect at Te Waimate, that the Evening Prayer text was changed.⁹⁷ Several Prayer Book editions had been published since 1840, the year of British annexation, and it might be considered that the Prayer Book text should alter immediately. But in the first full BCP edition in Māori of 1840 (printed in 1841), and in the 1844 edition of the abridged prayer book (as noted above), no amendment was made to this text. If we assume that missionaries had uncomplicated views of British or Crown ‘sovereignty’, then the text might have been altered as at 1840. But everyone, it seems, carried on with prayers for the rangatira.⁹⁸ The 1840 Prayer Book did add a new prayer for the Governor in the section of general prayers and thanksgivings (section entitled ‘Ko Nga Inoinga me nga Wakawetainga mo te Tini o te Mea’).⁹⁹ But the substantive prayers for rangatira in the service of Evening Prayer did not alter. It was not until the 1848 Selwyn prayer book that prayers for ngā Rangatira Māori moved to the section of general prayers/ ‘Ko Nga Inoi’, with prayers for the Queen taking the place of rangatira in the service of Evening Prayer.¹⁰⁰ The prayer for the Governor was retained in the 1848 version, with the new prayer for rangatira following this.¹⁰¹

Hone Heke’s letters to governors FitzRoy and Grey in the mid-to-late 1840s reflected his reconfigured political language. In May 1845, Heke wrote to FitzRoy and, in a much longer

⁹⁶ Robert FitzRoy, *Remarks on New Zealand* (London: W. and H. White, 1846), 12.

⁹⁷ William Williams worked on the revision and on 3 July 1844 noted that he had ‘Revised to end of Prayer for the Queen’, and on 4 July 1844 that he had ‘Revised to end of Morning Prayer’: see Frances Porter, ed., *The Turanga Journals, 1840-1850* (Wellington: Victorian University Press, 1974): 290

⁹⁸ Parkinson also notes the retention of the prayers for chiefs after 1840 as ‘curious’: see Parkinson, ‘A Language Peculiar to the Word of God’, 35.

⁹⁹ ‘*He Inoinga mo te Kawana*: E te Atua Kaha rawa ... kia wakapai koe i tou Pononga, i te Kawana o tenei Wenua ...’: *Ko te Pukapuka o Nga Inoinga ... o Te Hahi o Ingarani* (Paihia, 1840), 26 [BIM 92].

¹⁰⁰ This prayer for the Queen also appeared in the morning prayer text, with somewhat altered translation from the prayer for Rangatira: ‘... Tenei matou te tohe atu nei, kia tirohia atawhaitia mai to matou Rangatira pai, a Kuini Wikitoria; whakakia ia ki te kaha o to Wairua Tapu,...’: *Ko te Pukapuka o Nga Inoinga* (Ranana, 1848), 11 [BIM 397].

¹⁰¹ *Ko te Pukapuka o Nga Inoinga* (Ranana, 1848), 32-33 [BIM 397].

series of accusations against the actions and tauntings of England and Englishmen,¹⁰² stated his decision to attack the flagstaff as ‘the sign of conquest’ by England,¹⁰³ and that they were prepared to ‘die for the country provided for us by the Almighty [‘te Atua’]’.¹⁰⁴ The translation of this letter by ‘Mr Kemp’ (probably H. T. Kemp) rendered ‘whenua’ as ‘country’ rather than simply ‘land’ and conveyed the idea of ‘dying for’ this country rather than the more literal ‘dying on this land’.¹⁰⁵ This was arguably stretching the sense of Heke’s language, partly because ‘country’ conveys in English more of a sense of ‘territory’ or even ‘nation’.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, whether ‘land’ or ‘country’, the most significant point in Heke’s argument was perhaps that God or ‘te Atua’ had given this ‘whenua’ to them. In William Williams’ 1844 and 1852 *Dictionary*, the meanings of whenua were given as ‘the earth’, ‘soil’ and ‘placenta/afterbirth’, which in customary practice was buried in the earth.¹⁰⁷ There was not, in the original meaning of whenua, any obvious connotation of ‘country’ or ‘territory’. However, were the connotations or senses of ‘whenua’ starting to shift through scriptural translations?

In tradition, it was stated that ‘for land and women, men perish’. The concept of dying to protect the land, together with its ancestral associations, burial places and sustaining resources, was not at all novel – such appears in Heke’s letter too.¹⁰⁸ However, the concept of the land being ‘given by God’ is not indigenous. Rather, it is a statement that tends to reflect Christian theology. Moreover, it is a statement that has definite echoes in the texts of ‘te Rāwiri’, the Prayer Book, in particular, the Psalms: God has given his chosen people a country or whenua, but there are other nations or iwi who likewise have their own places or whenua. The sense of difference or distinction between Englishmen, or ‘pakeha’, and the New Zealanders also comes through in Heke’s use of ‘te tangata maori’, which could be rendered ‘the native people’, conveying a union of interest. (He also uses ‘nga tangata maori’, or ‘the natives’ generally, and refers to himself and Waka Nene as ‘he tangata maori’, so the uses are

¹⁰² Hone Wiremu Pokai to Gov. FitzRoy, 21 May 1845, encl. in FitzRoy to Stanley (Sec of State), 16 Aug. 1845, Governors Series (Duplicate Despatches), G30/7, ANZ, [page] 977-83.

¹⁰³ Translation by ‘Mr Kemp’, encl. in FitzRoy to Stanley (Sec of State), 16 Aug. 1845, G30/7, ANZ, [page] 997; the original Maori reads ‘ko te kara te kai tango w[h]enua’: G30/7, 978; the more literal rendering of this by T. Forsaith has ‘The Ensign (or Color) takes possession of the Land’: G30/7, 986.

¹⁰⁴ The original Maori text reads: ‘... ka mea matou kia mate matou ki runga ki to matou whenua i tukua mai e te Atua’: G30/7, 979.

¹⁰⁵ See G30/7, 998; the T. Forsaith translation is more literal – ‘we agreed that we would die upon our land which was delivered to us by God’: G30/7, 987.

¹⁰⁶ See references in chapter 3 to Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 30-31.

¹⁰⁷ See definitions set out in [Appendix D](#).

¹⁰⁸ See Heke’s references to ‘the desecration [by Englishmen] of the places [original reads ‘wahi tapu’] appointed for their [the natives’] dead’: G30/7, 977, 996 (Kemp translation).

also context dependent; but he does accentuate a general distinction between Englishmen and ‘maori’ and their respective interests throughout the letter.¹⁰⁹)

It could be argued that Heke was only dressing up his argument in Christian terms, with his English audience in mind. But this utilitarian interpretation is reductionist, and does not reflect what has just come before, including how ‘close’ Heke kept ‘to his Testament and Prayer Book’, not to mention his schooling in the missions (including, in the early years by James Kemp, Sr.) and his close association with Henry Williams, Richard Davis and other missionaries – who in this letter are referred to as ‘my fathers’.¹¹⁰ A paradigm shift has happened in how the land is viewed. If we understand the original Māori conception of land as carrying ancestral connections but also animated by spirits or a ‘pantheon’ of different gods, the concept of a single Creator God ‘making’ the land but yet not himself part of the land is a distinctive concept reflecting Hebrew or Judeo-Christian categories.

This new Christian sentiment or sensibility about land, and the native people’s unique connection to it is more unambiguously and boldly articulated in Heke’s letter to Governor Grey (which appears in the Governors’ duplicate despatch series, unfortunately only in English translation):

... because God made this Country for us, it cannot be sliced – if it were a Whale it might be sliced but as for this do you return to your own Country, to England, which was made by God for you. God has made this land for us, and not for any stranger or foreign Nation to touch (or meddle with) this sacred Country.¹¹¹

This language, as Henry Williams suggested in 1845, was clearly ‘patriotic’, and it might be not unhelpful (or inaccurate) to draw connections between this language and that of the ‘old patriotisms’ or attachments to homelands that Christopher Bayly has delineated in Indian and other contexts.¹¹² But the content and sentiments here have moved beyond the boundaries of patriotic sentiment or some pre-modern attachment to land or place. Rather, Heke’s language decidedly reflects Christian theological paradigms: the world is clearly divided into nations who have their own lands or countries to use and dwell in as part of a divine order of things. I suggest that ‘iwi’ or ‘tauiwi’ was the word that would have appeared in the original text of this

¹⁰⁹ Prominently ‘kei nga w[h]akataurekareka ki te tangata maori’ (‘the condemnation of the New Zealanders as slaves’ by Englishmen – Kemp translation): G30/7, 977, 996. In context – accentuating the general point being made here – when Heke refers to himself and Waka Nene as ‘natives’/ ‘he tangata maori’, he is arguing that the Governor should leave them alone to fight, the Governor to fight his ‘own Countrymen’ – Forsaith translation, see G30/7, 993-94.

¹¹⁰ See G30/7, 1001; see also Williams to E. G. Marsh, 24 Jan. 1845.

¹¹¹ Heke to Grey, 2 Dec. 1845, encl. in Grey to Stanley (Sec. of State), 9 Feb. 1846, G30/9, 500-502..

¹¹² See the discussion earlier in chapter in relation to Bayly, *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia*.

letter for ‘nation’ or ‘foreign nation’.¹¹³ While these words are of course indigenous, their application in this case reflects the Christian scriptures and the Prayer Book as much as anything else.

Heke expressed similar thoughts about the divine ordering of the nations and their respective lands on several occasions. Sometimes the nuances were slightly different, as a few months earlier when he wrote to Governor FitzRoy:

The thing that I put most value upon is land; because it was given by God for a dwelling-place for man in this world, a resting-place for the soles of his feet, a burial-place for strangers of the world; Amen.¹¹⁴

Later in the same letter, Heke framed a different critique of the governor’s authority, or of governors generally, employing again his scriptural knowledge:

If you make peace, do not bear malice against your enemy. Caesar, Pontius Pilate, Nebuchadnezzar, Pharoah, Judas, Nicodemus, Agrippa and Herod, these were kings and governors. Did these governors confer any benefit, or did they not rather kill Jesus Christ? ¹¹⁵

Heke continued his critique of governors in subsequent years; and he continued to emphasize the theme of land as a gift of God to the various nations of the world. In July 1849, he sent a chiefly missive to Queen Victoria herself, which was transmitted in a despatch of Governor

¹¹³ In Heke’s own ‘proclamation’ of c. Mar-Apr 1845, enjoining his countrymen or allies to only fight the soldiers and leave alone the French Catholics, Americans and Church of England and ‘ignorant Europeans’ was proclaimed to ‘E hoa ma e aku matua e aku w[h]anaunga e aku tamariki e nga tangata katoa me nga tauwiwi katoa’; translated by the Chief Protector, George Clark, as ‘My friends. My fathers, my relatives, my children, all Men, and all Tribes, or Nations’: encl. in FitzRoy to Stanley (Sec. of State), 9 Apr. 1845, G30/7, 663-72. This proclamation also had some interesting language concerning the maintenance of the authority of the land and the people against the soldiers (‘te mana hoki o te Whenua...’), which suggests a more original native sensibility and audience, although the letter also refers to te Atua.

¹¹⁴ Heke to FitzRoy, 29 Aug. 1845, encl. in FitzRoy to Stanley (Sec. of State), 25 Oct. 1845, G30/8; also in *GBPP*, IUP, vol. 5, 310. In May, Heke had written to FitzRoy: ‘I said to them [the Europeans], “God made this land for us and for our children; - are we the only people that God has created without giving land to live upon?” God has made all things. Man – the heavens – the earth – the sea, and all things that are in this world.’: G30/8; also in *GBPP*, IUP, vol. 5, 308. In a later letter to Governor Grey in early 1847, the Christian or ‘te Atua’ context of land is not explicit and the sensibility is arguably more ‘native’, in Heke’s statement: ‘ko te whenua te turanga waewae o te tangata’, translated as ‘the land is the standing place for the feet of men’; the context is relevant here too, as Heke is asking that Governor Grey meet him on land (at Kororāreka) rather than out on the ships: see Heke to Governor Grey, encl. in Grey to Gladstone (Sec. of State), 19 Jan. 1847, G30/12, ANZ.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., Heke to FitzRoy, 29 Aug. 1845.

Grey to the Secretary of State and laid before Her Majesty.¹¹⁶ The letter can be seen to reflect an evolved consciousness of Heke's position vis-à-vis the British power and his own people and land. He began with his place of residence or location as 'Nui Tirene' (New Zealand). At the end of the letter, Heke signed himself 'Hone Wiremu Heke, Niu Tireni', the formality of this closing emphasizing his location as the country rather than a local or regional place. This seems to represent, moreover, an identification with the country generally rather than simply a tribal territory.¹¹⁷

The point of the letter was to remind the Queen of the discussion that ensued between King George and Hongi Hika, in which Hongi asked for muskets and soldiers and King George replied that to send soldiers would threaten to 'deprive' Māori of their 'country' (original – 'kainga', which has more the connotation of villages or possessions). King George instead wished, according to Heke, that the country 'should be left for your children and for your people' – 'mo tou iwi'. In context, this seems to be a reference not just to Hongi's own tribe but to the native New Zealanders as a whole.¹¹⁸ Heke referred to this statement or 'rule' throughout the letter; in fact, the letter can be understood as a call to somehow restore this original pledge not to send British military forces into New Zealand, which should remain a possession of the native people.

The other main motif of the letter was Heke's dispute with the British flag. He complained about the flagstaff only flying the British flag, and that the Governor had not explained this at 'te Whakaminenga ki Waitangi' ('the meeting at Waitangi') – seemingly a reference to the Treaty signing. Again, here, Heke identified his interests with an entity called 'Niu Tireni' – seen in the statement 'the flag of New Zealand was abandoned'. He asked that the Queen recall her governors and her people – the good missionaries excepted. Heke even supposed that the Queen could control or order the Americans and the French to do the same. He alleged (impliedly at least) that since the Queen had sent the various governors, including Governor Grey – 'a fighting governor' – then the fault for warfare that ensued was really hers. In a key

¹¹⁶ Hone Wiremu Heke ki a te Kuini Wikitoria, 10 July 1849, encl. in Grey to Earl Grey, 28 July 1849, in *Governors Series*, G30/16, ANZ (original Maori with English translation); also in *BPP* 1850 [1280] vol. 37, [pages] 17-18, in IUP, vol. 6 (English translation only).

¹¹⁷ Other letters to the Queen in 1849 used varying address or location markers: King George Te Waru and John Baptist Kahawai wrote from 'Waikato, Rangiaohia, Nui Tireni' on 23 May 1849 (but without any formal sign off that included Nui Tireni, as with Heke's letter); while various Wellington and Kāpiti Coast chiefs wrote from Waikane on 5 May 1849 (signing off as 'the men from among these "iwi", from Ngatiawa, NgatiRaukawa, from Paneiri, [from] Ngatitōa'): see G30/16, ANZ; also in *GBPP* 1850 [1280], vol. 37; compare also a letter from Te Wherowhero and other chiefs written to the Queen from 'Akarana'/Auckland, 8 Nov. 1847, encl. in Grey to Earl Grey (Sec. of State), 13 Nov. 1847, in CO209/54, Pub Rec Office, London [micro, ANZ].

¹¹⁸ Note that the word 'iwi' is used elsewhere in the letter for a more generic sense of 'people' as in 'he iwi pai ratou' – a reference by King George to the missionaries – translated 'they are good people'.

statement he requested that the Queen ‘restore the flag of my island of New Zealand, and the authority of the land of the people’. The original of this statement read:

Mau te whakaaro ki te kara o toku Motu o Niu Tireni kia tukua mai me te mana o te whenua o nga tangata ki te tukua mai e koe.

Concerning the Queen, Heke said ‘ko koe hoki kei runga ake i nga tangata katoa o te ao’ – translated ‘you are the greatest of all the people of this world’. He asked for her to search for the cause of the trouble concerning the flag in a ‘komiti’ or committee (the translation has ‘a general assembly’, but committee is more literal). What Heke meant by a komiti here is not clear – though it could possibly be a reference to the Queen’s own committee, that is the Imperial Parliament (indeed, the translator possibly understood this as Heke’s meaning).

Heke continued to write, saying that even though British subjects were now living in the country and had obtained possession of part of it, ‘still the management of my island remains with me’ (‘kei ahau ano te whakaaro mo toku motu’). This appears as an assertion of authority or rangatiratanga (chieftainship), regardless of the possession or ownership of land. The locus of this authority is ‘my island’, which chimes in with the earlier reference to ‘te kara o toku Motu o Niu Tireni’. In short, New Zealand was the geographic entity concerning which he asserted authority; although, it is not clear what Heke imagined ‘Niu Tireni’ to represent in geographical/territorial terms. In support of his assertion of authority, he reiterated his theme of years earlier: ‘for God apportioned the land to this nation and to that, for the power of God is very good for New Zealand’. The original of this statement read:

kua paunatia e te Atua nga motu katoa mo ia iwi mo ia iwi[.] ko te mana o te Auta e tino pai ana mo Nui Tireni.

The phraseology of this statement is fascinating as the concept of ‘God apportioned’ seems to employ a loan word – ‘paunatia’ (translated as ‘apportioned’¹¹⁹). This adds to the sense that Heke was adopting a new language and conceptual apparatus concerning land and indigeneity. Heke continued with the statement – ‘Ko te mana o te ao, e kore ahau e tino matau’ – translated as ‘I don’t clearly understand the power of the world’. This was as if to say – I’m siding with God’s rule not with man’s rule – impliedly, the British power. In another letter, Heke was not so ambivalent about the role of governors, but this was clearly based on God being the source of their authority:

¹¹⁹ At least, this seems to be the meaning of pauna (or pāuna) here, referring to the idea of weighing or measuring out, a loan word from English: see Te Aka for the term pāuna(tia) – to weigh, <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=pauna>; the native word ‘pauna’ appears in Williams *Dictionary*, 7th ed., but the meaning (‘draw out/ withdraw’ or ‘lag behind’) does not match the context of use in Heke’s letter.

E mea ana te Atua. ma nga Kawana e hoatu he marietanga ki nga tangata katoa o te ao. Amine. (Translated: God says Let the Governors give peace to the men of the world. Amen.)¹²⁰

Based on these and other texts, I suggest that the language of land and tribe and authority was changing; the paradigm was shifting. From umbilical connections to the whenua and the sacred burial places of ancestors, the land was now a resource gifted by God. It was not only a resource – to live on and from – it was something that belonged to a tribe (or to which a tribe belonged) to the exclusion of other tribes, who had their own lands. Paralleling this, the concept of tribe or people (or iwi) was being transformed from the hapū matrix to a larger pan-hapū matrix that was understood as ‘native’ – ‘te tangata maori’ – distinguished from the English, French and Americans, who had come from their own lands. The territorial sense of whenua/land/country remained indefinite, and the exact configuration of the relevant iwi, nation, or political community was unclear. However, the political geography had transformed from hapū land use and possession and contest with other hapū, to an embryonic indigenous political community in which the nexus of contest was European-native (pakeha- maori).¹²¹

At least, that is the way that Hone Heke framed his situation; in doing so, he differed from many of his native compatriots, some who remained focussed on the tribal matrix and others who identified positively with the British regime – to a greater or lesser extent. Waka Nene would probably fit in the latter category, while remaining the recognised rangatira of his hapū. This points to a reality about changes in language, mentalities and culture: when they change, they change first in the use and conception of individuals, but not all individuals are subject to the same communities of language and thus experience shifts in underlying *mentalité* at different rates (or, in different ways). Hone Heke was raised in part within the mission schools and communities and had close relationships with more than one missionary.¹²² His exposure to scripture and Prayer Book were more intense than an older generation, of which Nene is only one representative. Heke’s exposure during the 1830s to a new universe of scripture and global knowledge must in part explain what Heke *did with words* in the period 1845-49.

¹²⁰ Heke to Gov. Grey, encl. in Grey to Gladstone (Sec. of State), 19 Jan. 1847, G30/12, ANZ.

¹²¹ Note that Heke’s letter to the Queen also uses the phraseology ‘nga whakaaro katoa hoki o nga pakeha o nga tangata maori’ referring to the differing thoughts of the two groups/tribes/races – see Heke to Kuini Wikitoria, in G30/16.

¹²² With Henry Williams, for example: see Samuel D. Carpenter, ‘A Question of Mana: The Relationship between Henry Williams and Hone Heke’, Research Exercise, Massey University, 2004.

Summing up: the primacy of the Prayer Book in linguistic and conceptual change

This chapter has argued that Māori or New Zealand tribal society underwent a process of linguistic and conceptual change (besides social and other transformations) and that the principal motor of change in the 1830s and early 1840s was the Prayer Book. Although changes in Māori mentalities doubtless began earlier, the early-to-mid 1830s can be pinpointed as the time when the conceptual apparatus of the Prayer Book began to make its presence felt. This was the period, certainly in the wider Bay of Islands, when considerable numbers of tribal communities began meeting for weekly and even daily worship. The chapter has explored the concepts of nation or chosen people which were rendered into the native tongue by the word ‘iwi’. In so doing, the word iwi underwent a profound linguistic-conceptual change in its application to the nation of Israel and the world of nations presented in the scriptures and in the Prayer Book itself – principally in the language of the Psalms. The text of the Prayer Book was inseparable from its practice – the daily and weekly communal utterance of the prayers/karakia and Psalms – itself a form of collective or communal activity that was completely new. The chapter argued that the *practice* of the Prayer Book cemented the new conceptual apparatus of its text, which involved *new language use*.¹²³ Lastly, the diffusion of the printed texts through the Anglican mission settlements undergirded the practice of daily prayer and promoted both a literacy revolution and a reformation in political language and sentiment throughout the country. Hone Heke is about the first prominent example of this reformation that appears strongly in the documentary record.

Regarding the task of translation, C. S. Lewis’ dictum is of relevance. Translation, wrote Lewis, involves the translator in conveying ‘what he thinks the original meant’, which reflects the translator’s own understanding or presuppositions about the original text or its context. It may also involve word choices in the language of translation that reflects contemporary debates. The British translators of the Māori Prayer Book were themselves shaped by centuries of translation of the original biblical texts into the English vernacular – since at least the time of Wycliffe, followed by Coverdale and others of the period of the English Reformation.¹²⁴

¹²³ Wittgenstein’s dictum is borne out by this process: ‘It is not interpretation which builds the bridge between the sign and what is signified// meant //. Only practice does that’; cited in James Tully, ‘Wittgenstein and Political Philosophy: Understanding Practices of Critical Reflection’, in C. J. Heyes, ed., *The Grammar of Politics. Wittgenstein and Political Philosophy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003): 17-42, at 38.

¹²⁴ See an account of the 16th century translation history of the English Bible and BCP in C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 204-221.

Jonathan Clark has observed how the English sense of nationality, and the English language itself, influenced the translation of scripture *into the English vernacular*. In the early English translations, the word ‘nation’ was used to translate various words in the original Hebrew and Greek that did not always reflect the original sense.¹²⁵ Clark suggests that this use of ‘nation’ created a type of word-association with the reader’s own sense of English nationality, reinforcing their own collective (English) history and providential destiny. Clark argues:

The individual was tied to the polity by allegiance, and Christianity was the ideology that interpreted that tie. It was an ideologically engendered allegiance which characterized English society in the long eighteenth century, and which fell into schism in 1776 at a date demonstrably before the emergence of ‘nationalism’ as we now know it.¹²⁶

Linda Colley provides a wider set of examples. She writes about how Isaac Watts’ best-selling translation of the Psalms of 1719 replaced references to ‘Israel’ in the original text with the words ‘Great Britain’. Other parallels between England and the ‘promised land’ of Israel were often made in eighteenth century literature. She also makes a case for the influence of George Frederick Handel on eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britons’ understandings of themselves – as akin to God’s ‘chosen people’ – a narrative powerfully conveyed by his various oratorios.¹²⁷

These histories of engagement with scriptural and liturgical texts perhaps reflect a human tendency to appropriate new concepts that resonate in one’s own socio-political context. Something like this appears to have happened when Māori read and recited the Prayer Book, in which ‘iwi’ became ‘the nation of Israel’ and other peoples became ‘tauiwi’. Like Isaac Watt’s appropriation, or Handel’s, there was potentially little distance between ‘te iwi o Iharaira’ (the people of Israel) and ‘te iwi Māori’ – especially when basic human or ‘patriotic’ sentiment was stirred to life by later imperial actions. I suggest this process of transference or identification, of ‘writing oneself into biblical history’, was going on, at least in part, in Hone Heke’s communiques to various governors and the monarch during and after the Northern War.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Clark, ‘Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832’, 271-272; Clark footnotes that the Authorized Version employs ‘nation’ 454 times, where the Vulgate used ‘natio’ on only 100 occasions, and with different meanings, citing, *inter alia*, Gillian Brennan, ‘Patriotism, Language and Power: English Translations of the Bible, 1520-1580’, *History Workshop Journal* 27 (1989): 18-36.

¹²⁶ Clark, ‘Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832’, 271-272.

¹²⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 30-32.

¹²⁸ There is one piece of evidence, during the Northern War, where Heke explicitly identified Māori with the ‘persecuted children of Israel’: see *Extracts from a Diary Kept by the Rev. R. Burrows During Heke’s War in the North, in 1845* (Auckland: Upton and Co., 1886), 23 (entry for Sunday, 27 Apr. 1845).

Chapter 5: ‘I Taia Tenei ki te Perehi a Te Pihopa/ Printed at the Bishop’s Press’ – from Sacred to Secular Texts in the Tutelage of a Māori Nation.

Introduction

The last chapter argued that religion constituted the earliest sense of a Māori – collective, ‘native’, or indigenous – nationality. It argued that a principal vehicle for this alteration in tribal consciousness was the text and practice of the vernacular liturgy – the Book of Common Prayer in the native tongue – *Te Rāwiri*. This was to apply the insights of J. C. D. Clark, Adrian Hastings, Peter Burke and others for English and European national formations. The application of this European-focussed literature made sense because of the prevalent use of the Anglican Prayer Book by many tribal communities by the mid-1840s. When other evidence of language use (or language change) is read alongside the text and practice of the Māori Prayer Book, this thesis or argument appears to say something substantively insightful about the influence of Christian print culture on the emergence of a new pan-tribal, ‘Māori’ or ‘Niu Tireni’/New Zealand consciousness.¹

This chapter shifts the focus from ‘sacred’ texts to a ‘secular’ literature in te reo Māori. Hastings wrote how a common pattern in the emergence of European nationalisms was that various kinds of ‘secular’ literature in the vernacular followed behind the earlier translations of Bible and liturgy.² Following Hastings, and Jonathan Clark’s synthesis for English nationality, we could include amongst this ‘secular’ literature legal and political texts, histories, and geography and travel literature. As Hastings reflected, ‘... the impact of codes of law in the vernacular – Welsh, Irish or English – could be as nation-forming as anything religious’.³

Such a pattern – ‘from sacred to secular texts’ – seems to be replicated in no small manner in New Zealand. This chapter principally analyses three texts that were promulgated by the Bishop of New Zealand’s press, ‘te Perehi a te Pihopa’, in the period 1845 to 1852. These texts have been chosen because of their content and the clear evidence of their impact and/or circulation. What is noticeable is that the very types of literature spoken about in the

¹ It should be recalled that Adrian Hastings also applied this thesis to various African nationalisms, while the Comaroff’s important *From Revelation to Revolution* (1991) found similar kinds of alteration in linguistic forms and mentalities in the Tswana peoples of South Africa as a result of scriptural translations and British missional practices.

² Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 22.

³ Ibid., 22.

historiography just mentioned (and reviewed more extensively in the preceding chapters) are promulgated in the New Zealand native tongue also: history and law, prominently, along with English language, geography and other texts for schooling and moral instruction. The ongoing publication by Bishop Selwyn's press of scripture, liturgy and catechism should not be lost sight of.⁴ But a 'secular' literature is clearly emerging by the mid-1840s and this directly influences, among other things, the syllabus of the mission schools.⁵

By 'secular', the correct or original non-pejorative sense is meant – that is, a literature whose content or purpose is not strictly related to Christian belief and morality, or to church governance or worship, but rather to 'affairs of the present world'.⁶ That is, it is a non-theological or non-ecclesiastical literature.⁷ In making this distinction, however, we should avoid the mistake of supposing that Christian understandings of the world or *mentalité* do not imbue or help to structure this 'non-theological' literature. There was no automatic disconnect at this period between 'religion' and the realms of 'law', 'history', 'politics', or any other human arena. As the review of the historiography on English/British nationality made clear, religion continued to help structure the moral, social and political universe in the nineteenth century. It should be obvious from the title of this chapter, too, that those involved in the production of this 'secular' literature were Anglican laymen or clergy. That Bishop Selwyn's circle of influential colonial figures should start to promulgate a secular literature in an effort to continue the 'tutelage of a Māori nation' – as I am characterizing it – speaks to their wider 'political agenda' for their tribal parishioners. The 'political agenda' and main messages of this literature will be discussed below.

The broadly Anglicizing nature of this 'political agenda' is also quite evident. This included the project, evident in the lists of published texts of the Bishop's press, to teach the English language to Māori.⁸ The historiography on the missions has often assumed that they were

⁴ See St John's College, Book Depository Ledgers (1848-49, 1850-51), fMS-Papers-7821, ATL [photocopy]: the varied output from the Bishop's Press included titles and print numbers such as: 'Kauwhau: Discourses of Our Lord' (8008 copies in 1848); 'Whakapapa I: Scripture History Part I' (3500 copies in 1848); the 1848 Maori Prayer Book (13 bound in 'gilt-edge'; 897 bound 'cheap') – this was printed in England; Church Catechism (Maori) (2775 copies in 1848-49; 2152 copies in 1850-51); the old prayer book or 'Rawiri' (361 copies – 240 of which were distributed to Rev. Henry Williams); 'Scripture History Part II, Maori' (several hundred copies); 'Maori Sermons' (3688 copies in 1851); and various other liturgical and prayer book printings.

⁵ For example, Benjamin Ashwell, at the Kaitotohe station in Waikato, refers to the syllabus of his native school, which included the texts 'Scripture History in the Native Language' and 'Geography of the world generally and the Holy Land in particular': see B. Ashwell, Journals, 20 Dec. 1849, qMS-0088, ATL; for other references to Ashwell, see below, including re the text 'Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha'.

⁶ Johnson, *Dictionary*, ed. A. Chalmers (London, 1824).

⁷ See also definition from Temple in Johnson, *Dictionary*: 'In the church of Rome: not bound by monastic rules'.

⁸ See for example the texts listed in [Appendix F](#).

aiming to produce ‘civilized brown Englishmen’. But that is a narrow and contemptuous rendering of their kaupapa (purpose). The earlier reference to T. B. Macaulay’s *Minute on Indian Education* of 1835 should be recalled; the ‘Minute’, seen in its true light – a complex of Clapham Evangelical-humanitarian, utilitarian, and Whig-progressive values or mentalities – was mostly about spreading ‘useful’ or ‘improving’ knowledge and science in the vernacular languages of India.⁹ The overarching message of many of these secular texts is arguably the same: to impart knowledge that would enable, or at least encourage, Māori to ‘foot it’ in a British colonial and globalised world. Relatedly, a recent literature on indigenous communities and settler colonialism has emphasized that where indigenous groups were able to embed themselves in ‘humanitarian spaces’, including adopting in some measure European forms of agricultural use and forms of Christian law of European missions, they were better enabled to resist the deleterious pressures of white settler colonies on indigenous land and communities.¹⁰ Similarly, as Tony Ballantyne has argued, in developing hybrid identities, that were in part adaptations of Christian scriptural and other texts, Māori ‘deployed’ Christianity as ‘a potent idiom for diplomacy, politics and cultural criticism’, including the critique of colonial or imperial authority itself.¹¹

The chapter advances the concerns of this literature by analysing in detail the linguistic and conceptual content of specific texts produced by the Bishop’s Press (and, in one case, the Government press). A key question and puzzle raised by these texts is the extent to which their British authors-translators were conscious of the nationalizing effects of these new texts of history and law in the Māori language. The first text examined below, *The Works of Peter the Great, King of Russia*, has ‘nationality’ or ‘nationalism’ written all over the narrative: a native leader or king leads his people from backwardness to civilization and enlightenment through engagement with the more advanced nations of Europe. It is, moreover, addressed at significant points to ‘the chiefs of the native people’ as effective proxies for this ‘Pita te Nui’. So here, in one historical narrative (if rather juvenily expressed), there is a Russian ‘iwi-nation’ being led by their ‘kīngi’, and taught all the riches of Holland and England, and then competing with other advanced nations. How could ‘nga rangatira maori’ (indigenous leaderships) not extrapolate from this message and see themselves as leading a new ‘native nation’ (or ‘iwi maori’)? It seems too much to suggest that Judge Martin, Bishop Selwyn and their Anglican compatriots intended such nationalizing effects in the ‘strong’ sense of the Māori King Movement that emerged within a decade of this text. But equally, the text is unequivocal that ngā rangatira were to do the heavy lifting in civilization and enlightenment

⁹ References in chapter 3.

¹⁰ Zoë Laidlaw and Alan Lester, eds., *Indigenous Communities and Settler Colonialism: Land Holding, Loss and Survival in an Interconnected World* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2015).

¹¹ Ballantyne, ‘Christianity, Colonialism and Cross-Cultural Communication’, 25.

– even though they are being instructed to follow the example of their civilized Pākehā fellow-Christians. On closer consideration, the *Peter the Great* text appears to *presuppose* the continuance of viable and Māori-led (rangatira-led) communities that in real terms would remain distinct from the imported Pākehā settler society, while engaging and even competing with it. This was an Anglican-humanitarian vision of the parallel development of native society.¹²

This chapter is not only concerned with the Pākehā version of these texts, their content and ‘meaning’, and their publication and diffusion amongst Māori communities. As the previous chapter began to do for the Māori Prayer Book, this chapter seeks to conduct a history of reception of the texts by Māori themselves. As such, it continues to pursue a type of book history or intellectual history that explores both the original texts, their intent or meaning (‘what are Europeans *doing* with these texts?’), and the reception of these texts – how Māori are receiving or using, adopting and adapting these texts for their own ends (‘what are Māori *doing* with these texts?’). The chapter concludes by pondering how these texts contributed to a new public sphere of texts and political discourse that continued to reshape Māori mentalities of political community and produce a new Māori national consciousness.

Bishop Selwyn and his (influential) associates

The three main texts analysed in this chapter were most probably composed by the Chief Justice, William Martin, and his wife, Lady Mary Martin. In the case of *Ko Nga Mahi a Pita* (The Works of Peter the Great), and *Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha* (The Laws of the English), there is direct textual or documentary evidence of their authorship, although the division of labour between the couple is not clear.¹³ In the case of *Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha* (The Ancestors of the English), the style of the text in te reo Māori, the historical subject-matter, and the evidence of copies of the text going first to Judge and Lady Martin all points to their authorship. Given the subject-matter of *Ko Nga Tikanga*, it seems Judge Martin was the author of this, while the historical subject-matter of *Ko Nga Tupuna* suggests Lady Martin’s authorship. Lady Martin seems to have had an avid interest in history and gave history lessons to Māori female students during the 1840s-50s period.¹⁴

Both Judge and Lady Martin were important figures in Bishop Selwyn’s circle of friends and associates. They were both devout Anglicans, supporters of St. John’s College, and actively

¹² As discussed and explored in chapter 3 concerning the meanings of ‘we are now one people’.

¹³ As between, for example, compiler of an English draft text and the published Māori text. Their biographies, and the textual evidence, suggest that they both became accomplished writers and speakers of te reo Māori.

¹⁴ Raewyn Dalziel, ‘Martin, Mary Ann’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m19/martin-mary-ann> (accessed, 31 August 2018).

involved at different periods in Māori education. Their association pre-dated their New Zealand tenures. Davidson notes that William Martin had studied with Selwyn at St. John's College, Cambridge, while Mary Martin travelled out to New Zealand with the Selwyns and party to join her husband in 1841-42.¹⁵

The texts studied in this chapter illustrate the importance Bishop Selwyn, Judge Martin and their associates ascribed to English and European history and laws. All were published by the Bishop's Press, located at St John's College, Auckland, although in the case of *Nga Tikanga*, this was first published by the government printer. It is most important to situate these texts in the authors' *longue durée* sense of the roots of British (more generally, European) society in Christian conversion and, to a lesser extent, Roman civilization.

The Texts

Nga Mahi a Pita/ Peter the Great (1845)

Text:	Ko Nga Mahi a Pita a te Kingi o Ruhia [The Works of Peter the Great, King of Russia]¹⁶
Authors/Translators:	Māori text by Judge and Lady Martin; text reviewed by Robert Maunsell ¹⁷
Place of Publication:	Auckland [at the Bishop's Press]
Publication Date:	1845
Pages:	21
Contemporary version in English?:	No/ none found [A translation has been prepared by S. Carpenter and reviewed by Tīpene Chrisp – Appendix E.]
Number of copies published:	?
Distribution:	?
Main themes/ messages communicated:	King Peter of Russia is an example for the native race ('maori') to follow. When he was born, his country was backward – unimproved and unenlightened. He travelled through Europe – in particular to Holland and England – to learn the arts of boat-building, textile manufacture and other advanced trades, and agriculture. He brought this knowledge back to his people who resisted his efforts for a long period and held on to their old barbarous and backward

¹⁵ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 17.

¹⁶ BIM 226 in Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 140.

¹⁷ Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 140.

	ways of life (and ways of earning a living). Eventually, however, through great perseverance, and teaching also of true Christian belief and practice, Peter won over his people with the new knowledge, and his people advanced in civilization. The chiefs ('rangatira') of the maori people should do the same for their people.
Other contemporary texts mentioning this text or Peter the Great generally	○ William Swainson, <i>New Zealand and its Colonization</i> (London, 1959), p. 45: 'the story of "Peter the Great" which has been written for them in Maori, is read with avidity; while 'Robinson Crusoe' has no charms for them because it is not true'.¹⁸ ○ <i>Te Karere Maori/Maori Messenger</i>, 1 Jun 1855. ○ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, in his biographical account to <i>Church Missionary Gleaner</i>, Sep-Dec 1852 (while in England).¹⁹

The Text: Authorial Intent (or Meaning)

What were the authors intending to communicate and what were they trying to achieve? The meaning or intent of the text for its authors seems plain on its face and has already been outlined above in the text summary (and the chapter introduction). What the text was ultimately trying to achieve in its New Zealand context is also apparent from the text itself. The narrative is a kind of secularised morality play, with Peter depicting virtue in his pursuit of true knowledge, and his people depicting evil in their opposition to such knowledge. If not in the exact form of a morality play, it was certainly intended to teach a moral: pursue knowledge and civilization or fail as a society and people. This central message (or moral) is stated or implied repeatedly throughout the narrative.

In addition, King Peter, in this narrative, is identified with the European benefactors of the Māori: the knowledge he gained from Europe is equivalent to the knowledge brought by Pākehā-Europeans now to Māori. But there is ambiguity here, too, as already mentioned, for Peter is also intended as the archetype for New Zealand Peters – who are not so much the European benefactors as they are the native chiefs or rangatira of an embryonic native nation. While, therefore, the civilizational knowledge to be pursued has a non-native source, native leadership is required to pursue it – as exemplars for the wider native people. As indicated above, this emphasis on chiefs seems to presuppose the ongoing salience of tribal social

¹⁸ *Books in Maori*, 140.

¹⁹ For full outline of this work, see chapter 6 (and reference in ch. 5 below).

structures, even while tribal society is altered by outside knowledge, industrial skills, and the world of global commerce.

The text has two main divisions. The first is the narrative about Peter the Great, which takes up pages 1-15 of the original edition. The second part is what could be called a ‘homily to native chiefs’, exhorting them to see Peter as an exemplar or model leader, and to lead their peoples similarly into an age of advancing knowledge and social progress.

The Text in its Native Context: Analysis of Linguistic Usage

As John and Jean Comaroff argued in *From Revelation to Revolution*, it was not so much the specific content of Christian and European knowledge that transformed tribal modes and mentalities as the form in which that content was embedded, including print literature, and the underlying European presuppositions about social structures and morality. One set of Western presuppositions that seems to have influenced the construction of texts like *Nga Mahi a Pita* are those concerning the nature of social ordering and, indeed, the history of civilization itself – in particular, that tribal groupings must eventually be overlaid with more modern ‘national’ structures and identities. This seems such an ingrained way of thinking that the ways in which Pākehā addressed indigenous leaderships in these texts simply presume the salience of a pan-tribal entity or identity. Again, as with scriptural translations, the ways in which the word ‘iwi’ are used in these texts can be studied to reveal such presuppositions.

Collectivities: nature of the group(s)

The text is initially addressed to ‘the native people’ as a whole; the author’s express desire is that ‘the native people’ as a whole be uplifted in knowledge and goodness, which perhaps could be more loosely interpreted in context as ‘enlightenment and civilization’:

E hoa ma, e **nga tangata maori katoa**, he pukapuka tenei na tetahi Pakeha e aroha ana ki a koutou, e hiahia ana kia kake **nga tangata maori** te mohio, te pai.

Friends, all the native people, this is a book [written] by a Pakeha who has loving concern for you, and desires that the native people ascend [or increase] in knowledge and goodness.

This exact phrase (‘nga tangata maori’) is used twice in this first sentence of the text. Then it is only used once more, towards the end of the text in the homily to chiefs:

He rangatira koutou no nga tangata maori, hei tamariki ratou ki a koutou. E tika ana kia aroha koutou ki a koutou tamariki.

You are leaders of the native people, they are your children. It is right that you should have especial concern for your children.

On another four occasions, the phrase ‘tangata maori’ is used to refer in the narrative to ‘the native people’. On one of these occasions, the singular form is used – ‘te tangata maori’ or ‘the native people’ – thus referring to a single native population. The phrase ‘nga tangata maori’, with the plural ‘ngā’, could suggest a collection of different groups, thus reflecting tribal realities. In context, however, it also makes sense to render this as ‘the native people’ (as in the translations above) or even ‘the natives’ (consistent with common parlance). Not much probably turns on the distinction between the plural and singular form (‘nga’ and ‘te’) in this context.

The text is more often addressed to the chiefs or ‘rangatira’. The word rangatira appears about thirty times in the text.²⁰ The breakdown of these uses is as follows:

- a) Referring to the leaders or aristocracy of Russia: x15
- b) Referring to the role of ship’s captain or helmsman: x5
- c) Referring to the role of military commander: x1
- d) Referring to Peter himself: x1
- e) Addressing or referring to ‘the native chiefs’ or Māori chiefs: x7

In addressing or referring to ‘nga rangatira maori’ – the native chiefs – the following forms are used:

- a) ‘E hoa ma, e nga rangatira maori katoa i to koutou iwi’ (Friends, all the native chiefs/leaders for your people/nation).²¹
- b) ‘E nga rangatira’ (O chiefs): x3
- c) ‘He rangatira koutou no nga tangata maori, hei tamariki ratou ki a koutou’ (as extracted above).
- d) ‘te rangatira pai’ (the great leader)
- e) ‘E to matou rangatira’ (Our chief...)

The specific context of the first construction above is the opening lines of the homily to New Zealand chiefs:

E hoa ma, **e nga rangatira maori katoa**, ka mutu ta koutou korero i tenei pukapuka; kei wareware, he kupu enei ki a koutou, kia rite ai ta koutou hanga ki ta Pita, kia rite ai koutou ki a ia te w[h]akaw[h]iw[h]i **i to koutou iwi** ki te mohiotanga, ki te pai.

²⁰ Exactly 29 by my count.

²¹ *Nga Mahi a Pita*, 16.

*Friends, **all the native chiefs/leaders**, you have finished your reading of this book; do not forget that these are words to you, that you should do as Peter did, that you should be like him in obtaining **for your people** enlightenment and good things.*

In this phrase, the native chiefs (plural) are referred to as having an ‘iwi’ (singular), which I have translated ‘people’. This rendering of ‘iwi’ is, of course, consistent with biblical and Prayer Book translations discussed in a previous chapter. Even although recent scholarship understands the hapū to have been the operative social grouping, this text uses the word ‘iwi’ to identify the nature of the group to which the chiefs are attached. In effect, this solidifies the concept of iwi into that of a definite ‘tribe’, and elevates the chiefs to be leaders of such entities. It seems, at least, that those are the concepts at play in the mind of the text’s author. It is much more difficult to know what was going on in Māori minds when reading this text; but if they were reading this text alongside the Bible and Prayer Book, it is likely that they would have made the connections between the ‘iwi’ or people of Israel, the iwi or nations of the world or ‘tauiwi’, and their own tribe or ‘nation’.

In this instance, the combination of the plural – ‘nga rangatira’/the chiefs – with the singular – ‘to koutou iwi/ your people – creates some ambiguity as to what is intended. One reading is that the chiefs each have their own iwi or tribe. But the more correct or literal rendering is that the rangatira are being addressed collectively as having a single iwi. Thus, a fair rendering of this phrase could be:

Friends, all the native chiefs for your nation [or people]

If the author had intended to refer to the chiefs as leaders of any number of iwi or tribes, the text could quite easily have read: ‘i o koutou iwi’ – for your (respective) **peoples/tribes**. And if the author had wanted to reflect social or anthropological reality for most tribal groups at 1845, what they should have said was ‘i o koutou **hapū**’ – for your tribes. Given the authors and reviewers – Judge Martin and Robert Maunsell – were in effect among a small set of European experts at the time on Māori social structure and language (especially Maunsell for the language), it seems the use of ‘iwi’ in this way reflected European preoccupations about optimal or normative social structure – that is, large ‘national’ groups.

This sense of the text is reinforced by what follows immediately after this exhortation to the chiefs, which is:

Kei mea mai koutou, [‘] Me pew[h]ea matou e rite ai ki enei tangata? He tangata w[h]ai taonga a Pita, **he kingi hoki**: tena ko tenei he tangata rawakore matou, **he rangatira no te iwi kotahi**.

*And lest you say, ['] How should we become like these people? Peter was a rich man, **and a king**: whereas we are a poor [resourceless] people, he was **a leader [ruler] of a single people** [OR unified nation].[']*

This imagined complaint of some rangatira almost seems to make explicit the emphasis on iwi as a single entity comprising or overlaying any number of smaller groups – as ‘nation’ singular. The author seems to underscore the fact that Russia was one iwi ruled by one man, whereas New Zealand was any number of iwi led by various chiefs. But despite making this explicit, s/he has only just referred to the New Zealand chiefs in the previous sentence as the leaders (plural) of a nation (singular). In addition, if we step back from the *content* of the text, what comes into clear focus is the mechanism of a single text addressed *to all the New Zealand tribal leaders at one time*. By using a single text to speak to many tribal leaders as one people (iwi), the text – by its very nature as a piece of print literature – provokes these rangatira to consider themselves as possessing a single collective identity. That is certainly to conjecture as to its possible effects on consciousness; but given the contemporaneous intellectual and cultural contexts, including the Bible and Prayer Book texts and practices, this seems at least arguable.

In addition, similarly to the Psalms and Prayer Book texts, the text of *Nga Mahi a Pita* can be understood as structured by the concept of the world as world of nations (iwi). Moreover, the story of Peter the Great is presented as part of an unfolding divine story of the progress and civilization of nations – as they embrace Christianity and its civilizational accompaniments. Simple linguistic analysis bears this out. There are no ‘tribes’ in the text in the correct sense of hapū, or actual social groupings.²² Rather, the word ‘iwi’ is used approximately 39 times in the text, in the following ways:

- a) Referring to the people or nation of Russia – almost invariably in the singular and often as ‘tōna iwi’ – that is, Peter’s people.
- b) Referring to various other European peoples or nations, including England, France, Holland/Netherlands, and Germany, examples being:

Titiro hoki, he iwi poauau i mua a Ingarani; kua kake tenei, kua nui noa atu, te mohio, te pai.

Look at what an ignorant people the English were in the past; they have now risen to become very great in knowledge and goodness [or excellence].

²² Cf. Angela Ballara’s distinction between iwi understood as ‘social categories’, and functional tribes or ‘social groups’, that is hapū: ‘The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu’; and see references to this above.

Me te Wiwi hoki, me nga mano iwi o tawahi, he poauau ratou; na, ka tohe o ratou tangata wakaaro, ka tohe, ka tohe, na kua kake ratou.

And the French also, and the many peoples of distant [other] places, they were all ignorant [or unenlightened]; however their knowledgeable [or wise] people persisted [or persevered]; now they have ascended.

- c) Referring to the native ('maori') people or tribes of New Zealand, another example being:

Na te mahi muka nga tangata o Ruhia i w[h]ai taonga ai. Kia penei hoki koutou kia timataia ngatahitia tenei mahi **e nga iwi maori katoa**, e nga tangata o Waikato, ratou ko Ngapuhi, ko Ngatipaoa, ko Ngatiw[h]akaue; a ka taka te tau, kia kite matou ko **tew[h]ea te iwi** uaua ki te mahi...

*The people of Russia are now rich due to the working of flax. You should follow this example, with **all the native people** beginning this work together, [that is] the people of Waikato, those of Ngapuhi, of Ngati Paoa, of Ngati Whakaue. And when the year [or season] ends, we should all see **which iwi** [tribe/people] has worked the hardest [?]*

In this example, it appears that 'iwi' is being used to refer to large tribal or kinship groupings in New Zealand. In many cases these were more 'imagined communities' defined by genealogical linkages rather than actual social groupings or tribes. At least two of the 'iwi' listed, Waikato and Ngāpuhi, comprised any number of related tribal groups that traditionally did not operate together, except perhaps in times of war. The author of *Nga Mahi a Pita* has chosen 'iwi' rather than 'hapū' to refer to these looser sets of kin-groups – a use that perhaps reflects the correct original sense of 'iwi'.

Interestingly, unlike the Psalms and other scriptural translations, *Nga Mahi a Pita* does not use the term tauiwi for foreigners. It does refer to foreign nations, but the usage is some variation of 'nga tangata ke' or 'nga iwi ke'. Hence, the text adopts 'iwi' as the standard way of referring to the world's nations. In this sense, it has 'secularised' the usage by dropping out any distinction between the first or 'chosen' nation of Israel and the other 'gentile' nations.

The sense of collective identity or consciousness suggested by this normative use of 'iwi' is supported and enhanced by the text's use of the word 'maori' – basically as a description for the native people of New Zealand. The term is used 12 times in the text, once in the sense of

explaining or translating a text into the Russian vernacular (which might reflect an original meaning of ‘maori’ as ‘normal’ or ‘ordinary’ – that is, turning the text into the vernacular language), but mostly in the relatively new or derived sense at 1845 of ‘he tangata maori’ or ‘a native man’, as given in William Williams’ *Dictionary* of 1844 and 1852.²³ It is used in this fashion to refer to ‘the native chiefs’, ‘the native people’, ‘the native tribes’, and ‘the native people/nation’ of New Zealand. It is used once in capitalised form (‘Ka anuanu te Maori ki te tangata he pena tona kakahu’²⁴), but otherwise appears with a lower-case ‘m’ – which would appear to reflect the new meaning of native or indigenous person (or people, tribe, or nation).

The Māori transliteration for New Zealand – Nui Tirenī (or Niu Tīrani) – is used twice in the text, in the opening stanzas when the narrative about Peter is being set up as a comparator for New Zealand:

Me Ruhia hoki, he wenua poauau rawa a Ruhia i mua; pera hoki me tenei, me Nui Tirenī [sic], a tae noa ki a Pita...

And Russia also was a very ignorant land, alike also to this land of New Zealand, up until the time of Peter ...

Ehara hoki i te motu, i te pena me Ingarangi me Nui Tirini [sic]. He w[h]enua pai hoki ena, mo te rere mai o nga kaipuke ki tenei taha, ki tera taha.

It [Russia] is not an island, like England and New Zealand. Those are good [or blessed] lands as ships can sail to this coast and that coast.

These uses of New Zealand, although limited, buttress the conceptual apparatus of a single native nation, as it connects the people with a defined territory or country. As Williams’ *Dictionary* (7th edition) notes, Europeans from the earliest period of contact referred to the country as New Zealand and the natives as the New Zealanders or simply, the natives. *Nga Mahi a Pita* appears at the time (mid-1840s) when the term ‘maori’ or even ‘Maori’ is starting to be used in place of ‘the Natives’ or ‘the New Zealanders’. In this regard, it is questionable whether this seventh edition (1971) of the *Dictionary* is correct in suggesting that Māori themselves were the first to use or apply ‘Maori’ to themselves.²⁵ Texts like *Nga Mahi a Pita*

²³ See Williams, *Dictionary* (1852), where the word ‘Maori’ was given as ‘Native’, with the examples: He wai maori, Native water, or fresh water; and He tangata maori, a native man; cf. Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th ed., 187, ‘native’ or ‘belonging to New Zealand’, used adjectively, or in the nominal form, ‘Person of the native race, New Zealander’.

²⁴ *Nga Mahi a Pita*, 3 (translation: ‘Maori [viz., the New Zealand Natives] are offended at people who dress this way’.)

²⁵ Williams, *Dictionary*, 7th ed., 179. The *Dictionary* suggests that the use of ‘Maori’ began ‘about 1850’ and that, ‘Early European writers invariably spoke of natives, or New Zealanders’. The second

illustrate clearly that Europeans were equally (if not more) responsible for the use of ‘maori/native/ordinary’ and its alteration over time to become a proper noun – ‘Māori’ – meaning a whole people. As this thesis argues, it was Europeans, in particular Britons/English people, who began to construct the concept of ‘native New Zealand’ as a single people, nation or ethnic group.

Authorities: structure of the group(s)

The principal words for group leaders or authority figures in the text are rangatira (chief) and kīngi (king). The word king or ‘kīngi’ appears a number of times in the text, usually in referring to Peter the Great, but not always. Some interesting examples or usages are:

A kei runga atu o Ruhia, he **kingitanga** ke...²⁶

*There is another **realm** atop of Russia [that is, it is bordered by another country/kingdom]*

Ko **nga rangatira ratou ko te Kingi** i noho ki tetahi taone nui; he tini te w[h]are papai o reira.²⁷

*The **chiefs/aristocrats and the King** lived in a large town [or city]; it had many beautiful houses.*

Kua nui hoki tona kingitanga. Nawai i w[h]iw[h]i ai nga tangata o Ruhia ki enei mea pai? Na Pita i tohutohu. Heoi ano taku korero ki a Pita.²⁸

***His kingdom is indeed great.** Who was it that enabled the people of Russia to achieve these great things? Peter was their teacher and guide. And so here concludes my account of Peter.*

The close association between the king and the Russian nobility (or aristocracy) in the text is obvious. Interestingly, the ‘rangatira’ of Russia are described as the landowners or the ones to whom ‘the land belongs’; in contradistinction to ‘the poor’ – the peasantry is probably intended – as in this example:

Ko etahi o ratou he rangatira; no nga rangatira anake te wenua; ko etahi, he tangata rawakore.

statement is correct but the earlier statement, and the reference to use initially by Maori themselves is quite questionable – for a start *Nga Mahi a Pita* dates to 1845.

²⁶ *Nga Mahi a Pita*, 2.

²⁷ *Nga Mahi a Pita*, 2-3.

²⁸ *Nga Mahi a Pita*, 15.

Some of them were chiefs [or aristocrats]; to the chiefs alone belonged the land [OR the aristocrats were the only landowners]; others of them were poor [or peasants/serfs].

If the conception or equivalence of ‘iwi = nation’ is in tension with the tribal nature of New Zealand in the narrative of Peter the Great, another tension is also apparent in the description of Russian society as comprised of king – nobility – serfs. New Zealand tribal society was more horizontal, but it may be asked whether the author was suggesting that the rangatira of New Zealand might want to consider themselves as any number of aristocrats or landed nobility. This was not an uncommon trope of the period when Europeans discussed Māori society. This would mean that not only does the text invite the chiefs to imagine themselves the leaders of a single native nation, but it seems to invite them to become a form of indigenous aristocracy. And one of the ways this might be expressed is the way in which the chiefs both owned land (in the old Russia) and owned the shipping and industrial enterprises (in the new Russia). Hence, the New Zealand chiefs might consider themselves as any number of industrial capitalists – controlling land and other forms of capital. This suggests a new or altered economic and political structure, or what in the nineteenth century European world was called ‘political economy’. This is not insignificant and links to the argument that the missionaries wanted Māori to maintain themselves as distinct tribes, or a people separate from the colonists. The maintenance of a separate land base and other forms of economy would enable this survival.²⁹

And what about the office of ‘King’? That reality about Russian political economy contrasts with the reality of New Zealand tribalism at 1845. As earlier chapters explore, the nature and role of a king was a subject of discussion in very early engagements between Europeans and Māori. Samuel Marsden promoted it, and others took up the refrain. Hongi rejected the title in New Zealand but appears to have promoted himself as such when meeting King George (although it is tempting to see European advisers as clearly implicated in this culture-crossing description). The narrative of Peter the Great clearly promotes kingship as an optimal political-economic form – even simply because a single ruler was able to achieve so much because he was at the political-economic apex. Having that role and status, he could personally stimulate economic transformations (and cultural and political transformations), even to the extent of becoming a boat-builder himself in order to teach others. The author is seemingly alive to this political-economic reality in comparing Russia to New Zealand.

All this might have evoked the question – why not a king for ourselves? A certain Wiremu Tāmihana asked this exact question in his war of words with the Governor in the early 1860s

²⁹ cf. Laidlaw and Lester, eds., *Indigenous Communities and Settler Colonialism*.

(to be examined in chapter seven). It seems likely that the author of *Nga Mahi a Pita* did not anticipate in 1845 that this question would be asked. The stock answer was clearly that New Zealand already had a Queen and Governor. A few lines on, these are referred to:

Kua tae mai hoki te Kawana me nga ritenga o te Kuini, a ka w[h]akawakia nga tangata hara.

The Governor and the customs [practices/ laws] of the Queen have arrived, and wrongdoers [criminals] will be judged.

What is curious in this description of monarch and governor is that their roles are confined to law promulgation and enforcement. This leaves entirely open the role of monarch or king as promoter of economic and social development via new economic institutions and industrial knowledge. Of course, the Governor and Queen were not alone in Niu Tīrani, as the homily continues:

Kua mohio ano hoki koutou ki te korero pukapuka, ki te tuhituhi; he tokomaha hoki nga minita pai hei w[h]akaako i a koutou ki nga korero a te Atua, ki nga ritenga pai.

You understand how to read and write; there are many good ministers to teach you about the words of God and the good ways [customs/ practices/ rituals/ laws].

This still leaves open the possibility, clearly, that rangatira maori themselves would act as the new capitalists and entrepreneurs of a native nation or nations – as many of course did and were by this period of the mid-1840s. The question of a native king would however take another decade to be seriously broached by Māori themselves. To what extent was *Nga Mahi a Pita* part of the textual universe that provoked the question ‘why not a king for ourselves’? This is difficult to answer from available evidence, but it is also clear that Māori read this text avidly, as is now briefly outlined.

Māori Reception of (Use of) the Text

Swainson, Attorney-General for the Colony for about 15 years in the 1840s-50s, remarked on the adeptness of the older Māori in oratory, poetry and song; he contrasted this with their practical pursuit of civilization:

yet the modern New Zealanders are essentially a practical, matter-of-fact people. The story of “Peter the Great”, which has been written for them in Maori, is read with avidity; while “Robinson Crusoe” has no charms for them, because it is not true.³⁰

³⁰ William Swainson, *New Zealand and Its Colonization* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1859), 45; cited also in Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 140; it might queried whether there was a clear conception of

Two direct contemporary references by Māori rangatira of note have been identified. In 1852, Tāmihana Te Rauparaha provided a biographical account to a Church Missionary Society periodical, the *Church Missionary Gleaner*. Tāmihana referred to the way in which *Nga Mahi a Pita* had inspired him to build the town at Ōtaki on an English model, with a church and houses, followed by experiments and investments in English agriculture. This account is examined further in chapter six.³¹ The story was also clearly referenced in the large meeting at Paetai in May 1857, arranged by Wiremu Tāmehana Tarapīpipi to discuss the proposed native kingship. On this occasion, King Peter was similarly understood as an exemplar of a leader who pursued new knowledge and prosperity. This reference is further discussed in chapter seven.³² If Swainson was correct, these responses to the text were representative of considerable numbers of Māori readers. What we do not have, at least directly, is responses to the text that tended in the direction of the kingship idea itself.

Searches of Papers Past, AJHRs, McLean papers online³³, GBPPs³⁴ and www.nzetc.victoria.ac.nz (including the Legal Māori Archive³⁵), among other electronic sources, did not reveal other references by Māori writers or correspondents to this text as such, although it is referred to in the Government newspaper (*Te Karere*) a couple of times in passing. It is quite possible that other references were made to it in private correspondence.

fiction in the pre-contact Maori world; although there does seem to have been some distinction between whakapapa (genealogies) and pakiwaitara (tall stories). Perhaps the short point is that *Peter the Great* was about practical changes in society not a man lost on a desert island.

³¹ See *Church Missionary Gleaner*, 2/9 (Sep 1852): 101-103 (and discussion in chapter 6).

³² See *AJHR* 1860, sess. 1, F3: 145 (and further note in chapter 7). Searched in *AJHRs* for ‘pita te nui’ [0 matches], ‘pita te kingi’ [0 matches], ‘Nga Mahi a Pita’ [0 matches], ‘te Kingi o Ruhia’ [0 matches], ‘King Peter’ [0 matches].

³³ At ATL or the National Library of New Zealand.

³⁴ Online at Waikato University Library (select New Zealand content): https://waikato-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/collectionDiscovery?vid=64WAIKATO&colayout=grid&inst=64WAIKATO&collectionId=8176059960003401&lang=en_US.

³⁵ <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-corpus-legalMaori.html>

Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha/ The Laws of the English (1845)

Text:	Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha [The Laws of the English]³⁶
Authors/Translators:	Judge William Martin, prepared at the request of Governor FitzRoy ³⁷
Place of Publication:	Akarana [Auckland]
Publication Date:	1845 [at the Government Press]
Add. Publication Dates:	1845 [at the CMS Press/Bishops Press], with additional page 30 ³⁸ ; 1846 in the Church Almanac ³⁹ ; Aug. 1848, in <i>The Anglo-Maori Warder</i> , commencing issue 17 (Māori text only); Mar 1856, in <i>The Maori Messenger</i> , vol. 2, no. 3 – with English version ⁴⁰
Pages:	29 [30 in CMS version]
Contemporary version in English?:	1856 English version in <i>The Maori Messenger</i>
Number of copies published:	?
Distribution:	?
Main themes/ messages communicated:	Parkinson says this was ‘a work intended to educate Maori about their legal rights’ and that the local press ‘applauded the intention to produce it; as part of a process of meaningful education for Maori’. ⁴¹
Other contemporary texts mentioning this text	○ <i>The Auckland Times</i>, 12 Mar 1844 ○ Possibly alluded to, <i>Taranaki Herald</i>, 15 Mar. 1854, 3.⁴²

³⁶ BIM 227 and 228 in Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 140-141.

³⁷ Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 140.

³⁸ Herbert W. Williams, *A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900* (Wellington: Govt. Printer, 1975), no. 129 (<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WilBibl.html>).

³⁹ Williams, *Bibliography*, no. 144.

⁴⁰ Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 140-141. [Note that *Books in Maori* refers to Maori and English versions appearing in March 1855 editions, whereas 1856 is the correct date.]

⁴¹ Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 140.

⁴² Speech by Te Tahana, Native Assessor: ‘But a few years ago we all dwelt in darkness, and no light was to be seen, but of late years the light has shone upon us – first that of the Gospel, and afterwards, the just and good laws of the English... Let us all therefore exert ourselves to the utmost to carry out those laws, and to support and respect the decisions of the Bench of Magistrates – our friends and protectors.’ (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/taranaki-herald/1854/03/15/3>). This kind of sentiment of loyalty to English law and institutions was fairly prevalent by the 1850s; the specificity

The Text: Authorial Intent (or Meaning)

In 1856, the writer providing the preface to a reprint of Judge William Martin's text for *Te Karere Maori* explained that Martin was concerned to explain 'some of the laws of the English [Ingirihi], and the mode of proceeding in our Courts of law'. He thought that many of the paper's readers would have seen the book, while others however would not have. He felt certain that 'if the just and wise laws of the English were better understood by the Maori people, all the right-minded among them would wish to live under their protection...'.⁴³

The first section of Judge Martin's text compares the state of society in England and New Zealand. The clear intent is to highlight what Martin sees as the unenlightened and backward state of New Zealand, the lack of population, 'houses', 'fields', and 'wealth' (in the original, 'o ratou whare, a ratou mara, o ratou taonga'). In rather disparaging tones, the Pākehā visiting New Zealand shores for the first time would remark (as given by the 1856 translation): 'Why, there is nothing but fern on this island!' ('He rarauhe kau to tenei motu!'). By contrast, the Māori first encounters England with great 'wonder' ('miharo'):

The Maori ['te tangata Maori'] wonders, because he sees such a multitude of men. Every place in England is occupied, there are no waste places; it is nothing but fields, houses and towns. Its wealth also and the number of its ships are beyond calculation ... each man retains quiet possession of his own goods, land, and other property; no marauding parties visit him,...[etc]⁴⁴

The overarching message or meta-narrative of *Nga Tikanga* is therefore the same as that of *Peter the Great*, except with the focus on law and its institutions, rather than scientific and industrial knowledge. In both cases, the results of pursuing such true laws and knowledge is economic and social advancement. In both texts the author also conveys the first importance of Christian belief and practice, as undergirding these other progressive changes.

The text's focus is however on explaining the new law and its institutions. The British have brought a legal system of fixed rules 'for dealing with all matters that may arise', including crimes that are punished according to those rules, which in turn dissuades others from committing crime.⁴⁵ Crime becomes, under this English system, a question of punishing individual offenders. Martin condemns the practices of obtaining community satisfaction

of the reference here to respecting court judgments just seems to reflect the *Nga Tikanga* text, however the fact of Te Tahana's assessorship may also explain it.

⁴³ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 4.

⁴⁴ *Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha* (1845), 5; [trans.] *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 5.

⁴⁵ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 6.

(utu, muru) for wrongs ('hara').⁴⁶ Instead of tribes and communities becoming embroiled in warfare over wrongs committed, the Pākehā way should be followed: 'Ko ta te Pakeha tenei; Heoi nga tangata e mate, ko te tangata nona te he' ('The Pakeha's way is this; let only that man suffer who has done the wrong'). Hence, one specific aim of Martin's piece is the cessation of the customs of taua muru or warfare generally to resolve disputes.⁴⁷ Added to this, 'the great principle of the Pakeha is this that there shall be one law for all' (kia kotahi ano ture mo te katoa), meaning that all disputes must be left for the law to adjust, specifically for the Judge and 'the Twelve'.⁴⁸ Explanation of the jury system occupies some space in the text, especially via an account of the trial of two men charged with robbery, in which Martin steps the reader through the different stages of a trial and their rationale.⁴⁹

The author's overarching purpose in writing the text might be his statement: 'that we may long dwell together in a noble and free country' ('kia roa ai ta tatou noho i runga i te whenua rangatira').⁵⁰

The Text in its Native Context: Analysis of Linguistic Usage

Collectivities: nature of the group(s)

The text uses both the plural form 'nga tangata Maori' and the singular form 'te tangata Maori'. The 1856 translation renders both forms almost invariably as 'the Maori People'. In 1845, this phrase could easily have been rendered as 'the native people' or 'the natives' in English. (See the analysis above for *Nga Mahi a Pita*.) By the mid-1850s, the indigenous word 'maori' remains untranslated as, by then, it has clearly acquired its new sense of the native or indigenous people.

Judge Martin most often uses the singular form 'te tangata Maori'. Hence, the linguistic form conceptualises Māori as a single population and addresses them accordingly. Technically, the use of 'te' in this way refers to 'a whole class of things or people designated by the noun that follows'⁵¹ – the noun in this instance being 'Maori'. In other words, this use of 'te' allows for many component parts within the whole. Nevertheless, the whole is emphasized by using this form, as opposed to 'nga tangata Maori'. In effect, there is now only 'Maori' – the native people.

⁴⁶ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 6.

⁴⁷ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 May 1856, 4

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/05/31/5>).

⁴⁸ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 May 1856, 4.

⁴⁹ For this trial narrative see *Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha* (1845), 9-17; [trans.] *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 30 Apr. 1856, 4-10 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/04/30/5>).

⁵⁰ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 8

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/03/31/9>).

⁵¹ John C. Moorfield, *Te Aka Dictionary* (Longman/Pearson, 2011), online edition.

Any number of tribal groups are being addressed or characterised as a single group. The use of the capital 'M' also underlines the normative status of the group being addressed. The natives, whether a collection of tribal groups or individuals, are now being imagined by the Pākehā author as a single community.

The text works on a binary distinction between Māori and Pākehā, and this, as Lachy Paterson has written about Government and missionary newspapers of this period, served to reinforce the collective identity of Māori, and arguably their collective sense of 'us' as opposed to 'them' (or Pākehā).⁵² In this way, Martin's text further supported or encouraged the emergence of a collective 'Māori consciousness' – a sense of group solidarity, identity or 'collective nativeness'. He could hardly avoid this consequence given that his whole methodology involved a comparison of the two societies – with the past of British society being identified with the present of Māori society, which Māori would overcome by following the route Pākehā took. Thus towards the end of the paper, 'the Maori people' are challenged with what is really the core message and ideological argument of the paper: Pākehā have embraced just and reasonable laws and methods for punishing wrongs, and this is a reason for their greatness – do Māori want to do and become the same?:

Ko ta **te Pakeha** tikanga tenei mo te whiu i te tutu, mo te whakakore i te pakanga. Tena, e **te tangata Maori**, whakaarohia, e pai ana ranei, e rite ana ki ta koutou te pai? Kia mahara hoki, na tenei i nui ai matou, i nui ai hoki o matou taonga: na ta koutou i tokotorutoru ai koutou, i rarakore ia, i noho kino ai.⁵³

*This is the Pakeha mode for the punishment of the unruly, and the prevention of social feuds. Now, ye Maori people, consider it. Is yours good, or equally good? Remember also that by this we have become great, and our wealth has increased, and by yours you are few, and poor, and disorderly.*⁵⁴

Another example is in the first section of the text. A challenge is issued to 'te tangata Maori' by the suggestion that 'te Pakeha' would return to their distant lands to find peaceful 'iwi' if Māori failed to conform to lawful behaviour:

Ko ta **te tangata Maori** kupu tenei ki a Kawana i nga wahi katoa, Ma matou **etahi Pakeha**, E tika ana: ko ta **te Pakeha** mea pai ano hoki tenei te noho ki uta; ma konei ano hoki e whiwhi ai **te tangata maori** ki te taonga. Otiia, me pewhea e pai ai te noho,

⁵² See Lachy Paterson, 'Print Culture and the Collective Māori Consciousness', *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 28/2 (2010): 105-129.

⁵³ *Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha* (1845), 22.

⁵⁴ [trans.] *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 May 1856, 4

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/05/31/5>).

ki te tukua nga tangata kino, nga mea hikaka, kia mahi noa iho i ta ratou e pai ai, ki te patu noa iho, ki te muru noa iho i te tangata. E kore **te pakeha** e pai ki tena tikanga; e ngari ka hoki ia ki tawahi, ka whai ranei **ki nga iwi e noho pai ana**.⁵⁵

*The word of **the Maori people**, in all parts of the country, to the Governor is, “Let us have Pakehas.” This is well: **the Pakeha** also wishes to settle in the country; by this means also **the Maori people** will obtain wealth. But how will any one be willing to dwell here if evil disposed and reckless men are permitted to do as they please; to slay and rob others with impunity. **The Pakeha** will not like such a state of things, but will return to his own country, or seek a home where **the people maintain better order**.*⁵⁶

This is one of the few uses of ‘iwi’ in the text, in contrast to the copious uses of it in *Nga Mahi a Pita*. This maybe because the context or subject-matter is different: in *Nga Mahi a Pita* the story is built on Peter’s engagement with other nations, whereas *Nga Tikanga* is focussed on explaining the English legal system. Still, the few uses of iwi are consonant with *Nga Mahi a Pita*. In addition, a slightly different sense of ‘iwi’ appears on one occasion in *Nga Tikanga* – that is, to express the idea of a native tribe: ‘Ki te kohurutia te tahi, ma wai e takitaki tona matenga? **Ma tona iwi**? Kahore.’⁵⁷ (Or, if a man is murdered, who should avenge his death? **His own tribe**? No.)⁵⁸ As discussed above, the word hapū might have been used here with more sociological or anthropological correctness as the context clearly shows that the operational social unit was intended. (The word hapū is not in fact used anywhere in the text.) Again, however, this perhaps illustrates the ambiguous uses to which ‘iwi’ is being put, which perhaps, as suggested above, reflects the British preoccupation with ‘iwi’ as optimal large, or ‘national’ polities.

As Māori is opposed to Pākehā throughout the text, then ‘Nui Tirenī’/New Zealand is also opposed to ‘Ingarani’/England. This occurs only in the introductory chapter of *Nga Tikanga*, the text forcefully comparing the backward state of New Zealand to the progressive state of England. The use in this passage of ‘nga tangata’ of New Zealand, and ‘te tangata Maori’ or ‘nga tangata Maori’, effectively marries the notion of New Zealand with that of the native or ‘Maori’ people. The progress or otherwise of this territory or country (even if defined only by name and not otherwise described) is identified with the generic ‘tangata Maori’, and this reinforces the new ontology of a world of nations or peoples with their generic homelands. The text thus speaks in a similar vein to other texts of the period, including *Nga Mahi a Pita*. There

⁵⁵ *Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha* (1845), 8-9.

⁵⁶ [trans.] *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 8.

⁵⁷ *Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha*, 6.

⁵⁸ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 6.

are really no longer many ‘tribes’, only a single native ‘people’ whose identity in the world is explained by reference to a bounded territory (although the notion of territorial boundedness is still quite inexact in these texts).⁵⁹

The linguistic uses of ‘iwi’, ‘Maori’ and ‘Nui Tireni’ in these texts, I suggest, represents a linguistic prizing-open and realignment of Māori social and collective consciousness. This is where *Nga Tikanga* is an integral part of Martin’s explanatory structure; it is not simply because he is a Judge or thinks that English law is ‘better’ than Māori custom. It reflects, rather, a new ontological reality promulgated by the British, in which citizenship of a modern nation becomes synonymous with obedience to ‘law’ – a body of rules emanating from an impersonal state authority as expressed through parliament and courts, rather than rules which are embodied by the group in their everyday conduct and that receive their sanction through group action or personal chiefly fiat. The concept of citizenship – or subjecthood – subordinates all group identities to a sense of belonging to larger nation or polity. Any sense of group obligation – at least in a political or legal sense – is to ‘the nation’, and not a lesser or smaller group, tribe or other collectivity.

Authorities: the structure of the group(s)

Although the picture just described – the ‘new ontology’ of ‘modern citizenship’ – is a clear underlying concept present in these texts, it would be a mistake to over-emphasize the secular, impersonal and ‘democratic’ sense of such a citizenship. For being a citizen of mid-nineteenth century Britain was still understood in terms of being the subject of a personal monarch, in which local identities and authorities such as local parish church (or dissenting chapel) and local incorporation or magistrate remained important, and in which subjects understood themselves to enjoy the fruits of long-refined custom or ‘common law’ (to employ a Burkean trope). In this world, individual rights and liberties were not seen as inconsistent with subjecthood or with the ongoing role of local gentry and magistrate (although the attack on ‘Old Corruption’ was also prominent at various junctures in more national political campaigns).

The way these texts address chiefs/rangatira is consistent with this picture. *Nga Mahi a Pita* is addressed primarily to ‘nga rangatira’/ the chiefs of the native people. A slight variation is present in *Nga Tikanga* where the text is first addressed to ‘nga Kaumatua o nga Tangata Maori’, translated in 1855 as ‘the Elders of the Maori People’. Whether ‘rangatira’ or

⁵⁹ See also *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 8: ‘Me he mea ko **te tahi atu iwi** tenei o tawahi, kihai i roa kua whawhai ki **te tangata Maori**’; [trans.] Had one of **the other European nations** come here, it would soon have been at war with **the Maori people**.

‘kaumatua’, however, the recognition, and ongoing relevance, of customary authority or status is implicit.

As if to reinforce that custom and tradition remain important even while new state forms are overlaid, the text explains new authorities – king and governor – in terms of old authorities – kaumatua/ elders. In doing so, Martin describes a basic form of (Western) state authority, with division of functions between making and administering the law:

Na, ka whakaritea e ratou [te Pakeha] etahi kaumatua pai hei whakatakoto tikanga, etahi hoki hei whakarite whakawa. **Ko te Kingi raua ko tana Kawana nga kai whakatakoto tikanga: ko te kai whakarite whakawa te kaumatua** hei whakarongo i nga korero a te tangata e whakawa ana i te tahi, a te tangata hoki e whakawakia ana.⁶⁰

*Then they [the Pakeha/English] appointed certain good elders to lay down the rules, and others to be judges and Magistrates. **The King and his Governor are the person to lay down rules; the Judge is the elder** who listens to the words of the man who accuses another, and to those also of the person accused.*⁶¹

On the other hand, the judge is assisted simply by ‘ko te tekau ma rua’/ ‘the Twelve’ – the jury. The jury determines guilt or innocence, while the judge decides the penalty. The jury are not rangatira or chiefs, but more upstanding community members, reflecting the English paradigm of a participatory yet independent legal system, or ‘common’ law.⁶² Another key benefit of the court and jury system is the finality of decision. Once a decision is pronounced there is no disputing it: ‘In this way feuds, such as are carried on by the Maori, were made to cease [in England]’.⁶³

Another key feature of the English legal system is that the laws are recorded in writing, so that all places in the country and all generations should fully know and understand them. The advantages of print culture become an integral part of the argument for a new (Pākehā/English) legal system.⁶⁴ While the text does not dwell on the written nature of laws, the European and more especially British historical backdrop to Martin’s narrative of law and state cannot be denied. It was a process observed by the Venerable Bede’s *Ecclesiastical*

⁶⁰ *Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha*, 7.

⁶¹ [trans.] *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 6.

⁶² One part of the text refers to them as drawn from ‘men of mature age’ (‘kaumatua’) or ‘men of good thoughts and good deeds’ (‘etahi tangata whakaaro pai, mahi pai’), see *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 30 Apr. 1856, 4. The sense of this is that they are people of (moral) standing in the community, which does not mean they are people of status or title as such.

⁶³ [trans.] *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Mar. 1856, 7.

⁶⁴ *Ko Nga Tikanga a te Pakeha*, 17; [trans.] *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 May 1856, 1.

History of the English Nation in the eighth century. Martin was probably familiar with Bede, but regardless, the story that Bede described was deep-rooted in the British sense of their own history from heathenism and small-scale warring communities to Christianity, literacy and ‘nation’ status. An early twentieth-century commentator on Bede characterised the ‘spell’ of the new learning and literacy and its effects: ‘The painful isolation of hostile or unlettered tribes is replaced by a wide-spread community of interests in arts and sciences, in government and faith; so that Bede in his seclusion can know fruitful intercourse with ripe scholars in various countries, with statesmen, with travellers from distance lands.’⁶⁵ This is the meta-narrative that undergirds Martin’s text.

Māori Reception of (Use of) the Text

Parkinson says that the *Auckland Times* of 12 March 1844, ‘applauded the intention to produce it [*Nga Tikanga*], as part of a process of meaningful education for Maori’.⁶⁶ (I was not able to locate this issue/article on Papers Past.)

Searches of Papers Past, AJHRs, GBPPs and the Legal Māori Archive (on nzetc.victoria.ac.nz), among other electronic sources, did not reveal reference by Māori writers or correspondents to this text as such.

Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha/ The Ancestors of the English (1850-51)

Text:	Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha [The Ancestors of the English]⁶⁷
Authors/Translators:	[Judge Martin and Lady Martin?] ⁶⁸
Place of Publication:	Auckland, St John’s College Press [the Bishop’s Press]
Publication Date:	1850 (part I), 1851 (part II)
Add. Publication Dates:	1857, in <i>The Maori Messenger</i> , with English version (editions of 31 July 1857 and 30 Nov 1857)
Pages:	15 (both parts)
Contemporary version in English?:	1850 English version of part I (printed concurrently); 1857 English version of part I only, in <i>The Maori Messenger</i> (different from 1850 version). No contemporary translation for part II identified.

⁶⁵ Vida D. Scudder, ‘Introduction’, to *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* (London: J. M. Dent, 1951), x-xi; see also reference to Bede in narrative of English nationalism above.

⁶⁶ Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 140-141; I could not locate this issue/article on *Papers Past*.

⁶⁷ BIM 396 and BIM 410 in Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 202, 208.

⁶⁸ Suggested by Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 202, 208, noting Judge and Lady Martin received the first copies of both parts one and two.

Number of copies published:	500 copies for each part.
Distribution:	1850, part I, 500 copies printed: Copies distributed in period 1850-1852, including to: Mrs [Lady] Martin (100 copies); Native Boys' School (10); Native Adults' School (30); Mr St. Hill, for Remuera School (24); Mr. J. Morgan (24); Rev. C. J. Abraham (6) and (3); Rev B. Y. Ashwell (12)...⁶⁹ Similar numbers of the English version ('translation') to some of the same recipients are distributed over similar period, with some variations such as Kororareka School (6).⁷⁰ 1851, part II, 500 copies printed: Copies distributed in 1852, including to: [Judge] W. Martin Esq (12 copies); Mrs [Lady] Martin (12); Rev. C. J. Abraham (6); Rev. J. Morgan (24); Wellington School Committee (20); Rev. B. Y. Ashwell (12).⁷¹
Main themes/ messages communicated:	The ancient Britons, ancestors of the English, were backward and ignorant until they were civilized by the Roman empire and the Christian church. One measure of their civilization is that they stopped fighting each other – tribe-to-tribe/ 'iwi' – and became one nation/ 'iwi'. That has been a source of their strength.
Other contemporary texts mentioning this text	None identified.

The Text: Authorial Intent (or Meaning)

The previous mention of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the meta-narrative of Britain's transformation by Christianity and law forms a natural segue into this text of *Nga Tupuna o Te Pakeha*, which concerns the period in which, and about which, Bede wrote. The *Nga Tupuna* text, also composed by Judge and Lady Martin (or, at least, one of them), gives a short account of Britain before the Roman occupation, and what the Romans accomplished for 'the Britons' during their occupation. At one level, the author simply seems to have intended to tell

⁶⁹ St. John's College, Book Depository Ledgers, vol. 2 (1850-51) [photocopy], fMS-Papers-7821-2, 73, ATL.

⁷⁰ Book Depository Ledgers, vol. 2., 75.

⁷¹ Book Depository Ledgers, vol. 2, 115.

a concise history of the Britons who became the English, and the Britain which became England. These changes were to some degree due to the civilizational impacts of the Romans – including the much-famed Roman roads – that still survive, the writer assured her readers.

In a similar way to the other texts analysed above, it is quite clear the history is being recounted with more than one parallel to contemporary New Zealand in mind. The Britons had some good points – interestingly, they treated their women well – but in general they were backward, conducted human and animal sacrifice to their gods, lived in poorly constructed dwellings, had no agriculture, and were frequently at war. It takes a ‘good Governor’ (Agricola) and the Christian church – though the relationship between these two entities is often fraught – to bring the Britons out of their immoral and backward state – through true religion, schools, cultivations, court houses, and cleanliness.

Hence, the text shares in the meta-narrative of civilizational advance being promulgated by the other texts explored in this chapter. The text’s opening statement neatly summarizes the essential contrast between past and present social and political, moral and religious conditions: ‘Our forefathers were not equal in knowledge to the Englishmen who are now living. For many generations they were very ignorant’.⁷²

The Text in its Native Context: Analysis of Linguistic Usage

This text, as with others, uses the word ‘iwi’ for tribal groupings, rather than ‘hapū’. This is a world of ‘iwi’, but the goal is a single ‘iwi’ or nation. As with other similar texts, the past state of Britain and its contrasting present state is held up as a mirror implicitly to the present state of native society:

Ehara maua **i te iwi kotahi** i reira. **He tini nga iwi**; he rangatira to tetahi iwi, he rangatira to tetahi iwi. E whawhai ana tetahi iwi ki tetahi; e kino ana, e mauahara ana tetahi ki tetahi.⁷³

*We were not all one people then. There were many tribes, each tribe had its chief. These tribes were continually fighting and quarrelling one with another.*⁷⁴

As indicated, the text’s narrative focussed on what the kings and governors of Rome, along with Christianity, did to civilize the Britons. As such, various language for these authority figures is employed:

⁷² *The Forefathers of the Pakeha* (Auckland: St John’s College Press, 1850), 3 (BIM 396). The corresponding text in *Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha* reads: ‘ko nga tupuna o te Pakeha, kihai i rite ki nga Pakeha e ora nei, te mohio. He maha nga whakatupuranga uri i noho kuware’.

⁷³ *Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha*, 5-6.

⁷⁴ *The Forefathers of the Pakeha* (Auckland: St John’s College Press, 1850), 5 (BIM 396).

... **te iwi whai-mana** i tawahi i Uropi, ko te iwi o Roma: ki a matou ko te Romana. Ko Hiha te ingoa o **te tino rangatira o taua iwi, o te kingi**.⁷⁵

... *there was a powerful nation in Europe, the people of Rome. The name of the king of that people was Caesar.*⁷⁶

In this example, it is apparent the way the translator easily slips between ‘nation’ and ‘people’ when translating ‘iwi’. It can also be noted how the concepts of ‘king’ and ‘great chief’ (‘tino rangatira’) are used to translate the status of Ceasar; but also noteworthy that ‘rangatira’ (chiefs) work in the house and administration of ‘te kīngi’, which might suggest to a native audience some sort of hierarchy of authorities.⁷⁷ At the same time, such usages are fluid as, in another place, the concept of rangatira/ rangatiratanga is used to convey the notion of power or greatness of the Roman state; and the suggestion that other nations/iwi can possess such rangatiratanga:

Na, ahakoa **rangatira noa** te Romana i mua, no muri ka heke te tupu o **tona rangatiratanga**, ka tupu ano **te rangatiratanga o nga iwi** i mate i a ratou i mua.

*Now though until now, the power of the Romans had been great, after a while it began to decline, and other nations grew great, whom they had conquered formerly.*⁷⁸

The use of rangatira and rangatiratanga in this way – assuming the concurrent English text reflects the author’s intent in the Māori text⁷⁹ – is to further massage the concept away from its root meaning as ‘chief’ and ‘whenua rangatira’ as a chiefly land or ‘state of peace’.⁸⁰ The clear connotation of this linguistic usage is that of power or authority in the abstract; hence it is similar to the prominent use in the Lord’s Prayer of ‘te rangatiratanga o te rangi’/the kingdom of heaven. What this translation may be doing – or contributing to – then, in a linguistic sense, is reifying the concept of ‘chief’ into something more akin to European state authority.

⁷⁵ *Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha*, 3-4.

⁷⁶ *The Forefathers of the Pakeha*, 3-4.

⁷⁷ *Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha*, 12-13; *The Forefathers of the Pakeha*, 11-12.

⁷⁸ *Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha*, 15; *The Forefathers of the Pakeha*, 13.

⁷⁹ It is reasonably safe to assume that whoever wrote the Maori text also wrote the English ‘translation’. And, to my reading of it, the style and tone of the Maori text is so similar to *Nga Mahi a Pita*, that Judge and/or Lady Martin were almost certainly the authors.

⁸⁰ See chapter one for more commentary on this phrase in the context of He Whakaputanga/The Declaration, 1835.

Part II, published the following year, in 1851, carries on the narrative from the time the Romans leave England up to the time of Bishop Wilfrid (c. 700 A.D.).⁸¹ As promised at the close of Part I, it tells a tale of misery and woe. After the Romans leave, Britain becomes embroiled in warfare as the northern ‘iwi of the mountains’ (‘te iwi noho maunga’) carry out plundering raids on the southern, more law-abiding (Roman-influenced) Britons. The island becomes anarchic and the Britons invite the Saxon peoples from Europe to help. Once the Saxons have repressed the northern tribes, however, they decide to stay and become the rulers (‘rangatira’). This leads to wars with the Britons, some of whom are enslaved, while the rest are driven to the mountains. The west of the island, in Wales, remains a British enclave and over time the Britons prosper there. After some long period of time, the Saxons cease their wars and begin to live peaceably. Various kings of the Saxons, and other kings of the island (‘Edwin’ in the ‘north’) and their people/nations (‘iwi’) in time embrace Christianity and they prosper.⁸²

The narrative content of this part lends itself to copious use of the word ‘iwi’ to describe the different tribes or people-groups of the British Isles, and also of Europe – the Saxons themselves, of course, being one of those European nations but themselves comprised of many iwi. Once again, the concept of tribe as ‘hapū’ does not appear; the narrative is concerned with large-scale movements of nations. And, once again, it seems that for the author the narrative of native Britons and immigrant Saxons supplies not just a history lesson but a metaphor for relations between ‘Māori’ and ‘Pakeha’ in New Zealand. The gist of this narrative is conveyed in the final stanza:

Te tauritanga mai **o nga iwi katoa** ki te Rongo Pai, ka mutu te whawhai, ka noho pai nga tangata. **Ka takoto te pai i Ingarani**, puta noa, puta noa. He maha nga tau i noho rangatira ai te motu. E rongo tahi ana ko te Piritone, ko te Sakona, ki te ture a te Karaiti.⁸³

*When all the tribes (peoples) turned to the Good News (Gospel), wars ceased and the people lived peaceably. Peace (or goodness) was established throughout all England. And the island dwelt for a long time in a state of noble freedom. The Britons and the Saxons lived together in peace according to the law of Christ.*⁸⁴

On this occasion, it is not the civil or criminal law context that is emphasized (as in *Nga Tikanga*) but rather ‘the law of Christ’, which can be construed from the words and narrative context as the law of peace leading to quiet habitation and prosperity. The use of the expression

⁸¹ Note in Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, BIM 410, 208.

⁸² *Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha. Ko te Rua o Nga Korero* [Part II] (Te Perehi a te Pihopa: 1851).

⁸³ *Ko Nga Tupuna o te Pakeha*, Part II (1851), 14-15.

⁸⁴ Translation S. Carpenter, 2018.

‘i noho rangatira ai’ seems to reflect an original notion of the quintessence of chieftainship, which is social liberty, or ‘nobility’ – to use a corresponding European term rather than the more European notion of state or government authority from above. Such inflections of meaning are also evident in the translation of the phrase ‘he whenua rangatira’ (see discussions above, including in *Nga Tikanga*), and my translation of ‘i noho rangatira ai’ reflects these.

Māori Reception of (Use of) the Text

The surviving St John’s College print ledgers evidence the print numbers and distribution of *Nga Tupuna*, and so it is possible to be certain that the text reached a definite Māori audience. Besides the children and adult native schools at St John’s College, the distributions into the Waikato region are an interesting, quite selective list of mission stations, in contrast to the seemingly very intentional nation-wide distribution of scriptures and Prayer Books conducted from Colenso’s Paihia press. The small print runs of these texts obviously in part explain this.

What were the Native Boys’ School and the Native Adults’ School? These began when Selwyn first established St. John’s College at Te Waimate mission station (Bay of Islands) in 1842. Selwyn moved the College to a new site in Auckland, at Purewa, from late 1844 and looked to establish it there permanently. His friend, Edward Coleridge, raised £5000 in England for the building plans that included a Theological College, Collegiate School (for English children), Native Teachers’ or Adult School, and a Native Boys’ School.⁸⁵ The latter two schools did not survive much (if at all in the case of the teachers’ school) into the 1850s, reflecting the struggling nature of the College generally in that decade.⁸⁶

Selwyn wanted to continue to train Māori clergy in the Native Teachers’ School, but the C.M.S. in London suspended their support in 1846, and in 1847 the Central Committee of missionaries in New Zealand resolved that Te Waimate should be the location for training Māori clergy.⁸⁷ Davidson documents student numbers at St John’s, Auckland, during 1845-1852.⁸⁸ His figures indicate that the Native Teachers’ school did not carry on in that location beyond 1846, which may indicate that the references in the 1851-52 Book Depository Ledgers to distributions to the Native Adults’ School are references to the school at the original Bay of Islands, Te Waimate site.⁸⁹ The Native Boys’ School, however, remained at the new St John’s

⁸⁵ Davidson, *Selwyn’s Legacy*, 51.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 70-84.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 66.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 66 (table).

⁸⁹ The other interpretation is that Selwyn continued a Native Adults or Native Teachers school at Auckland, but that the records of this have been lost; see reference to 1849 plans for a native teachers’ school; Davidson, *Selwyn’s Legacy*, 78. It is difficult to believe that 30 copies of this text should be

College site at Purewa, Auckland. Davidson records numbers there in the mid-teens over the 1850-52 period.⁹⁰

In the case of the distributions of *Nga Tupuna* to mission stations or, rather, individual missionaries, the names B. Y. Ashwell and J. Morgan stand out. Benjamin Yates Ashwell and John Morgan were both C.M.S. missionaries working in the Waikato in the 1840s-50s; both spent some time at St John's, Auckland, and were ordained as priests by Selwyn: Ashwell in 1848, and Morgan in 1849.⁹¹ Both men ran successful missions and educational establishments for Māori at their stations – Ashwell near Taupiri, and Morgan at Otawhao, Te Awamutu.⁹² In any event, both men received copies of *Nga Tupuna* – Ashwell 12 copies and Morgan 24 copies for both parts I and II. The most likely reason for receiving this number of copies was that they were intended for use in their respective native schools.

Conclusions

Many of the printed works or books in te reo Māori of the 1840s-50s have not been studied in any depth, with some exceptions including H. T. Kemp's translations of *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe*.⁹³ Perhaps this is because historians have considered such works as 'tawdry' colonial publications – similar to the Government and missionary newspapers of the same period. But, as Lachy Paterson points out for the newspapers, they had a definite indigenous readership and the hectoring tone that sounds affronting, even shocking, to twenty-first century readers, did not appear so hectoring or patronizing in the 1840s-50s.⁹⁴ Māori were seeking new knowledge and seeking answers to new problems and the newspapers, and other texts such as those analysed here, were part of the textual universe that they read and imbibed in varied ways.

Paterson asks to what extent the newspapers contributed to the formation of a Māori public sphere. This chapter asks a similar question, in effect, for these 'secular' printed texts. Paterson cites Habermas' definition of the public sphere as 'mediat[ing] between society and state, in

sent north to Te Waimate for a Native Adults' School that has a doubtful existence there after the mid-1840s.]

⁹⁰ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 66.

⁹¹ Ibid., Appendix, 333-34.

⁹² Both encountered difficulties of a political kind following the emergence of the King Movement and the onset of the Waikato conflicts of the 1860s, and their missions faltered.

⁹³ See Shef Rogers, 'Crusoe Among the Maori: Translation and Colonial Acculturation in Victorian New Zealand', *Book History* 1 (1998): 182-195; Mark Houlihan, 'The Canon on the Beach: H. T. Kemp Translating *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Pilgrim's Progress*', in A. Calder, et al., eds., *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999): 304-316; see also Arini Loader, 'Early Māori Literature: The Writing of Hakaraia Kiharoa', in M. Williams, ed., *A History of New Zealand Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016): 31-43.

⁹⁴ Lachy Paterson, 'The New Zealand Government's Niupepa and their Demise', *New Zealand Journal of History* 50/2 (2016): 44-67.

which the public organizes itself as the bearer of public opinion'.⁹⁵ Paterson argues that, since the early newspapers up until the early 1860s were entirely government or missionary productions, this means they did not 'represent' Māori opinion. However, while the newspapers did not immediately represent Māori opinion, Māori debated them and, over time, some Māori at least came to hold some of the opinions expressed therein.⁹⁶ Similarly, in an insightful 2010 article, Paterson argued that the early newspapers played an important role in developing a 'Māori national consciousness'.⁹⁷ Although the development of a 'national consciousness' is not exactly the same thing as a 'public sphere', the two are probably part of the same process. The development of a sphere of public debate via print has in many 'modern' historical settings helped create a national consciousness, as I have been arguing in this thesis.⁹⁸

It is the argument of this chapter (and thesis) that texts such as *Nga Mahi a Pita* and *Nga Tupuna*, following in the wake of Prayer Book and Bible, and accompanied by the government newspaper press, helped to engender a Māori public sphere because they were media for conveying new ideas and knowledge in new or modified language across decent swathes of the Māori population. In addition, these texts were the provocation for different tribal groups engaging in public-communal debate on new and emerging issues of relevance – issues, moreover, that were relevant not just to local tribal groups but to the whole indigenous community. At a basic level, as Paterson recognises, newspapers engendered a new form of print-based culture in Māori communities: Māori read, read aloud and debated, and responded to government and missionary newspapers in various ways, including by writing letters to the editor.⁹⁹ All such responses are surely a type of participation in a new printed realm of political argument – a 'public sphere'. Furthermore, because many different areas and chiefs could obtain the same newspaper or book – just as they had obtained the same scriptures and Prayer Book – this material reality alone helped to form a generic 'Māori' or 'national' indigenous political public. In these various ways, I argue, the early niupepa (newspapers) and the secular texts of the Bishop's Press (and other presses) were part of an emergent native public sphere *and* a national consciousness, building on the foundation of

⁹⁵ Ibid., 48.

⁹⁶ As Paterson has described perceptively elsewhere: Lachy Paterson, 'Māori "Conversion" to the Rule of Law and Nineteenth-Century Imperial Loyalties', *Journal of Religious History* 32/2 (2008): 216-33; see also Lachlan Paterson, 'Ngā Reo o ngā Niupepa: Māori language newspapers 1855-1863', Ph.D. thesis, University of Otago, 2004, including at 325.

⁹⁷ Lachy Paterson, 'Print Culture and the Collective Māori Consciousness', *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 28/2 (2010): 105-129.

⁹⁸ As per Benedict Anderson, and earlier chapters of this thesis.

⁹⁹ See Paterson, 'Ngā Reo o Ngā Niupepa', 325-26.

Christian print and liturgical culture practiced around the country by native communities.

Despite the minimal direct evidence of Māori engagement with or use of these secular texts of the Bishop's Press (at least that identified during this research), the indirect evidence of European observers, the evidence of distribution channels, and the wider contextual settings of Māori engagement with European print production, is a sufficient foundation to argue that these secular texts were part of the textual universe that helped to foster new forms of public debate and provoked new ideas about history and geography, politics and economy in Māori hapū and communities. The textual and linguistic analysis conducted here has revealed a prevalent and consistent theme concerning the breaking down of tribal enmities in the pursuit of peace and prosperity. By tribal leaderships leading this economic and legal revolution – including the substitution of court adjudication for the mores of utu and muru – a wider sense of political community would be, and was in many regions, fostered.

Finally, analysing these texts helps to recover a picture of the longer view historical narratives within which British protagonists (some of them, at least) situated themselves. As they understood it, Māori could also be incorporated within this unfolding narrative through embrace of Christian tikanga and properly constituted government. At the same time, it is important to see how these texts were written in a New Zealand context with Māori specifically in mind. The authors, including Judge and Lady Martin, were in direct daily engagement with Māori, in the world of St. John's College and the law courts; they also at times mixed with chiefs in settings of the colonial-imperial elite. These texts were not narratives and arguments simply taken off a British bookshelf; they were, rather, created in order to relate British history to the native world. In a sense, then, there is a dialogic quality about these texts: they were the product of European mentalities or historical paradigms, but they were shaped by the context of engagement with indigenous people and society as it was, and as it was perceived by Europeans. History was being reconstituted by and repackaged for the mixed imperial, Christian missional and native contexts. By explaining who Britons were (once), they were also explaining who nga tangata maori or te iwi Māori were and could become.

The next two chapters examine two similar but also somewhat divergent responses to such texts and meta-narratives in the lives and texts of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Wiremu Tāmehana Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa.

Chapter 6: Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Varieties of Political Community, and the Origins of the Kīngitanga on the Kāpiti Coast?

Introduction

‘... ki mai ana ki au he Pakeha tonu aku whakaaro. Kaore he tangata i haere i a Tako o tenei wahi.’

... [Wi Tako] said to me that I think like a Pakeha. Well no one in this place goes along with Tako.

Tāmihana Te Rauparaha (1859) ¹

‘Kahore he whare karakia i Niu Tirenī hei rite. Na te Maori ano i hanga. He whakairo Maori a roto, he paraki Pakeha a waho.’

There is no church in New Zealand to compare with it [Rangitātea]. It was built by Maoris. The interior is adorned with Maori carvings; the exterior is of [Pākehā] planks.

Tāmihana Te Rauparaha (1860) ²

‘Ko tenei iwi ko Ngatiraukawa ka nui nga tau noho ana i runga i te rangimarie e whakamanawanui ana i nga raruraru o tenei motu; mau tonu te karakia te kura me te aroha ki a te Kuini me te taiapo tonu i nga ture o te Kuini, tae noa ki tenei tau.’

This tribe (the Ngatiraukawa) have for many years been living in peace, and have been patient through the troubles which have occurred in this Island: they have steadfastly kept to their churches, their schools, and have been faithful to the Queen, and have upheld her laws even up to this year.

Tāmihana Te Rauparaha (1871) ³

This chapter is an exploration of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha’s texts in context – a species of intellectual biography. It endeavours to systematically work through the correspondence and other texts produced by Tāmihana, exploring their meanings in the context of Tāmihana’s networks of relationships with governors, officials, missionaries and others, and the ideas and

¹ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha to Donald McLean, 30 Dec. 1859, MS-Papers-0032-0683D-6, Donald McLean Papers, ATL.

² Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, speech at Kohimarama Conference, 1860: *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Aug. 1860: 24 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/08/03/24>); also cited Arini Loader, “‘Kei Wareware’: Remembering Te Rauparaha”, *Biography* 39/3 (2016): 339-65, at 362.

³ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha ... ki te Runanga nui o Niu Tirenī/ Petition to Parliament, 1871, *AJHR* 1871, I-01.

institutions that he encountered in those different relational settings. Given the focus of this chapter, the narrative will begin properly from the time of Tāmihana’s visit to England.⁴

The chapter is connected with the previous chapters in that the primary focus can be understood as ideas of nation or nationality, kingship, constitution, law, and empire – in which the methodology continues to be linguistic in orientation – but this chapter takes a more biographical approach in that it attempts to trace the various ways in which Tāmihana’s ideas shifted, and perhaps in some instances were transformed altogether by various intellectual and political influences. The chapter presents a more rounded, albeit personal, account of one person’s ‘encounter with Europe’ and the adoptions and adaptations that he made. An argument is available that Tāmihana was not a representative character, even for a chief, as the traditional account of his approach to Europe – seen for example in Eric Ramsden’s *Rangiatea* – was that he adopted it almost in its totality.⁵ But Tāmihana seems to have been quite conscious of what he was doing, even if the exact meanings of his words and actions are capable of more than one interpretation. Indeed he even recorded, in one letter, the Te Ātiawa rangatira, Wi Tako’s, critique of his stance (as cited above) - ‘you think like a Pakeha’. Tāmihana dismissed this with a chiefly assertion of mana – ‘no one here thinks like Wi Tako’.

Tāmihana did adopt many European ways, including in his dress, the European-style house he constructed, and his ready embrace of sheep farming. On his death he left his not inconsiderable estate by will to a number of relatives or adoptees (he and Ruta had no surviving children).⁶ But all these aspects of Pākehā material culture were adopted by many Māori of the period, by ‘chiefs’ and ‘people’ alike. Many chiefs of the period left wills in the Pākehā fashion (a subject crying out for a comprehensive study). The ancestors however were not forgotten: Tāmihana’s house had carvings on the veranda pillars, and there were tukutuku (ornamental lattice-work) inside the house. As Arini Loader has discussed at some length about Tāmihana’s quite extensive prose narrative on his father’s life – Tāmihana wanted the past and the deeds of his father’s generation to be remembered.⁷ This was the case even though he had now adopted a quite different *mentalité* and approach to existence.

⁴ Tāmihana’s earlier engagements in the 1840s with scripture and British ideas and institutions have also been analysed and this narrative is included as [Appendix G: Tāmihana’s Texts and Contexts of the 1840s](#).

⁵ Eric Ramsden, *Rangiatea: the Story of the Otaki Church its First Pastor and its People* (Wellington: Reed, 1951).

⁶ Te Rauparaha, Tāmihana, 1819-1876: Will, 1873, MS-Papers-3392, ATL.

⁷ See Arini Loader, ‘Tau Mai e Kapiti Te Whare Waananga o Ia, o te Nui, o te Wehi, o te Toa: Reclaiming Early Raukawa-Toarangatira Writing from Otaki’, Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2013.

Historiography of the Kīngitanga: from whence a king? Was Tāmihana the first promoter of a native king?

In surveying Tāmihana's texts and contexts, especially of the 1850s, the central theme of this chapter is his thinking about and attitude towards British authority, together with the maintenance, even enhancement, of his own authority as a chief. In this respect, the nature and extent of his role in promoting a native kingship in the early 1850s presents a central puzzle. What has the historiography said about this?

In his recent narrative on the origins of the Kīngitanga, Vincent O'Malley refers to Waikato tradition, that begins with the 1843 visit of Piri Kawau to England.⁸ This tradition next refers to the visit of Tāmihana te Rauparaha to England to meet Queen Victoria, and then to Tāmihana and Mātene Te Whiwhi promoting the idea among the tribes in the years following. In O'Malley's view, 'For both men, the kingship was intended to bind Māori together, not tear them apart from Pākehā'.⁹

In O'Malley's re-construction of Kīngitanga origins, it is unclear how his narrative on settler government and the 1852 Constitution – that established the settler parliament from which Māori were effectively excluded – interacts with the origin narrative of the King Movement as such (for a start these are divided into two separate chapters).¹⁰ It can be observed that Tāmihana's visit to England in 1851-52 was at least two years before the first settler parliament was called in 1854. There was an indirect association at least between the England visit and the new constitution. Tāmihana was still in England when Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Colonies, Sir John Pakington, introduced the constitution bill to the Commons in early May 1852. Pakington was the man who presented Tāmihana to the Queen at the end of June. It is quite conceivable that Tāmihana was exposed to the debates on representative government for New Zealand while he was in England, especially as this debate included the interlocking issue concerning how Māori interests would be provided for within the new constitution. As such,

⁸ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000* (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2016), 77.

⁹ O'Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 78.

¹⁰ O'Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, ch. 4 ('Settler Government and Māori Responses') and ch. 5 ('The Kīngitanga'); ch. 4 does discuss the rūnanga/committee movement and the (limited evidence of) Māori reactions to being excluded (*de facto*) from the 1852 constitution; but there is no necessary linking of these narratives to the separate King Movement origin narrative that begins with Hongi Hika and Pirikawau.

it was a debate followed by the humanitarian and missionary society presses and circles of influence.¹¹

A number of strands of ideas and political and economic pressures seem to coalesce in the King Movement, including, as O'Malley suggests, the older discussions on a Māori king from the era of Hongi Hika.¹² Another strand was the rūnanga or local councils or committees movement, which enters the record from the mid-1850s; these seem to have incorporated both older native modes and European, especially missionary, ideas of committees. These bodies were concerned about new laws for new problems and with maintaining tribal authority.¹³

The Waikato tradition referred to by O'Malley gives a little more detail on Tāmihana Te Rauparaha. According to this account, both Pirikawau and Tāmihana went to their people, on their respective returns from England, and each proposed themselves as king. Both were rebuffed. Concerning Tāmihana, the written centenary account for the Kīngitanga (1958) states that Tāmihana was advised by his elders: 'Son, you are not the right one for the Kingship, you are a visitor. Look to your past, there is Kaawhia laid there, it is inhabited by someone else.' The text then states this was the end of the matter as far as Tāmihana was concerned. The text then goes on to describe how Mātene Te Whiwhi took up the cause of the Kīngitanga, travelling the country to ask leading chiefs to accept a nomination as king, all of whom refused (including, famously, Tōpia Tūroa, Te Heuheu, Te Hāpuku and Te Kani-a-Takirau).¹⁴

It is difficult to know what to make of this account of Tāmihana requesting that he himself be made king. The reasoning of Ngāti Toa (or Te Rauparaha) at Kāpiti given in the tradition seems to ring true: that he was not tangata whenua of the place where he resided (Kāpiti), being a sort of refugee from his homeland of Kāwhia, Waikato. On the surviving contemporary record

¹¹ The *Christian Observer* was doubtful that New Zealand needed six Houses of Parliament, being the central assembly and the five provincial ones; and it conjectured whether in any event the 27,000 European inhabitants would remain long given the gold-rushes on the neighbouring continent: *Christian Observer*, June 1852, 433.

¹² He does not investigate these earlier discussions apart from a brief reference to Hongi.

¹³ O'Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 72-75.

¹⁴ Te Kīngitanga, 'Te Kotahi Rau e Rima Tekau Tau o Te Kīngitanga: The Sesquicentennial of the Kīngitanga, 1858-2008', (orig. 1958); a typescript version of this story in the papers of Pei Te Hurinui Jones gives slightly more detail, viz: 'The idea [of a Maori King] was taken up by Tāmehana te Rauparaha and he confided in his father, Te Rauparaha, that he proposed to set himself up as King. Te Rauparaha immediately dampened his son's ambitions by pointing out to him that his ancestral home, Kawhia, was then in the possession of other tribes. Tāmehana abandoned the idea. Matene te Whiwhi of the same tribe as Tāmehana, Ngāti Toa Tribe, then took it upon himself to approach various leading chiefs in the North Island with the view of persuading one of them to accept the position of King' The account then outlines the various replies by leading chiefs to Matene's proposal (with some variation from the account in the 1958 Centenary version): see Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 'The Maori King Movement', typescript, in MS-Papers-5220-130, 'Te Kingitanga o te Iwi Maori', Waikato University Library.

that I have been able to identify, however, it seems quite uncertain that Tāmihana promoted the concept of a native kingship *at all* on his return from England. The record does reveal that he was involved in some at least of the key hui in the period 1854-56, including the Manawapou hui in 1854 that resolved against sale of land to Europeans. By the 1860 Kohimarama Conference, Tāmihana seemed to specifically deny any direct association with the early discussions about a native king. (Mātene Te Whiwhi was a little more equivocal, but he too seemed to deny that the impetus was for a king as such.) These accounts are explored below.

The local or regional political contexts in the Cook Strait region in the 1840s and 50s, in which Crown colony government competed with New Zealand Company government and with Māori chiefdoms or polities, must also be considered. Scholars have suggested that Crown treatment of chiefly or tribal authority is vital context for understanding the King Movement's development and strength in the Kāpiti region. Governor Grey 'illegally' detained Te Rauparaha in 1846, and then drove Rangihaeata out of the Hutt Valley and Porirua, which represented 'the defeat of the Ngati Toa-based Cook Strait Māori polity by 1847', according to Richard Boast and Bryan Gilling.¹⁵ These authors appear to endorse the judgment of historian Ian Wards that Grey's 'lack of good faith in his dealing with Te Rauparaha nourished the feeling of distrust that led to the King Movement and the wars of the following decade'.¹⁶ If this feeling of distrust existed in some quarters of the Kāpiti coast tribes, it does not seem to be reflected in the sentiments expressed by Tāmihana Te Rauparaha toward the governor that are explored below. This is one part of the puzzle of Tāmihana's relationship with European authority: his early movements towards native political solidarity do not seem to have been motivated by a sense of distrust of European authority – whether governor or officials – even though Tāmihana had good grounds to feel wary.¹⁷ These nuances are explored below.

In other parts of their account, Boast and Gilling repeat the conventional history (unfootnoted) that Tāmihana's visit to England and his meeting with Queen Victoria was the spur to thinking about a Māori monarchy. They say that Tāmihana, with Mātene Te Whiwhi, initially envisaged such an institution as 'a peacemaking and unifying force' for Māori; ending land sale to the government was a part of this picture.¹⁸ Boast also notes that although Mātene and Tāmihana

¹⁵ R. P. Boast and B. D. Gilling, 'Ngati Toa Lands Research Project. Report Two: 1865-1975', unpublished report, September 2008, 10.

¹⁶ Ibid., 11.

¹⁷ This is not saying that Tāmihana had no grievances against the Crown about particular matters; he certainly did, as in the case of Mana Island transactions: see R. P. Boast, 'Ngati Toa Lands Research Project. Report One: 1800-1870', unpublished report, December 2007, 295-97.

¹⁸ Boast and Gilling, 'Ngati Toa Lands Research Project. Report Two', 24: 'Tāmihana was impressed with the British monarchy and began to develop the idea that Maori should have a monarchy of their own. He discussed this with his cousin Matene on his return, and the two made a number of journeys

played an ‘important role’ in the early Kīngitanga movement, ‘they later seem to have become disenchanted with it’.¹⁹ To the extent Tāmihana and Te Whiwhi envisioned a native kingship in the early 1850s period, they did not see it in opposition to the British Crown, writes Boast. Whatever their ‘hopes and dreams’ pertaining to the idea, they ‘in no way derogated from [the chiefs’] perceptions of themselves as prominent Māori aristocrats and well-connected Anglican gentlemen’.²⁰ This statement about their self-perception seems quite certain on the evidence available; their envisioning of a native kingship seems less certain. To what extent, then, did a native political community – even, perhaps, a monarchy – enter into their thinking?

Preamble to the 1850s

In June 1848, a letter was written from Ōtaki, in the name of Te Rauparaha, to Octavius Hadfield.²¹ The letter referred to Hadfield’s sickness as the missionary was still convalescing in Wellington at this time. The letter is worth quoting in full, as it gives the flavour of the relationships involved – their closeness, despite huge cultural and other differences – and refers to the building of Rangiātea and the establishment of modern Ōtaki. In these ways, it speaks volumes for the importance of the missionary-Māori relationships and the shared aspirations for church buildings and what might be termed ‘modern’ towns and houses. It also provides a fitting textual and contextual preamble to the political developments of the 1850s. The letter stated:

E hoa e Wira tena koe te mate na i tou mate.

Friend Wira, [I] greet you as you suffer your illness.

Waiho tonu iho to aroha i roto i a au ngau ai, koia au i tahuri ai ki te mahi, i oha i mate kau ai koe i te tatanga, no konei au ka aroha tonu ki a taua mahi.

around the North Island making the case in favour of a Maori monarchy and ending the sale of land to the government’; and, at 25: ‘although proponents of the idea of a Maori king, [the two chiefs] worked hard to prevent the Taranaki and Waikato wars from leading to conflict in the lower North Island. The also attempted to mediate in the complex land disputes involving Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Apa and Rangitane over the Rangitikei and Horowhenua lands’.

¹⁹ Boast, ‘Ngati Toa Lands Research Project. Report One: 1800-1870’, 25.

²⁰ Richard Boast, ‘Vanished Theocracies: Christianity, War and Politics in Colonial New Zealand 1830-80’, in Ford and Rowse, eds., *Between Indigenous and Settler Governance*, 70-82, at 73.

²¹ Te Rauparaka to Octavius Hadfield (‘Wira’), 12 Hune 1848 (Otaki), Grant Hadfield family papers, Fielding, New Zealand; translation is by Tipene Chrisp (2018). Since the letter is a copy, the original hand is not available to compare for authorship; it is highly likely though that Tāmihana penned the letter for his father, as per other examples from the 1840s – see [Appendix G](#).

Your love remains with me, gnawing away, and that is why I turned to undertake the labour that you dreamed of and made you ill when it was near completion, that is why I have great regard for our labours.

E hoa katahi ano tenei taone ka nui rawa ka oti nei te whare karakia nei, katahi ano ka tino pairawa e miharo kau ana te pakeha ki te taone i mua ai i te mea kaore ano i maranga noa te whare karakia.

Friend, this town has just recently become [a] large [settlement]. When the church house is finished, it will be most excellent. The Pākehā [people] have previously been amazed at the town but the church house had not then been erected.

No te maranga-tanga nei ka tahi ka tino pai rawa.

When it is erected, it will be most excellent.

Kei te hanga hoki au i tetahi kainga moku.

I am building a home for myself.

Heoi na tou hoa aroha

From your loving friend.

Na Te Rauparaha.

From Te Rauparaha

Relationships with missionaries and governors, and the influence of Christian print culture, had spurred Te Rauparaha, his son and his people to pursue church and town construction. Those relationships would also provide the networks that would deliver Tāmihana on a ship to England and into the presence of the imperial monarch herself. In December 1850, Tāmihana travelled to England with William Williams and other C.M.S. members. A year and a half later, on 30 June 1852, he was presented to Queen Victoria.

England and Queen Victoria

Tāmihana's introductions and others' impressions of him

While the missionary networks enabled this visit to occur, they were intertwined with official networks. Stack's account is that the C.M.S. arranged the meeting through the Queen's Chamberlain, who was also chairing the C.M.S. annual meeting that May at Exeter Hall.²²

²² A. H. Reed, ed., *More Maoriland Adventures of J. W. Stack* (Dunedin: Reed, 1936): 78-79. This annual meeting is possibly the 'great meeting' that Tāmihana's own account refers to: see *Church Missionary Gleaner* account, below.

Governor Grey had also written to the Colonial Office asking them to look out for the interests of Tāmihana and thus of ‘the natives of this country’. Grey lauded the ‘intellect, rank and position’ of Tāmihana, requesting that Earl Grey show him ‘attention and kindness’. Grey further suggested that ‘it would be productive of much good if he were presented to the Queen’.²³ It was the Secretary of State who presented Tāmihana to the Queen in mid-1852 – by this time, Sir John Pakington, who had succeeded Earl Grey.

Eric Ramsden, in his extended story of the Rangiātea church at Ōtaki, devotes a whole chapter to Tāmihana’s visit to England.²⁴ In Ramsden’s account, Octavius Hadfield tried to dissuade Tāmihana from going, in part because he knew little English.²⁵ Hadfield did not give Tāmihana a letter of introduction to the C.M.S., but Tāmihana did carry various other letters. One of these was a recommendation to the ‘Friends and Elders of the Church of England’ signed by leading chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa, dated 21 October 1850. This included, among other sentiments the hope that ‘you will explain to him the true Christian principles that tend for our improvement, likewise your noble Pakeha ways’.²⁶ Tāmihana created a ‘glowing impression’ at Exeter Hall, but Ramsden does not accord this much weight due to Hadfield’s and Samuel Williams’ supposedly more realistic opinions of Tāmihana.²⁷ In general, there is a tone of dismissiveness that runs through Ramsden’s account, which often appears uncharitable or unmeritorious.²⁸

Tāmihana’s own impressions of London and England

This section is based on two sources. The first is a single letter from Tāmihana, in English translation, surviving in the Williams family papers. This is analysed below and relates to Tāmihana’s distress over the selling of goods on Sunday in London. By itself, this reveals much of his mindset as a person of chiefly status, of his Christian convictions, and of his perceptions of the position of England in the world. A second source gives a more fulsome account of his London pilgrimage, while also corroborating the letter. This appears in the C.M.S. periodical, the *Church Missionary Gleaner*. It purports to be, and certainly reads like, an account in Tāmihana’s own voice, although it is probable that it was a translation under dictation by

²³ Gov. Grey to Earl Grey, 17 May 1851, G30/19, ANZ.

²⁴ Eric Ramsden, *Rangiatea: the Story of the Otaki Church its First Pastor and its People* (Wellington: Reed, 1951), 172–193 (ch. 10).

²⁵ Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, 173, 184; Tāmihana left Hadfield in charge of cash assets of about £700, as well as management of his land and stock.

²⁶ Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, 181 (frustratingly, Ramsden does not provide any citation for this letter).

²⁷ Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, 173.

²⁸ The most egregious example is perhaps at Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, 176: ‘Perhaps Tāmihana’s greatest weakness was his vanity; he certainly had an exaggerated sense of his own importance, and was ever the opportunist.... If remembered at all today, he is recalled as a Maori who aped the Pakeha in most things...’ Ramsden cites no evidence for any of these statements.

Tāmihana in Māori.²⁹ The content is consistent with the surviving letter on Sabbath observance, which is a theme also receiving attention in the periodical account.³⁰

In this account, Tāmihana first refers to reading about ‘Peter the Great, king of Russia, who learned to work that he might teach his people’.³¹ This was the spur to him building the town at Ōtaki on an English model, beginning first with the church (Rangiātea), followed by the houses. He then began to experiment with English agriculture, keeping pigs, milking cows, growing wheat and grinding it in a ‘little mill’.³² The account reads as something of a paean to English achievements; it expresses a zealous desire to emulate Englishness, including English clothing. It also reflects Tāmihana’s understanding of the basic workings of the new commercial economy: he sold flax, corn and pigs to the English and received money to buy clothes and other goods, including large capital items like a water-mill – acquired through pooling cash resources. Later, tradesmen were acquired for the town (a baker, a butcher and a clothes store).³³

The account then traverses his English adventure, through which Tāmihana hoped to gain C.M.S. support to establish a college for training ‘catechists and schoolmasters’. He first paints a death-bed scene of his father, Te Rauparaha, who expresses a Christian hope and directs his son to ‘overcome evil with good’.³⁴ Following his father’s passing, which Tāmihana identifies specifically as November 1849, his thoughts turned to England. After hearing that William

²⁹ Or something first written by him in Māori; but see the account in another newspaper of Tāmihana speaking in, somewhat faulting, English at a C.M.S. local meeting: *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 18 Mar. 1852, 3.

³⁰ The account appears over four successive issues of the journal: see *Church Missionary Gleaner* 2/9-12 (Sept-Dec 1852).

³¹ See chapter 5 for extended analysis of this text.

³² The details given in this story authenticate it, such as the reference to Hadfield being sick in Wellington at the time they began the church and town construction; it also adds detail not evident in other sources, such as the reference to Tāmihana burning the whare/houses in the ‘old pa’ when some of his people did not come to the new town. And the syntax is uncorrected for English fluidity such as ‘I told them not to make little houses, Maori way, but like English, with two rooms and a chimney, and only one family to live in one house. Then I built my house. I made four rooms, two down stairs and two up stairs. It was made English way, with Maori carving’. Tāmihana also claims that ‘It was the first time a Maori town had been built English way’: see *Church Missionary Gleaner* 2/9 (Sep 1852), 101-103.

³³ *Church Missionary Gleaner* 2/10 (Oct 1852), 116-118.

³⁴ Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*: 337, records re Te Rauparaha after his capture: ‘The Governor wisely gave him several handsome presents on his departure, and from that time to his death, he quietly resided amongst his people, and invariably might he be seen at the daily service, morning and evening, dressed in a captain’s naval uniform’; Taylor also records his date of death as November 1849.

Williams was to go to England, he spoke with Hadfield, who supported his desire to go.³⁵ He leaves parting instructions to his people in the event he dies in England.³⁶

The last portion of the account describes what Tāmihana saw and thought in England.³⁷ He is specific as to dates, which seems to reflect an English obsession with calendrical time. For instance, he says their ship arrived at Plymouth on 29 April [1851]; on May 1st he went to London (where he feared the speed of the railway at first); on May 6th he went to the ‘English great meeting’ in the ‘large room’ (possibly the C.M.S. annual meeting at Exeter Hall referred to by Stack); in the middle of May he was taken by William Williams to the C.M.S. college (probably the training college at Islington), arriving there on May 15th. The college became his ‘home in England’. He expresses his happiness to have been instructed in ‘the good ways of God’ and the English language.³⁸ His two principal observations about England concerned people selling goods on Sundays and the use of candles in a church. He feared the candles as a ‘Romish church’ practise that would lead Protestants astray.³⁹ Like his longer letter on Sabbath trading (see below) he feared that such idolatry would cause England to ‘go wrong’ instead of ‘teach[ing] all the nations of the world right’. He finishes his account with a request for financial support to establish his Christian college in New Zealand. He refers to the indebtedness of the Māori to the C.M.S. in sending them missionaries. While he was impressed with ‘the good things of England’, his heart returned to New Zealand where he wished to return to carry on the teaching of the Christian God.⁴⁰

In his letter to an unknown recipient (in English translation only in the William Williams papers), Tāmihana recounts how, as he was walking to church, he saw a woman selling apples

³⁵ Hadfield may have supported Tāmihana, but he did not send him with a letter of introduction to the C.M.S.; he regarded Tāmihana as a ‘sincere Christian’, but would not recommend him for ordination as ‘he is in some respects not qualified for the office’; instead Hadfield recommended Rewi Te Ahu: Hadfield to C.M.S., 14 Sep. 1852, in Church of Province of New Zealand, Wellington Diocese, MS-Papers-1925-46/02.

³⁶ These include: ‘Love the English. When they come to your town take care of them, give them good and beds. If they come on Sunday, you teach them: tell them not to come on Sunday. Good bye, my dear people, the Ngatitoa and the Ngatiraukaua [sic]. If it be the will of God that I should die in England, do not be dark for me. Pray to God for me, my people, that God may bless my return to you’. (Followed by: My people cried very much. They could not say good bye: they could only cry); *Church Missionary Gleaner* 2/11 (Nov 1852), 128-129.

³⁷ *Church Missionary Gleaner* 2/12 (Dec 1852), 136-38.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 136-37.

³⁹ Debates on the Protestant character of English church and the monarchy, and against ‘Papal Tyranny’, were prominent at the time: see *The Missionary Register* 40 (1852), 3; a general anti-Catholic sentiment was probably encouraged by the schooling in theological disputes Tāmihana had experienced in New Zealand; James Stack’s account also gives colour to anti-Catholic/ anti-Pope protests that obviously went wider than specifically lower church Anglican circles: Reed, ed., *More Maoriland Adventures*, 66.

⁴⁰ *Church Missionary Gleaner* 2/12 (Dec 1852), 137-38, including...‘The God of England is the God of New Zealand and all the world’.

on the Sabbath and was troubled and perplexed because it was the Sabbath day – ‘the great day of the Lord’ and a day for ‘worship’. He had a great desire to throw her apples to the ground, but his British companion counselled him against this – suggesting it might be fine in New Zealand but not in England. Tāmihana questioned why in England – ‘the place of great fame and the place of light’ – that ‘the ruler of England’ should not ensure that the Sabbath day be kept sacred. He implores the (unknown) recipient of the letter to ‘speak to the council and let the council speak to the Queen that some policemen may be appointed to do away with the work of these low people’. He records his anxiety that by allowing such trading on the Sabbath ‘some evil [would] come upon the country’. He expresses an elevated view of the divine purposes inherent in the office of the English monarchy, saying that the Queen ‘has been given us by God as our Queen to dispense his laws to all the world’.⁴¹ That Tāmihana thought his petition should be submitted to the Council – probably the Westminster Parliament was meant – and the Queen by his English friends reflected both his perception of his own status as well as his understanding of the workings of the English constitution. What is unclear is whether this letter was written in October of 1851 or October 1852 – that is, before or after his meeting with the Queen. But regardless he reflected a very Evangelical-Victorian vision of the divine mission of the English monarchy to spread ‘law’, together, apparently, with a kindred anxiety that moral failure by the country or its leaders would incur some form of judgment or evil.

Tāmihana had already reflected such an understanding and acceptance of Queen Victoria’s authority in the letter to her that he signed along with other chiefs of Raukawa and Ātiawa in March 1849, in which they lauded the benefits of peace and law brought through Governor Grey.⁴² A month or two later, in May 1849, Tāmihana and company were probably among the over 200 signatories of a petition to the Queen asking that ‘exiles’ or convicts not be introduced into New Zealand. Among other reasons, the petitioning chiefs from Manawatū down to Petone stated that the Pākehā already in New Zealand and ‘nga tangata maori’ (translated as ‘the Maories or Natives’) could readily do the labouring work the country required.⁴³ Grey upheld this as ‘a striking proof of the acquaintance the natives are obtaining with our customs’ – the custom of petitioning ‘to the foot of the throne’ for a redress of grievances.⁴⁴

⁴¹ ‘Letter of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha’, October 10 [185?], addressed ‘My friend’, in Williams Family Papers, 1826-1939, MS-Copy-Micro-0677, ATL (English translation only); Tāmihana concluded his letter: ‘Do you give my thoughts to the rulers, because I cannot speak. I write on account of the great pain of my heart at witnessing the selling on the sabbath day’.

⁴² Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Matene Te Whiwhi *et al.* to Queen Victoria, 22 Feb. 1849, encl. in Grey to Earl Grey, 22 Mar. 1849, in G30/15, ANZ.

⁴³ Ngatiawa, Ngati Raukawa, Paneiri and Ngatitōa to Queen Victoria, ‘Waikanae’, 5 May 1849, encl. in Gov. Grey to Earl Grey, 3 Aug. 1849, G30/16, ANZ.

⁴⁴ Gov. Grey to Earl Grey, 3 Aug. 1849, G30/16, ANZ.

Tāmihana's Old Testament

In the middle of June, around a fortnight before he met the Queen, Tāmihana was gifted with a Māori translation of a portion of the Old Testament, containing the first five books (the Pentateuch) and the book of Joshua. Inside the front cover is inscribed in flowing cursive: 'Tāmihana Te Rauparaha from his friend, C Young – June 14 1852'.⁴⁵ Inspection of this Bible reveals a few markings in the margin. These include pencil markings alongside two versions of the Abrahamic blessing in the book of Genesis, or 'Kenehi'. Given the content and language of these verses, and the absence of marking generally, these markings seem intentional and significant. The first is from chapter 12, verses 2-3:

A ka meinga koe e ahau **hei iwi nui**, ka manaakitia ano koe e ahau, ka whakanuia ano hoki tou ingoa; a ka waiho koe hei manakitanga:

A ka manaaki ahau i te hunga e manaaki ana i a koe, ka kanga hoki i te tangata e kanga ano i a koe: a mau e manaakitia ai **nga hapu katoa o te whenua**. [emphasis added]

The Māori translation by C.M.S. missionary Robert Maunsell was, as the title page declares, 'translated from the Hebrew'. However, the Authorised (King James) version of these verses runs:

And I will make of thee **a great nation**, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing:

And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall **all families of the earth** be blessed. [emphasis added]

The second version of the blessing, that is marked in Tāmihana's Bible, is the occasion on which God changes Abram's name to Abraham, in Genesis 17:5-6. In Maunsell's translation, this reads:

E kore ano hoki tou ingoa e karangatia a muri ake nei ko Aperama, engari ko Aperahama te ingoa mou; no te mea ka meinga koe e ahau **hei matua mo nga iwi maha**.

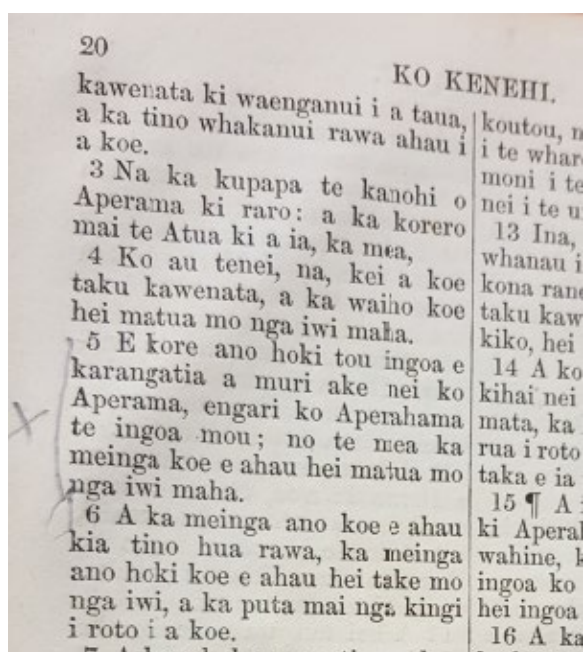
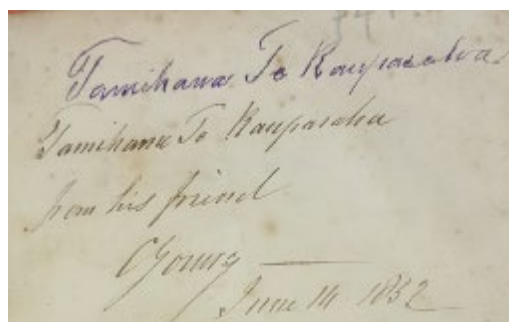
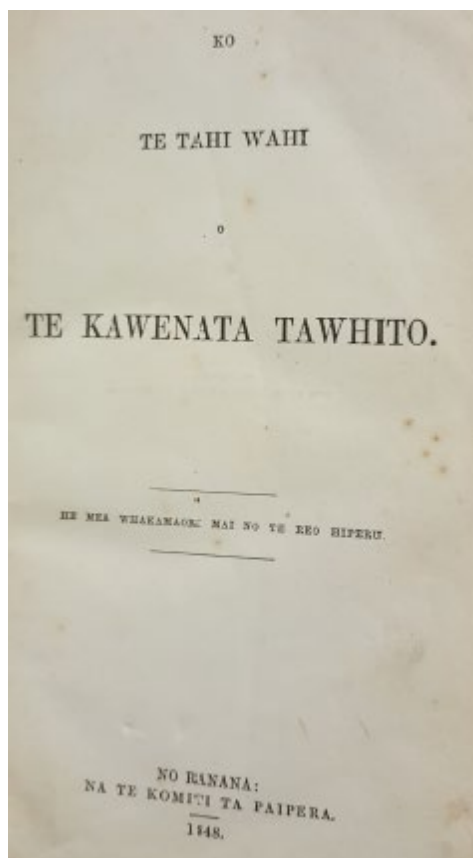
A ka meinga ano koe e ahau kia tino hua rawa, ka meinga ano hoki koe e ahau **hei take mo nga iwi, a ka puta mai nga kingi** i roto i a koe. [emphasis added]

⁴⁵ *Ko Te Tahi Wahi o te Kawenata Tawhito. He Mea Whakamaori Mai no te Reo Hiperu* (No Ranana: Na te Komiti ta Paipera, 1848), Bible Old Testament Hexateuch Maori, MS-0205, ATL. Some decades later, on 19 December 1899, the inheritor of this bible, one Elsie Wallace, in a rather shaky hand that suggests youth, has copied the name of her illustrious predecessor and written her name, place of residence ('Aotaki') with date below, along with a rather prosaic journal-like entry, 'Amy and Mamma went to Wellington...'.

The Authorised version reads:

Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for **a father of many nations** have I made thee.

And I will make thee exceedingly fruitful, and I will **make nations of thee**, and **kings shall come out of thee**. [emphasis added]



The content and linguistic usage in te reo Māori in these scripture passages links to the argument in earlier chapters, especially chapter five on the Prayer Book and Māori nationality. The content and linguistic usage – especially of the word *iwi* or ‘nation/people’ – reads similarly to the emphasis in the Prayer Book or Te Rāwiri, especially in the Psalms. The Abrahamic blessings in Genesis, as above, capture the essence of the biblical narrative in Te Rāwiri and scripture. To summarise again, the biblical narrative tells of the blessing of one people-nation (‘iwi’) through which the people-nations of the earth (‘tauiwi’ or ‘iwi ke’ or ‘iwi’) shall be blessed. This blessing began with the man Abraham in Hebrew scripture. It is reasonable to think, as New Zealand scholars have noted about the Old Testament scriptures, that the Hebrew emphasis on kin-groups – ‘hapū’ in the passage above – and on genealogy and relationships with land, captured the imagination of Māori readers (and listeners). The designation of Abraham as a ‘matua’ or parent chimes with this kin-based way of seeing the world.

We cannot be certain that the pencil markings beside these passages in Tāmihana’s Bible were made by Tāmihana himself, but the marking of these *particular passages* by him would make sense, I suggest, including for the types of reasons just outlined. In addition, and although strictly-speaking this part of the verse is not marked, the way the verse speaks of God making Abraham the ‘origin’ or ‘take’ of many people-nations or ‘iwi’ and the progenitor of ‘kings’ is a distinctive blend of Hebrew and Māori mentalities. There is reason to think that these types of biblical and prayer book texts were part of the textual universe that prompted Tāmihana to imagine the native peoples of New Zealand as akin to the Hebrew nation of Israel – te iwi o Iharaira. Whether the monarchical aspect of this Hebrew society was especially noticed by Tāmihana at the time is unclear.

It can also be noted – only suggestively, perhaps, but with real interpretive plausibility in the matrix of related contexts – that this Bible was gifted to Tāmihana in England, some two weeks before he met England’s Christian monarch, Victoria. Was the marking of this Abrahamic blessing – with its promise of many people-nations, and kings, to come forth from the descendants of Abraham – made in England contemporaneously with this distinguished meeting? Did Tāmihana read together this Abrahamic blessing with his experience of the grandeur of (some parts of) Victorian England – with its monarch, parliament, technological innovation, and economic riches?

The affinities between Hebrew and Māori mentalities as expressed in this scriptural translation should be obvious. The way that Tāmihana later refers, in the 1860s, to Queen Victoria does suggest that the meeting had a pronounced impact on his later political sensibilities and loyalties. (These texts are examined in the section below.) But the Christian

and scriptural context of his meeting with Victoria – in a general sense, but also with specific reference this 1848 Bible – can be underscored.

Meeting the Queen

Given the significance of Tāmihana's meeting with the Queen, it seems surprising that he did not mention it in his account to the *Church Missionary Gleaner*. The account was published over the months of September through December 1852, and appears to have been collected not long before he departed England – viz., postdating his meeting with Victoria. Various periodicals and newspapers record the fact of the visit but none I have found elaborate.⁴⁶ This silence is the more surprising if James Stack's account is believed: the youthful Stack accompanied Tāmihana to his meeting with the Parent Committee of the C.M.S. as translator, during which Tāmihana specifically requested an audience with the Queen.⁴⁷

Other surviving personal accounts or correspondence of Tāmihana do however provide detail of the meeting. Victoria presented to Tāmihana an altar cloth for Rangiatea, supposedly 'worked by her own hands'. Tāmihana then presented this to his people on return to Ōtaki, along with communion cups presented by the Hadfield family in England.⁴⁸ Ramsden quotes a letter that Tāmihana wrote on his return, about the reception these gifts received:

The chiefs of my people, a large company, assembled in my house to tea in the afternoon. After tea we adjourned to another room, and there I uncovered before them the cloth for the communion table, also the steel covers which were given by Mr Hadfield. The border of that table was like a flash of lightning to the eyes of my people

⁴⁶ For example, the *Bath Chronicle* and the *Blackburn Standard*, issues for 8 July 1852; the Queen was engaged in other rather interesting imperial duties with visiting dignitaries that week: the *Blackburn Standard* also records in the same article: 'The ceremony of the baptism of the Princess Gauromma, daughter of his highness Prince Vere Rajander, ex Rajah of Coorg, took place on Wednesday, in the private chapel of Buckingham Palace. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Her Majesty stood sponsor and named the princess "Victoria".'

⁴⁷ Stack's account is that the Committee succeeded in arranging this through the Queen's Chamberlain, who was involved with the Society. Stack's account, which is very much a memoir, confuses dates: it seems to place Tāmihana's visit to the Queen in mid-1851 rather than in mid-1852. Unfortunately, Stack does not record any detail about the audience, as he did not accompany Tāmihana. According to Stack, he was accompanied instead by William Ronaldson, a schoolmaster appointed at Pūtiki, Whanganui: Reed, ed., *More Maoriland Adventures*, 78-80; Stack in fact sailed with Tāmihana back to New Zealand; they left England on 22 July 1852, barely a few weeks after the visit with Victoria: Janet E. Murray, 'Stack, James West', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s21/stack-james-west> (accessed, 29 January 2020); see also *Otago Witness*, 13 Nov. 1852, 2.

⁴⁸ Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, 178.

when they looked at it, also when my people saw the cups for the sanctuary tears flowed from their eyes as they admired those riches.⁴⁹

If other accounts of native peoples meeting the Queen can be credited, it seems that Victoria was personal and engaging, and did not attempt to create a sense of distance or of her own high station. When the Rev. Richard Taylor and Hoani Wiremu Te Hīpango of Whanganui were granted an audience three years after Tāmihana, Taylor recorded that Te Hīpango was not even aware at first that the lady he was speaking with was the Queen. For, as Taylor remarked, ‘she came in such an unostentatious way, with so little appearance of State, that she might easily be mistaken’.⁵⁰ Such meetings of indigenous peoples with royalty and aristocracy at the heart of empire reflect the great mobility of peoples across the empire, as recent scholarship has highlighted.⁵¹

According to Ramsden, on his return to Ōtaki, there was a rift between Tāmihana and Hadfield, in part over the funds Tāmihana had collected in England to found a college under his direction.⁵² According to C. F. Childe of the C.M.S. College at Islington, Tāmihana had collected £360 and wanted to form a college like Islington ‘exclusively for native evangelists’.⁵³ This was the Whitireia college already discussed between Selwyn, Hadfield, Tāmihana and Mātene Te Whiwhi since 1847-48.⁵⁴ It is a little surprising there was such a rift given Hadfield was seemingly in support of such a college at the outset, and seeking subscriptions in England was certainly a common way to raise funds for such ventures (as witness the founding of St John’s College, Auckland).⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Tāmihana to Ronaldson [n.d.], Folder 4, Copy Micro 0202, G. A. Selwyn papers, ATL; cited also in Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, 178.

⁵⁰ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 27 Nov. 1856 (extract from Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/11/27/9>; see also, for example, her meeting in 1854 with Rev. Samuel Crowther, ‘a native of Yeruba, on the west coast of Africa’: *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 20 Oct. 1853. (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1853/10/20/4>).

⁵¹ See Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); and Vincent O’Malley, *Haerenga: Early Māori Journeys Across the Globe* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015).

⁵² Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, 182.

⁵³ C. F. Childe to O. Hadfield, 20 July 1852, Church of Province of New Zealand, Wellington Diocese, MS-Papers-1925-46/02.

⁵⁴ See Tāmihana to Selwyn, 21 Jan. 1848, ANG 90/4/82; and account in David V. Williams, *A Simple Nullity?: The Wi Parata Case in New Zealand Law and History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2011), 43-66.

⁵⁵ Owen’s account is quite different from Ramsden’s; it suggests it was Hadfield that had offended Tāmihana due to Hadfield spending some of the funds collected in England, without telling Tāmihana; see Owens, *The Mediator*, 230.

Politics and the beginnings of the ‘kingship’

On 30 August 1853, Tāmihana wrote to Richard Taylor from Ōtaki. This was a substantial letter that covered a range of subjects. A leading subject was the potential for Māori to take part in the work of the new constitution, in particular in the General Assembly.⁵⁶ Tāmihana’s words were:

E taku matua, e ui mai ana koe, ki a au mo te ture o te Kuini mo Nui Tireni **kia uru tahi tangata maori ki roto ki te huihuinga o nga pakeha**. E tika ana, kua rongo au. I pai tonu au kia uru tahi **nga tangata maori** ki taua mahi kotahi.⁵⁷ [emphasis added]

My parent, you are asking me about the laws of the Queen concerning New Zealand when the native people will join together in the great assembly [or parliament] of the Europeans. It is correct that I have heard [about this matter]. I was very much agreed that the native people join together in that unified work.

One paragraph further on, Tāmihana also wrote:

I ki mai a te Kawana ki a au kia tae mai ia ki Otaki nei ka w[h]akarite ai i **ētahi tangata māori ki a uru tahi ki roto i nga pākeha**. Kei konei te huihuinga nui o **nga tangata maori** i waenga nui o nga ra o Hepetema Kia rongo ki nga ritenga o te Kawana. [emphasis added]

The Governor said to me [that] when he arrived at Otaki [he] would arrange for some native people to join together with the pakeha. The great assembly of the native people(s) is being held here in the middle of September to hear the proposal of the Governor.

Given the timing of this letter, August 1853, it seems evident that Tāmihana was talking about the establishment of the General Assembly - ‘te huihuinga o nga pakeha’ – under the new Constitution Act 1852 – ‘te ture o te Kuini mo Nui Tireni’. As noted above, Tāmihana was in England when the bill was being debated in Parliament, and he probably became aware of the debates there. Two aspects are intriguing about his statements. First, his expectation that ‘nga tangata maori’ would be involved in the work of the New Zealand assembly in some way, and

⁵⁶ Tāmihana to Richard Taylor, 30 Aug. 1853, MS 0834, Tāmihana Te Rauparaha papers, ATL [translation by S. Carpenter, reviewed by T. Chrisp]; other subjects were Governor Grey’s payment for all Māori interests in the South Island, or at least, Ngati Toa interests: there is not one piece left, Tāmihana said, with surprise if not shock evident in the expression, ‘kaore he wahi i toetoe o taua whenua’ – not one piece of that land was divided out (or reserved). Tāmihana also advised Taylor that they had just appointed a doctor to Otaki, assisted by contributions throughout the wider Otaki district, and also discussed their plans to build a hospital there.

⁵⁷ Note that punctuation has been given to this paragraph to make it readable and comprehensible.

the indication that Grey himself, in earlier discussions with Tāmihana, had already indicated the potential for this. The second aspect is what the ‘great assembly of the native people’ is that was scheduled for the middle of September 1853; again, Tāmihana’s expectation was that Grey would announce a proposal for the participation of ‘the native people’ in the assembly. Quite what form that participation would take is not clear; it could have been a reference to voting, or perhaps even having representatives.

A large hui ‘of all the Principal Chiefs of this portion of the Country’ was held at Ōtaki in September 1853, but the record suggests that the occasion was consumed with expressions of appreciation and farewell to Grey as he was shortly to depart the country. Tribal leaders had heard of this only a couple of months before and had initially sent an address in July expressing their sorrow at Grey’s departure.⁵⁸ At the September hui, no direct reference was made to the meeting of the General Assembly, which did not anyway take place until 1854. Tāmihana took a leading role in the September hui in delivering the address on behalf of the iwi of Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Awa. Some highly prized taonga were presented to Grey. Grey replied and spoke in glowing terms of what they had accomplished together in establishing churches and schools, in the turn to Christianity and peace, and the great developments in agriculture and roading. He prophesied that future generations would look back on what the two races had achieved in building ‘a great nation’ – the original of which read ‘he iwi nui, he iwi maha’. Grey’s reference to the two component peoples were expressed in his imagined future conversation between parent and child as ‘oku tupuna pakeha’ (my European ancestors) and ‘oku tupuna maori’ (my native ancestors – or which the contemporary translation expanded on as ‘our ancestors who were the original native inhabitants of these Islands’).⁵⁹ The language of the chiefs adopts this imagining – by now seemingly ingrained and unquestioned for many – of two peoples in a single country or nation. The chiefs use the phrase ‘tenei motu o Nui Tireni’ (this island of New Zealand) on more than one occasion.⁶⁰ They also place themselves geographically, in somewhat English/Western fashion, at the southern end of ‘our island’ (inclusive of both speaker and listeners – ‘to tatou motu’). The geography of several islands has been fused by this imagined geo-politics into a single island, or country, belonging to all. Cementing this conception is the Queen’s status as ‘our Chief/Ruler’ (inclusive – ‘to tatou Rangatira’).⁶¹

⁵⁸ ‘E to matou Tino Kawana aroha nui...’, Otaki, 12 Hurae [July] 1853 (272 signatories), encl. in Gov. Grey to Duke of Newcastle, 26 Sep. 1853, G30/23, ANZ.

⁵⁹ ‘E aku Tamariki...’, Otaki, 16 Hepetema [September] 1853, in Gov. Grey to Duke of Newcastle, 26 Sep. 1853, G30/23, ANZ.

⁶⁰ Interesting that Grey’s reply is more literal, referring to ‘enei motu’/ these islands – plural – including in his ‘prophecy’: ‘Hereafter a great nation will occupy these Islands...’.

⁶¹ ‘E to matou Tino Kawana aroha nui...’, Otaki, 12 Hurae [July] 1853.

This sort of language – especially in its surrounding context – sits uncomfortably with a recent historiography that seeks to downplay any sense of ‘oneness’ in the political imagination of this period. While a bland homogeneity is not revealed in this correspondence, a sense of imagined unity or belonging to a single political community is. The timing of all these discussions is also fascinating when the orthodox account of Tāmihana’s role in the early King Movement is considered. The orthodox account is that when Tāmihana arrived back in New Zealand from England, having met Queen Victoria, he began with his relative Mātene Te Whiwhi to promote the notion of a king for the native people. The orthodox interpretation is that this movement was intended to secure a tribal land base and tribal – or supra-tribal, that is, ‘Māori’ – solidarity and survival.⁶² How does this activity square with Tāmihana’s contemporaneous discussions with Grey about Māori voting for, if not actual representation in, the General Assembly?

The available evidence from hui involving Tāmihana and Te Whiwhi at this 1853-54 period is equivocal in its meaning(s). In May 1853, Mātene Te Whiwhi returned from an important hui in the Bay of Plenty. According to Richard Taylor, Te Whiwhi carried with him a letter from Bay of Plenty chiefs addressing those of the ‘Hauauru’ or Western side of the island who could not attend the hui. The letter exhorted the unity of the two peoples (or countries) in the single house called New Zealand. Richard Taylor recorded the letter in his journal, in which the chiefs announced their ‘resolution’ (‘te whakapumautanga’):

Ko te Ariki te ta[h]uhu ko nui Tireni nga heke o te tahi taha, ko Ingarangi nga heke o tetahi taha huihuia he Wharekotahi.⁶³

*The Lord God is the ridgepole (or spine), New Zealand is the rafters on one side, England is the rafters on the other side, gathered together a unified House.*⁶⁴

Besides this letter, Taylor recorded in the same journal entry the ‘favourable account’ of the hui given by Te Whiwhi to the effect that ‘excepting Te Heuheu they found nearly all the principal chiefs desirous of being under the Queen’s rule’.⁶⁵ The chiefs’ resolution concerning a unified house with England on one side and New Zealand on the other is capable of different

⁶² See O’Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 78-79.

⁶³ Letter dated 31 May 1853, Maketu, ‘from Parete and 20 other chiefs’; in Richard Taylor, Journal, 6 May 1853, in Journals, vol. 8, qMS-1992, typescript, ATL.

⁶⁴ Translation by S. Carpenter and T. Chrisp; Richard Taylor gives a more interpretive rendering of this letter in his *Te Ika a Maui* (1855), 277: ‘New Zealand is the house, the Europeans are the rafters on one side, the Maori are the rafters on the other side; God is the ridge-pole, against which all lean, and the house is one’. The one key difference between this rendering and the reo Maori text, interestingly, is the way Taylor converts ‘Ingarangi/England’ into ‘the Europeans, and ‘nui Tireni/New Zealand’ into ‘the Maori’; this seems to confirm the identification of ‘the Natives’ with ‘Nui Tireni’, but it is not a literal reading of the Maori text of the letter.

⁶⁵ Richard Taylor, Journal, 6 May 1853, in Journals, vol. 8, qMS-1992, typescript, ATL.

interpretations; but this contemporaneous report of the hui is unequivocal, certainly with respect to accepting the Queen's authority. Put together, letter and report do not sound like a 'movement' towards the idea of a native king. Taylor recorded that the next day there was a 'large meeting' following church, 'when Martin [Te Whiwhi] read the letters from the chiefs of the interior exhorting them all to unite to the Europeans and become one people'.⁶⁶ This suggests the main message was one of unity between the peoples, rather than the question of authority; and again, Taylor makes no mention of a king. (This account is confirmed by Te Whiwhi at the Kohimarama conference in 1860, and he adds further detail concerning the church service that preceded the hui.⁶⁷)

About a year later, in May 1854, an inter-tribal hui took place at Manawapou, in Taranaki. This hui is an important milestone in the origin accounts of the Kīngitanga. This hui also expressed similar concerns about land loss, but Taylor's account via Tāmihana Te Rauparaha suggests the hui was not in any real respect unified. Taylor recorded the account given by Tāmihana on his return:

This evening Thompson arrived. He had ridden all the way from Whareroa, a distance of full 65 miles. He said the name of the building which had been erected to hold the meeting in was called Taiporohenui or the finishing of the work. It is 120 ft. long by 30. **The object of it is to get all the tribes to unite and sell no more land to the Europeans.** Thompson and Martin attended as the chiefs of the Ngatiraukawa with about a doz. companions. They met there about 500 of the Ngatiruanui. They tried to fix their boundaries from Kurukuru on the New Plymouth side to Kaiwi on the Wanganui side and that anyone who shd. try to sell within these boundaries shd. be tomyhawked. **The confusion of the meeting was so great that it was a regular Babel. The more influential men were opposed to these violent proceedings and manifested a more kindly spirit toward the Europeans.**⁶⁸
[emphasis added]

This account implies that Tāmihana and Te Whiwhi were amongst 'the more influential men' who opposed expressions of ill-will against the European population. This much seems certain, but it is fascinating that, as Taylor recorded a couple of weeks later when he rode up to Manawapou, that the house was given its name by Mātene. It was, explained Taylor, a name for the Western Coast and also used in a karakia for kumara crops.⁶⁹ Mātene's involvement in this house of assembly suggests the more integral involvement of Mātene, and perhaps

⁶⁶ Richard Taylor, Journal, 7 May 1853, in Journals, vol. 8, qMS-1992, typescript, ATL.

⁶⁷ See section below on Kohimarama.

⁶⁸ Richard Taylor, Journal, 8 May 1854, in Journals, vol. 8, qMS-1992, typescript, ATL.

⁶⁹ Richard Taylor, Journal, 25 May 1854, in Journals, vol. 8, qMS-1992, typescript, ATL.

Tāmihana too, in the central purpose of the hui relating to resisting further land sales. Taylor's published account of this hui, in his *Te Ika a Maui* (1855) confirms that it was Mātene that called the Manawapou hui in the first instance.

But what *Te Ika a Maui* also adds is a significant argument, significant because it picks up on these various strands of debate, including that evident in Tāmihana's letter about the Pākehā parliament. Taylor argued that various 'high Chiefs' should receive places in the General Assembly and that they should be recognised by Government with authority in their several localities, including by the payment of salaries. Taylor complained that Māori had not been advised of their rights to vote under the 1852 Constitution. It was this 'political degradation' that prompted chiefs of the calibre of Mātene Te Whiwhi to secure their own position through a tribal 'confederacy' and the appointment of a 'King or Governor' from among their own. In doing so, Taylor suggested they were affirming their own status as 'Maori Kings' and reacting to the lack of political recognition by Government. If the chiefs were given a real 'voice' in the administration of government, and their political position thus secured, Taylor felt that they would be more willing to sell land.⁷⁰

In context, the reference to chiefs as any number of 'Maori Kings' is a striking expression, though not unlike the way chiefs had occasionally been referred to since the time of Samuel Marsden. Taylor, however, provided a whole additional layer of interpretation of the May 1853 hui and May 1854 (Manawapou) hui from that evident in his journal. Indeed, this published account in *Te Ika a Maui* was arguably quite different, if not inconsistent, with his journal account, especially concerning the mid-1853 hui held at Taupo, Rotorua, Maketu and Waikato (locations only explained clearly in *Te Ika a Maui*). In that journal account he had not referred at all to the concept of a king but wrote instead about an acceptance of the Queen's rule, and the resolution that New Zealand and England be a unified house. In December 1856, Tāmihana wrote to McLean advising that Mātene Te Whiwhi had gone to a hui in Taupo with Te Heuheu, but that he remained at home at Ōtaki as he did not agree with the 'tikanga' of the journey.⁷¹ This would appear to be one of the key early King Movement hui – probably the hui at Pūkawa on the western shores of Lake Taupo. There remains in these sources considerable ambiguity, especially when it comes to the real evidence of Tāmihana's role in promoting the idea of a 'Kingi maori'? About Mātene Te Whiwhi there seems more evidence, but even here it is still equivocal.⁷²

⁷⁰ See Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 273-78.

⁷¹ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha to McLean, 20 Dec. 1856, MS-Papers-0032, McLean papers, ATL.

⁷² W. H. Oliver's biography of Te Whiwhi follows the orthodox account of Matene's role, inspired by Tāmihana's return from England; see W. H. Oliver, 'Te Whiwhi, Henare Matene', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*,

On 30 December 1859, Tāmihana wrote to Donald McLean from his sheep farm at Kukutauaki. He first mentioned a dispute with a kinsman over a lease of Ōtaki land and the lease monies therefrom. The more significant dispute though (for my purposes) was that with Wi Tako Ngātata – the Te Ātiawa chief of Wellington – over Tāmihana’s alleged entire reformation to Pākehā ways. As Tāmihana put it:

Kua riro a Wi Tako ki raro. I kau[? kore] ano e tawaia[?] ana e au kia noho ki te mahi rawa mona, kia tupu ai ia. I mua i te pai, ki mai ana ki au **he Pakeha tonu aku whakaaro. Kaore he tangata i haere i a Tako o tenei wahi.** [emphasis added]

*Wi Tako has gone north. He was not persuaded [?] by me to stay and to work hard and improve himself. Earlier, when there was peace, **he said that I think like a Pakeha. Well no one in this place goes along with Tako.*** [emphasis added]

The last sentence contained the sting: he did not deny the charge of ‘thinking like a Pakeha’, but rather seemed to dismiss the relevance of the charge. What is more, Tāmihana claimed to speak for the wider tribal population as a leading rangatira of the Kāpiti Coast and its hinterland. We here, he was saying, are quite happy to pursue Pākehā ways. As if to emphasize this point, Tāmihana then wrote that he was commencing a new farming operation on some land, and asked the governor and McLean for some ‘support’ for this venture, as McLean had previously offered.⁷³ At the Kohimarama Conference in July 1860 he was even more explicit: in responding to a question from the governor seeking views on the need to make tenure of land more certain, Tāmihana said that his tribe(s) were quick to adopt European customs (‘he iwi hohoro matou ki te tango i nga tikanga a te Pakeha...’) and likewise that European land tenure should be adopted. He even declared: ‘We are Pakehas now’ (‘He Pakeha tatou’).⁷⁴

The early 1860s: problems with chiefs and kings (and governors?)

Tāmihana wrote to Bishop Selwyn in April 1860.⁷⁵ This is an important letter for a number of reasons. It expressed Tāmihana’s stance towards the Waitara transaction: he suggested that ‘Te Teira was right’, that Wiremu Kingi’s actions were ‘folly’, and, as apparent rhetorical commentary on the whole situation – ‘who can know the boundaries of the Maori from his forbears conquests (?)’. He stated his concern about the killing of Europeans by that ‘wicked tribe’, Ngāti Awa, in Taranaki, and compared this situation with his people being ‘on congenial terms’ with the Port Nicholson settlers. How Tāmihana was getting his information is another

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t89/te-whiwhi-henare-matene>; much of this would appear to be based on Taylor’s journal account and *Te Ika a Maui*.

⁷³ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha to McLean, 30 Dec 1859, MS-Papers-0032-0683D-6, ATL.

⁷⁴ *Te Karere Maori/The Maori Messenger*, 31 July 1860, 39-40

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/07/31/39>).

⁷⁵ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha to Selwyn, 19 Apr. 1860, ANG 90/4/119, KL.

interesting feature of this text. The opinion on Te Teira's position was seemingly derived from Donald McLean, who was in turn citing opinion on the ground in Taranaki. Tāmihana also asked Selwyn to write to him with more information on the Waikato and Taranaki troubles. Lastly, he expressed his desire to accompany Selwyn to a large gathering at Ngāruawāhia, being convened 'in support of Wiremu' (Wiremu Kīngi seems the obvious reference). He set out their joint purpose in attending such hui:

Kia tami taua i ena kino, kia koa taua ki nga w[h]akaaro pai mo **te ata noho marire o te maori o te pakeha** i runga i te ora me te pai hoki. Otira me tuhi mai koe e taku ariki e te Pihopa. Whakakahangia koe e te Atua. [emphasis added]

We could suppress the evil and instil the concept of the peaceful occupation [or co-existence] by both Maori and European, with happiness and harmony. Please write to me, my leader, the bishop, may the Lord give you strength.

The letter closed with greetings from his wife to the Bishop and Mrs Selwyn and the statement 'Hadfield and myself are well and happy', and other sundry remarks.⁷⁶

Steven Oliver interprets this April-May 1860 moment as the point where Tāmihana 'broke' with the King Movement.⁷⁷ Is 'break' a fair description of this moment? Tāmihana seemed to take the side of Teira on the substantive issue of land ownership or right to alienate, and expressed his 'sadness' at 'the prospect of Waikato taking up this folly of Wiremu Kingi' ('Kei te pouri au, mehemea ka tupeke mai a Waikato ki te mahi kuaare a Wiremu Kingi, a wai ranei' – the 'kuare' here for folly or perhaps 'unenlightened action' is quite strong). Yet he also expressed some doubt by saying he was 'not familiar with the ways of that region' (in te reo Māori, it seems more direct – 'Kaore hoki au e mohio ana ki nga tikanga o taua w[h]enua'). Tāmihana also implored Selwyn to persevere in solving the problems of 'your Waikato children'. And he wanted to attend the Ngāruawāhia hui with Selwyn, even though called in support of Wiremu Kīngi, to 'suppress evil' and encourage peaceful co-existence of Māori and Pākehā (or rather, 'te maori, te pakeha'). He did not refer to the King Movement at any point, referring rather to 'Waikato'. In other words, there was no directly expressed opposition to the Kīngitanga as such; rather his concern was for peace.

After describing a 'break' with the Kīngitanga, Steven Oliver next refers to Tāmihana's opposition to the flying of the 'King's flag' at Ōtaki, and then his journey to the Wairarapa 'to

⁷⁶ The relationship between Tāmihana and Hadfield was not always happy, as Eric Ramsden recounts in *Rangiatea* (although his reconstruction of this as it pertained to Tāmihana collecting funds for the proposed Whitireia College in England might be queried, in part because David Williams shows that Hadfield was in support of this concept at the beginning, c. 1847).

⁷⁷ Oliver, 'Te Rauparaha, Tāmihana', Te Ara.

oppose King influence in Wairarapa'. (Oliver also says that, 'In the later 1860s Tāmihana and Te Whiwhi used their influence to prevent the wars from reaching the Wellington area. They gained acceptance for the proposal that it should be a zone of peace, although men would be able to travel from it to join the fighting in the north, if they wished.') These are certainly actions that seem opposed to the Kīngitanga as such, although arguably the underlying concern is the same – to uphold peace and perhaps also uphold the Queen's law. In other words, there is not a sense in which Tāmihana is 'breaking' away or turning away from something he has previously supported; the picture is more equivocal. In part this is so because the record is unclear as to whether Tāmihana ever directly supported the concept of a native monarch – as the narrative analysis above has suggested.

In May 1860 Tāmihana wrote twice to McLean. In the first letter, he referred to a local survey dispute and then the 'Waikato flag' brought by Wī Tako. There had been discussions – but obviously no resolution – on whether to put the flag up. He stated that he was prepared to discuss the issue with the Kahungunu tribe 'on a friendly basis'. He suggested that he could collate the views of each tribe in writing, and then send them to *Te Karere*, the Government newspaper.⁷⁸ On 16 May 1860, Tāmihana wrote to McLean, this time from Pōneke (Wellington). He advised that he would follow McLean's instructions and go to Wairarapa to meet with Māori. He also referred to the imminent arrival of Governor Grey. He sent best wishes from his wife to McLean.⁷⁹

On 28 May 1860, Tāmihana addressed a letter to 'my Pakeha friends' on the reason for his visit to the Wairarapa. The letter was published in the original, with translation, in the *New Zealand Spectator* on 2 June,⁸⁰ and in translation only in the *Wellington Independent* on 5 June 1860.⁸¹ Tāmihana's original letter in Māori was published or printed separately for distribution, at the office of the *Spectator*.⁸² In it, Tāmihana recounted his departure from Wellington on 17 May, after which he visited Te Puni and others (Te Ātiawa or 'Ngāti Awa' chiefs at Petone) and ascertained their intentions 'to live in peace with the Europeans, and under the Mana of the Queen of England and New Zealand also'. He then saw Wī Tako and requested that he 'write to his friends at Otaki, and tell them not to hoist the Maori flag from

⁷⁸ Tāmihana to McLean, May 1860, MS-Papers-0032-0684D-01, ATL; Tāmihana was in Wellington in c. April-May 1860, where he attended with other Maori leaders from Wellington a meeting hosted by local settler leaders; expressions of goodwill and unity were mostly the order of the day: see 'Native Meeting at Wellington', *Wellington Independent*, 1 May 1860.

⁷⁹ Tāmihana to McLean, 16 May 1860, MS-Papers-0032-0684D-12, ATL; Tāmihana also wrote to McLean on 6 Apr. 1860, assuring him that a meeting of chiefs at Otaki had peaceable intentions: published in *Te Karere Maori/The Maori Messenger*, 15 Apr 1860, 3.

⁸⁰ I cannot locate this issue on Papers Past.

⁸¹ *Wellington Independent*, 5 June 1860, 3.

⁸² BIM 524.

Waikato'. He encouraged the chief Wikitoria Taringa Kuri (of Ngāti Tama) to adopt the same stance. He reached Pāpāwai (near Greytown) on 21 May, and met the leaders the next day. He ascertained their troubles with the Government concerning land, but counselled them to lay these concerns before the Governor at Auckland and 'never more ... mention the name of the Maori King, but return to their mother the Queen'. Tāmihana reacted angrily to a sentiment expressed by some of Ngāti Raukawa that his father still needed to be avenged for his imprisonment (by the Governor on board the *Calliope* was obviously meant). Rejecting this, Tāmihana declared, 'You cannot revenge the wrong done to my father; turn your attention to stock and to your cultivations, by which means you will obtain wealth, and live in peace; by doing this you will revenge the death of my father, it cannot be revenged by evil'. Some of the rangatira of Ngāti Kahungunu agreed to send an emissary to Ōtaki 'to speak against the hoisting of the Maori flag'. Tāmihana finished the letter by referring to a letter he had seen from Te Hāpuku to the chiefs of Wairarapa, viz., 'he [Te Hāpuku] wished the natives to continue on friendly terms towards the Europeans, and not join the Maori King'.⁸³

McLean wrote to Tāmihana on 24 June 1860, informing him that he and various Wanganui chiefs had arrived at Waikanae and that 'tomorrow our steamer will arrive at Waikanae to take you aboard. Make haste hither'.⁸⁴ Based on the dates and reference to Whanganui chiefs, this letter must refer to the trip taken by steamer of McLean and various lower North Island chiefs to the Kohimarama Conference, which began on 10 July 1860.

The Kohimarama Conference: the speeches of Tāmihana

The Kohimarama Conference began on 10 July and concluded on 11 August 1860.⁸⁵ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha took a prominent role in the conference. He spoke on at least 14 days of the conference (and on some days gave more than one speech).⁸⁶ The most fascinating language he used was that pertaining to the native kingship and the name of king in particular. He said he was 'grieved' concerning this 'new thing. I mean this new name – the Maori King' ('ki tenei mea hou, ki tenei ingoa hou, ki te kingi Maori'). He thought its tendency was to cause division

⁸³ *Wellington Independent*, 5 June 1860, 3.

⁸⁴ McLean to Tāmihana, 24 Jun 1860, MS-Papers-0032-0684E-07, ATL.

⁸⁵ Much has been written on the Kohimarama conference, but the best recent analysis is Lachy Paterson, 'The Kohimarama Conference of 1860: A Contextual Reading', *Journal of New Zealand Studies* (2011): 29-46; see also Claudia Orange, 'The Covenant of Kohimarama: a Ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi', *New Zealand Journal of History* 14/1 (1980):61-82. Paterson in part critiques the Orange thesis that the conference was primarily viewed, including by chiefs, as a 'ratification' of the Treaty of Waitangi; he emphasizes rather the leading issues of the Waitara, the King Movement, and land issues generally and the Crown's attempt to bolster support for a racially-inclusive vision of British rule.

⁸⁶ According to the official minutes of the Conference, *AJHR* 1860 E-09: 17 July, 18 July (twice), 20 July, 23 July, 24 July (twice), 25 July, 26 July, 27 July, 2 Aug (twice), 3 Aug (thrice), 6 Aug, 7 Aug, 8 Aug, 9 Aug; and lead one petition signed in writing on 3 Aug (to make the conference permanent).

and ill feeling between ‘nga tangata Maori’ and ‘nga Pakeha’. He asked that the king and the ‘title of king’ be ‘put down’. He went even further and suggested that the name of king originated with the Pākehā, singling out Charles Davis as the instigator, and suggesting that he should be ‘tried’ so that it was known where the fault lay.⁸⁷

Tāmihana reiterated this staunch opposition to the Kīngitanga a few days later when he referred to a story circulating at the conference that the King Movement had ‘originated in the south’ (the reo Māori ‘na runga’ here is unclear as to the exact region south (or ‘above’) of Auckland, but in a speech on 2 August he is explicit that he means ‘from our [‘matou’] village, at the other end of our [‘tatou’] island’⁸⁸). He implied that he had no responsibility at all for this supposed origin but rather agreed – with Waka Nene in this instance – that the ‘King project should be given up’. He went further, suggesting that the project was the idea of younger men, that Te Heuheu was the only old chief, ‘but he is foolish’ (unlike his brother, added Tāmihana). He then even implied that Te Heuheu had come to him and offered the title of king to preserve the memory and mana of ‘the great name of Te Rauparaha’, but he told Te Heuheu to return to his home.⁸⁹ On another day he referred to the name of king being ‘invented’ (‘e whakahuatia ana’) by Waikato, again expressing his disapproval.⁹⁰

Given the orthodox story that Tāmihana himself originated the King Movement on return from England, these speeches cannot be passed over. It might be thought that by 1860, Tāmihana sought to save face and protect his reputation with the Governor and Pākehā authority. Or it might be suggested that he had changed his mind about the whole idea. But the better answer, I suggest, is that Tāmihana never promoted the idea of a native kingship in the first place; that at most the record suggests he promoted the retention of land by tribes and some sort of solidarity between the tribes. Such a version of the history was confirmed forthrightly by Mātene Te Whiwhi a few days later. He referred to another story being spoken of that he (Te Whiwhi) was the origin of ‘the Maori King scheme’ (‘te tikanga mo te Kingi Maori’). He referred to a letter that he carried back to Whanganui where he saw Bishop Selwyn and Governor Grey. (It seems this was the letter referred to by Richard Taylor from Bay of Plenty chiefs

⁸⁷ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 July 1860: 22-24

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/07/31/22>).

⁸⁸ See his second speech on 2 August, in *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Aug. 1860, 65

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/08/03/65>).

⁸⁹ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 31 Jul. 1860, 56-57

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/07/31/56>); on 7 August (towards the close of the conference) he repeats this account of Te Heuheu visiting himself (and Te Whiwhi) re the kingship but says ‘we would not consent’: see *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Sep 1860: 15 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/09/01/15>).

⁹⁰ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Aug 1860: 18

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/08/03/18>).

encouraging unity between the tribes and the Europeans, viz: *'The Lord God is the ridgepole (or spine), New Zealand is the rafters on one side, England is the rafters on the other side, gathered together a unified House'* – see section above.) Te Whiwhi elaborated that Bishop Selwyn said he would address the letter's subject on the following day, a Sunday, but suggested that 'the word of God' supported the concept of 'love and union to all the tribes'.⁹¹ At service the next day, Mātene stated that the Bishop's word (probably during the homily) was 'that the Maories should be strong to make firm the bonds of love amongst the Native tribes'.⁹² Mātene then proceeded (with his 'companion' – probably Tāmihana is meant) to Rotorua and then returned to Ōtaki; at that point Te Heuheu called the Taupo hui (the 1856 hui is probably meant).⁹³ Hence, Te Whiwhi argued that he supported a movement of unity among the tribes rather than 'te Kingi Maori'. Still, the concept that the tribes should become 'one people' was a significant, transformative idea, as reflected in Te Whiwhi's words to the Rotorua chiefs, reflecting Selwyn's: 'ko nga iwi Maori kia honohonoa kia kotahi'.⁹⁴

Such talk of 'unity' or 'oneness' could lean towards the unity of Māori or the unity of Māori with Pākehā – concerning which we should avoid the conclusion that these were two inconsistent models of political community. A case in point was Tāmihana's statements at the conference that expressed his vision concerning an emerging polity of Māori and Pākehā. He said that the object of the Governor's (or McLean's) suggestions re land tenure, and the Treaty of Waitangi also, was 'to unite the Pakeha and the Maori' ('hei whakakotahi ... i nga Pakeha i nga Maori'). Ngāpuhi alone were not interested in the Treaty. In a later speech he stated that 'our old chiefs', including Te Rauparaha, did not object to the Treaty and the sovereignty ('maru') of the Queen. He desired that the conference should 'ratify this Treaty' ('kia

⁹¹ The original was: 'ma koutou ma nga rangatira Maori e kawē te aroha e tuhonohono ki nga iwi katoa'.

⁹² The original was: 'kia kaha ki te whakau i te aroha ki nga iwi Maori'. Te Whiwhi (and Tāmihana?) then went to the Rotorua hui where he stated to the chiefs: 'ko taku kupu i reira ko nga iwi Maori kia honohonoa kia kotahi', translated simply as 'my word there was that the Native tribes should be joined together and become one people'.

⁹³ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Aug. 1860, 39 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/08/03/39>).

Matene elaborates on various other kōrero between the chiefs at the Taupo hui in particular. He suggests a difference of opinion with the Taupo and Waikato chiefs and argued (at the hui) that the Queen was the only foundation for the authority of all the chiefs. But he also suggests that Te Heuheu stated his view that 'God and the Queen' were the only things that mattered; this is of course inconsistent with the orthodox story that Matene promoted a king per se, as seen in James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars* (Wellington, 1922), 435; this account is also quite inconsistent with the article in *Te Hokioi* in June 1862 that suggested that Matene proposed that he himself be made king: see *Te Hokioi o Nui-Tireni, e rere atuna*, 15 Jun. 1862 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/hokioi-o-nui-tireni-e-rere-atuna/1862/06/15/3>).

⁹⁴ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Aug. 1860, 39.

whakapumautia’) so that the Queen’s protection (‘maru’) was not withdrawn.⁹⁵ (Claudia Orange’s important article on Kohimarama took this concept as its subtitle, and attributed the idea in the first instance to Tāmihana; McLean then affirmed the idea.⁹⁶)

Tāmihana also stated clearly that Māori and Pākehā should share in the Government (‘matatou tetahi taha o te Kawanatanga ma te Pakeha tetahi’) and therefore that the conference should be made permanent so that afterwards their children could carry on the work.⁹⁷ (This is quite consistent with his earlier 1853 letter to Taylor suggesting that Māori should join in the work of ‘te huihuinga o nga pakeha’ – perhaps referring to the General Assembly itself.) Mātene Te Whiwhi spoke after him; this happened on more than one occasion. Te Whiwhi supported this proposal, clarifying the request that the conference be held annually. Tāmihana’s speech seemed to equate the conference with the participation of Māori in government. But a few days later he referred specifically to the participation of Māori in ‘the Pakeha Councils’ (‘nga runanga Pakeha’) now that the powers of decision no longer rested with the Governor alone. ‘For this reason’, Tāmihana said, ‘we are most anxious that Maories should take part in the Councils’ (‘koia tatou i tino hiahia ai kia uru te Maori ki nga runanga’). Tāmihana’s use of the plural ‘nga’ – councils – makes it doubtful that he was thinking specifically of the General Assembly as opposed to local councils and other bodies, perhaps even courts and the like. The General Assembly was, however, the leading rūnanga Pākehā.⁹⁸

Governor Browne’s language when raising the King Movement in his opening address at Kohimarama is another important context for the conference debates on the Kīngitanga. Browne stated that some native tribes (‘etahi Iwi Maori’) had considered that they should combine together, throw off their allegiance to the Sovereign, and should set up a Māori King and declare themselves to be ‘an independent Nation’ (‘hei Iwi ke’).⁹⁹ The reo Māori cannot quite capture the expansive sense of the English: a separate people or tribe is not the

⁹⁵ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Aug. 1860, 32

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/08/03/32>): of note is the use of ‘sovereignty’ and then ‘protection’ for the same Maori word ‘maru’ (in English conceptions, however, quite consistent understandings of the Queen’s authority). Also of note is Thompson’s statement that the Treaty was to be set aside in England but the Queen would not allow it; McLean confirms this story in a response later in the day – this is probably a reference to the waste lands instructions.

⁹⁶ See Orange, *The Covenant of Kohimarama*, 69.

⁹⁷ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Aug. 1860, 3

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/08/03/3>).

⁹⁸ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Aug. 1860, 19

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/08/03/19>); he also refuted the idea that the conference had been called because of the problems in Taranaki, as he said McLean some years ago discussed such a rūnanga with him and other chiefs.

⁹⁹ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 14 July 1860, 7-8

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/07/14/7>).

equivalent of ‘an independent nation’. Browne was really pointing to the phenomenon of creating a new polity – a political community. Although the original sense of ‘he iwi ke’ did not reflect that, as earlier chapters have pointed out, the word iwi was being pressed into service in translating the biblical concepts of nations or different kingdoms and polities; therefore by 1860 the wider linguistic and political contexts had, I suggest, stretched the meaning of ‘iwi’ or ‘iwi ke’ to reflect more biblical and/or European categories. This does not mean, of course, that everyone’s conception of ‘he iwi ke’/a separate people was the same in 1860 – but the available linguistic senses were certainly more numerous than they had been in 1820 or 1830. The speeches of Tāmihana te Rauparaha and others, partly in response to this speech of Browne’s, seem to support the idea that the chiefs wanted to remain members of the Queen’s iwi or political community; but they also wanted an active share in its governance.

Following the Kohimarama Conference, Tāmihana wrote to McLean in March 1861. This was a long letter, which is summarised first before the detail is discussed. The letter described the raising of the Waikato flag or King’s flag at Ōtaki.¹⁰⁰ The ceremony included dancing around and bowing down to the flag, which Tāmihana compared with past heathen practices. He described the various hapū groups who supported the raising of the King’s flag. A type of ‘battle of the flags’ ensued, with supporters of the Queen raising her flag. The Queen’s loyalists needed to ‘restrain’ their ‘anger’ as ‘the arrangement of these things is with our father the Governor Gore Browne namely the insolent behaviour of some of our relatives at this time’. He also referred to several Wairarapa chiefs, naming specifically Ngairo and Te Mānihera Rangitakaiwaho, returning to their homes (the reference here is probably to their return from fighting in Taranaki). They had wished to see the raising of the King’s flag but were ‘sent back’ by Tāmihana’s party. Tāmihana says at the end of the letter that he did not himself witness the flag raising ceremony, so he was obviously reporting at secondhand.¹⁰¹

Tāmihana opened the letter by stating that he wrote ‘that you may obtain definite information’ – ‘you and the father, Governor Gore Browne’ concerning:

the hoisting of the Waikato flag, which we have been disputing about during the months now passed, and it is now nearly a year that we have been objecting that it should not be erected, but **be left on the ground** (‘kia waiho i te w[h]enua takoto ai’). Those people would not consent, but persisted in defying the Queen that their mana might exceed that of **the Queen of England and of New Zealand also** (‘te Kuini o Ingarani o Nui Tireni hoki’). The insolence of these **plebeians** (‘tutua’) is

¹⁰⁰ The flag debate at Otaki first ensued in May 1860, when Tāmihana, Matene and others, including Hadfield, had opposed the raising of the King’s flag: see *Wellington Independent*, 1 Jun. 1860, 5.

¹⁰¹ Tāmihana to McLean, 15 Mar. 1861, MS-Papers-0032-0685B-04, ATL.

very great, who [would] have had no lands here, if my father had not been kind to them.
[emphasis added]

The grief of my relatives and myself is great on account of these people and their insolence who say that the land will be taken by them. We replied – The place for an insolent man is wandering upon the mountains. On Tuesday the 12th March 1861 that flag staff was erected ('ka wakaarahia taua Kara'). We also erected the Queen's flag on the same day **as a barrier against the evil of that flag of the maori King of Waikato** ('hei arai atu i te Kino o taua Kara a te Kingi maori o Waikato'). [emphasis added]

In these opening stanzas, Tāmihana referred to the ongoing disputation concerning whether or not to raise the King's flag at Ōtaki – disputation that had commenced about a year before (May 1860, based on his letters above). His reference to the flag being 'left on the ground' is a debate that had recurred in various contexts since Heke had laid waste to the flagstaff holding 'te haki' – the Union Jack – in the period 1844-45. It was a debate that had taken place at key Kīngitanga meetings, including those involving the 'kingmaker', Wiremu Tāmehana (Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa). In the May 1857 hui hosted by Ngāti Hauā, at Paetai, another Wiremu – Te Awataia, of Ngāti Mahanga – denounced the king's flag, which seems to have been a version of the 1834 northern tribes' flag: 'there is bother (raruraru) in it... I am content with the old one [the Union Jack]. It is seen all over the world, and it belongs to me... If acknowledging that flag makes me a slave, I am a slave...'. A long silence followed this speech of Te Awataia, when Wiremu Tāmehana rose to speak, saying, *inter alia*, '... if you don't like the king, pull down the flag'.¹⁰²

Flags, and the allegiances they represented, seem to have been critical to much debate in this period. Some of the language used suggests that flags were understood as more than just symbols; there is a sense in which the physical raising of the flag, or the leaving it 'on the ground', carried with it spiritual or metaphysical power, to attract goodness or to repel evil. This sense is evident in Tāmihana's statement in which the Queen's flag – the Union Jack – is described as an 'ārai' (shield, barricade, obstacle) to block or ward off evil itself. This 'kino' (evil, badness, corruption) of the native king's flag was the disloyalty to the Queen that Tāmihana thought it represented, together with the political ramifications of disloyalty, which might very possibly include the removal of protection and subjection to military action. (The military dimension was real. Elsewhere in the letter Tāmihana recorded a King party leader threatening to fight the Queen's soldiers if they put down the King's flag.)

¹⁰² Cited O'Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 80.

Although flags were a central feature of these debates, their symbolic (or metaphysical) meanings were not always clear. Tāmihana also described, in this Ōtaki flag-raising, how Wī Tako's flag flew at the top of the flagstaff, with the King's flag in the centre and another flag (of uncertain identity) at the bottom. Wī Tako's flag apparently had its own name – 'Nukutewatewa' – which was probably an ancestral name. This name can probably be rendered 'Nukutewhatewha', the name of the pātaka that Wī Tako had had carved in the mid-1850s in support of the King Movement (the pātaka was carved by Horonuku Te Heuheu of Tūwharetoa). Since Wī Tako, of Te Ātiawa, was seemingly one of the leaders of the King party, as well as a rangatira of influence in the wider Wellington-Kāpiti region, he may have been asserting this status by the arrangement of flags. If so, then in a sense the mana of himself, and possibly his ancestor(s), was being maintained – over and above that of the Kingi maori. According to his biographer, Wī Tako supported the King but in the cause of peace. The King's flag raised at Ōtaki (or Pukekaraka) on 12 March 1861 – the same ceremony described by Tāmihana – was reportedly given to Wī Tako by King Pōtatau on a visit to Ngāruawāhia in 1860.¹⁰³

Against what he considered the pretensions of a 'native King', Tāmihana in this March 1861 letter asserted the rightful authority of 'the Queen of England and of New Zealand'. This is a phrase that he repeated a number of times in this period. It seems in large part to have been a response to the concept that there might be a Kingi maori for New Zealand. It is important here to render 'Kingi maori' as native King – with the 'maori' in lower-case 'm' – as this captures the sense in which the concept of 'ordinary' or 'natural' had started to be applied to those iwi or peoples 'native' to the country, but was not yet a noun uniformly taking a capital 'M' and the referent for a homogenous entity – that is, the 'Māori' people or population: the capitalization of the 'm' does occur, but not consistently. At the same time as 'maori' was acquiring its new senses or referents, so also was the 'iwi maori' being identified with the entire landmass of 'Nu Tirenī'. The 1834 northern tribes' flag carried by the 'King party' at the 1857 Paetai hui had an additional inscription sewn into the fabric that read 'Potatau, King of New Zealand'.¹⁰⁴ The concept of a native people – encompassing all the many hapū – was apparently being identified with the geographic landmass of 'Nu Tirenī', while the leader of

¹⁰³ A. R. Cairns, 'Ngatata, Wiremu Tako', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1n10/ngatata-wiremu-tako> (accessed, 19 November 2018); Wī Tako had investigated the Waitara dispute and believed Te Teira had no right to sell the land (he had visited Teira himself), and he encourage Grey to right the wrong done at Waitara. He opposed his people fighting in the Taranaki conflicts of the early 1860s. Eventually, in June 1864, he signed a declaration at the office of the Colonial Secretary, William Fox, withdrawing his support from the King; Paterson gives a nuanced view of Wī Tako's relationship with the Kingitanga: see Lachy Paterson, *Colonial Discourses: Niupepa Māori 1855-1863* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006), 151-53.

¹⁰⁴ Cited O'Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 80.

this embryonic people-nation was one chief – Pōtatau. Of course, this was the vision of only some select hapū, in certain areas, but it was a concept that was gaining ground. Perhaps this is why Tāmihana articulated the counter-assertion that Victoria was Queen of both England and New Zealand. The concept of ‘New Zealand/ Nu Tireni’ had more than one sense – it was a shifting or uncertain amalgam of the native people or tribes and the place or islands. It does not appear here as a referent for the Colony or colonies of Europeans. In other words, ‘Nu Tireni’ here is *native* New Zealand.¹⁰⁵

In May 1862, Tāmihana wrote to George Grey. The letter expressed affection for Grey, who, the letter implied, was suffering from some malady in Wellington. Tāmihana referred to the recent bout of bad weather in explanation of Grey’s condition. He wrote that there had been no discussion (‘korero’) among his people since Grey had last been present with them. They were waiting now for him to discuss the return of Grey’s ‘children’ to the ‘right path’. He also mentioned his happiness at the imminent arrival of ‘Pura’ (probably Walter Buller), who was coming to assist them. He closed the letter with interesting language about Grey’s decisions regarding the native people of local villages and, indeed, ‘te iwi maori’ generally.¹⁰⁶

The reference to discussions about land could possibly refer to the debates on new legislation for native land in the aftermath of Waitara, although the main parliamentary debates on the 1862 legislation (the Native Lands Act 1862) did not take place until August 1862. More likely, it was Grey’s ‘new institutions’, using the machinery of 1858 legislation on native districts. More than a dozen districts were proclaimed between December 1861 and April 1862.¹⁰⁷ These ‘new institutions’ enabled by-laws to be made by local and district rūnanga, allowed those rūnanga to participate in settling land disputes, and provided for salaried native assessors along with European magistrates and Civil Commissioners.¹⁰⁸ It is quite feasible that Grey had previously visited the Wellington-Kāpiti area to explain his new institutions (at least, Tāmihana seems to refer to an earlier visitation), and in any event Tāmihana would surely have seen Government-issued circulars on these proposals, including that issued in December

¹⁰⁵ That is, its use appears very similar to the 1853 formula recorded by Richard Taylor (see above): ‘*The Lord God is the ridgepole (or spine), New Zealand is the rafters on one side, England is the rafters on the other side, gathered together a unified House.*’; also cf. use by Tāmihana quoting Te Rangihaeata: ‘... if this man [a native offender] was given up to the pakeha the power (mana) of New Zealand would be lost’/ ‘... ki te riro taua tangata i te Pakeha, ka riro te mana o Niu Tireni’ (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/08/03/23>).

¹⁰⁶ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha ki a Hori Kerei kei Poneke, Otaki, Mei 29, 1862, MS-Papers-2496, Sir George Grey Papers, ATL.

¹⁰⁷ Cited Vincent O’Malley, ‘Te Rohe Potae Political Engagement, 1840-1863’, Waitangi Tribunal commissioned report, Wai 898, #A23, 407.

¹⁰⁸ Notification from Governor to tribes, December 1861, *AJHR* 1862, E-2, 22; cited O’Malley, ‘Te Rohe Potae Political Engagement, 1840-1865’, 395.

1861.¹⁰⁹ This context makes sense of Tāmihana's reference to Grey's arrangements for local 'kainga' (villages) and to the probable reference to Walter Buller, who became a Resident Magistrate in Manawatū under the new arrangements.¹¹⁰ Buller filed a return of Native Assessors in his district in June 1863, a list that was headed by Tāmihana's name. This list shows that Tāmihana was paid at least twice as much per year as any other chief (£100, compared with £50 for Mātene Te Whiwhi), which is some recognition of his status or influence (and it can be noted that European 'Native Medical Officers' and Interpreters were only paid £150, at most).¹¹¹ A later assessment by a Government official presented an inconsistent picture when it called Tāmihana a 'second rate' chief, and others such as Mātene Te Whiwhi and Wī Tako as 'first rate', but at least his conduct was noted as 'good' rather than 'Kingite' or 'doubtful' (in the case of Wī Tako).¹¹²

Like other letters to figures such as Selwyn, and even McLean, the personal sentiments expressed in this letter are too affecting to be dismissed as mere form. The opening line in this letter begins with the poetic phraseology, 'the reverberations (‘ngaeuetanga’) of the news about you lying there in Wellington have arrived here'. The relationship of Tāmihana and his wife, Ruta, with Grey and his wife began during Grey's first governorship. Despite the way in which Tāmihana's father had been treated by Grey, there was obviously real feeling that had grown up, certainly on Tāmihana's side. But even on Grey's side, there seems to have been some reciprocation. Tāmihana's wife, Ruta, wrote a letter to Governor and Lady Grey in November 1851, in which she referred to the Greys visiting her during Tāmihana's absence in England, and her great affection for them both and their children.¹¹³ A draft letter in Grey's hand, also in te reo Māori and in the Grey papers, was possibly prepared for Lady Grey to reply to Ruta's letter. It says that the writer's husband has returned from Auckland and hopes that hers in England will return to her soon after.¹¹⁴

Lastly with reference to Tāmihana's May 1862 letter to Grey, the use of 'tangata Maori' followed by 'te iwi Maori' requires comment. The full sentence read:

¹⁰⁹ See 'Notification', December 1861, *AJHR* 1862, E-2.

¹¹⁰ Ross Galbreath, 'Buller, Walter Lawry', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b46/buller-walter-lawry> (accessed, 19 November 2018).

¹¹¹ Walter Buller, Resident Magistrate, 'Return', 18 Jun 1863, Copy Micro 0483/19, Mantell Family Papers, ATL.

¹¹² 'Register of Chiefs and Assessments of Their Character and Behaviour under Various Districts' [n.d.], MA23 15/25, ANZ.

¹¹³ Ruta Te Rauparaha to Governor and Lady Grey, Otaki, 6 Nov. 1851, GNZMA 677, Grey papers, APL. The letter concludes with a waiata [song]: Rangi korerehu i marewa atu ai . . . And another: 'Tera Tariao kokiri ki runga. . .', which it would be good to have translated.

¹¹⁴ Letter to Ruta Te Rauparaha [n.d.], GNZMA 427, Grey papers, APL.

Ka kite au i **nga tangata maori** o aua Kainga maku e korero atu to o tikanga pai rawa ki a ratou ara ki a matou **ki te iwi maori**.

This could be rendered:

When I see **the native people(s)** (or ‘natives’) of those villages, I will converse [with them] about your excellent arrangements (or plan) for them, that is, for us **the native people**.¹¹⁵

With reference, seemingly, to Grey’s new institutions for Māori self-government and land arrangements, Tāmihana referred to ‘the natives’ of the settlements and to ‘te iwi maori’ – the native people as a whole. This is one of the earliest uses I have seen in Māori-authored correspondence of ‘te iwi maori’ – the native people referred to as a single collective. A comparison with uses of the term in the newspapers of the day demonstrates that ‘te iwi Maori’ (or ‘te iwi maori’) was indeed uncommon. The term first appeared in the printed newspapers (mostly *Te Karere*) in 1848 and experienced a little spike in use from the mid-1850s to early 1860s, after which it seemed to decline slightly to 1870 (before experiencing a revival in the early 1870s). Interestingly, the phrase ‘nga iwi Maori’ (native tribes, plural) occurs first the year after, in 1849, but appears with about five times greater regularity than ‘te iwi Maori’ to 1870. By comparison, the terms ‘te tangata Maori’ and ‘nga tangata Maori’ – which might both be rendered as ‘the native people’ or ‘the natives’ – appear much earlier (1842) and with far greater regularity in the same period.¹¹⁶ This evidence of language usage indicates that any use of ‘te iwi Maori’ for a single collectivity in the period 1840-1870 was linguistically significant, because it emerges tentatively only in the late 1840s, because it ‘spikes’ at just the time that a movement of pan-tribal unity is developing (thus reinforcing the reality of that phenomenon), and because it seems to decline in use from a high-point of about 1860. Its use by Tāmihana in 1862 – but perhaps not before then – suggests the fragility of a newly imagined political community of native tribes.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Translation by S. Carpenter (with assistance from T. Chrisp).

¹¹⁶ From searches of Papers Past (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers>): ‘te iwi Maori’ – from 1848 to Oct 1870, only **55 instances**; ‘nga iwi Maori’ – from 1849 to Dec 1870, **265 instances**; ‘te tangata Maori’ – from 1842 to Oct 1870, **522 instances**; ‘nga tāngata Maori’ – by July 1859 already has **560 uses/instances**. Note these are just the select, relevant periods: ‘nga tangata Maori’ is by far the greatest usage, with 2,639 results in total for all periods.

¹¹⁷ In making these broad overview comments, it should be acknowledged that my sample-size of texts has been highly selective or small relative to the whole (especially of manuscript material); however, the triangulation with the printed material on Papers-Past does seem to indicate the broad patterns of use that I have identified.

Conclusions

A central puzzle of Tāmihana's life was his role in the early phase of the 'native King' movement: what role did he *actually play*, and what exactly was he promoting – the holding of land, tribal solidarity, an embryonic Māori nationality, or even a native king? And how did this relate to his obvious expectation that, as a rangatira, he would be included in the new governing arrangements for New Zealand that had been discussed and debated by the government of Queen Victoria – at the very period, in fact, that he was in England and meeting the Queen? If there was to be a 'kingi maori', how did that relate to the authority of Kuini Victoria? The primary evidence reviewed here is certainly equivocal on his role in the early phase of the Māori King Movement. His proximity to Mātene Te Whiwhi in the early Manawapou hui of 1854 perhaps suggested to posterity that he promoted a king and helped to form the tradition that he did so on his return from England. But the direct evidence of these early hui is that they centred around the concern that Māori retain land. At most, the record suggests that Tāmihana – and even Te Whiwhi at this early 1853-55 period – lent support to the concept of a union of the native tribes, an embryonic form of nationality but with strong Christian or spiritual overtones rather than geo-political ones. By 1860, Tāmihana objected to the taking up of arms by hapū of Taranaki against the Crown. He actively opposed the Māori King's flag being raised at Ōtaki. He distinctly asserted that Queen Victoria was Queen of England as well as New Zealand; these appellations could just as easily be expressed as Queen of the English and the native peoples rather than being understood as geographical entities. He seems by then to have distinctly conceived of a unitary polity of Māori and Pākehā peoples under a single monarch.

A process of linguistic evolution seems to parallel the political debates. Discernable in Tāmihana's own texts is a shift in thinking from tribes/hapū, to 'nga tangata maori', to 'te iwi maori' – that is to say, Tāmihana begins to imagine the native peoples or tribes as constituting a single 'iwi' or 'people-nation'. The linguistic and wider political contexts of this shift could be explored through a much more extensive exploration of primary texts. However the evidence of Tāmihana's correspondence, when triangulated with the usages seen in the printed sources – the Bible and Prayer Book and the Māori-language newspapers – indicates the emergence of a new linguistic form 'te iwi Maori' substantially only as the 1850s unfold. Although much of the wider discourse seems preoccupied with the categories of 'Māori' and 'Pākehā', these were, in the first instance, simple identifiers of race or ethnicity, viz., those who were native to New Zealand and those from Britain (or Europe). There is little sense, until the language begins to shift in the 1850s, that there is any political or geo-political connotation to the idea of two different races. This is partly because the native peoples were not one but many. Tāmihana participated actively in this period, but his relationship to these changes is nuanced.

If these shifts in *mentalité* are occurring, as revealed in linguistic usage and other textual pronouncements, then they can only be understood in the context of the relational networks of Tāmihana's existence, and the institutions that formed an integral part of those relational contexts. A key impression one gains from a survey of Tāmihana's correspondence is the way that indigenous social and political – and therefore intellectual – existence had become intermingled by the 1840s-50s with the world of the Christian missions and, to a lesser extent, the world of the governors and their officials. In the extant letters surveyed here, the key correspondents were Bishop Selwyn, Richard Taylor, Governor Grey and Donald McLean. Regarding this intermingling, Richard Taylor's journals are a key source; if he was not holding a church service with hundreds or thousands of Māori in the 1840-50s, then he was tending the sick, or travelling south to Kāpiti and Wellington for some committee meeting where he frequently 'takes tea' at the homes of Tāmihana, Hadfield and others. Likewise, rangatira like Tāmihana were frequently on the move; he was often in the Whanganui region and hosted at Taylor's house – often with his relative Mātene Te Whiwhi. In short, these men almost lived in each other's houses. These are demonstrations of the phenomenon that when ideas travel, they do so not purely on a textual basis – the reading and exchange of written (or printed) ideas – but also in relational networks. They were also ideas that were embodied in key institutions: governor, queen, parliament, and settler assembly. Tāmihana personally encountered these political institutions, and, like other Māori leaders, this shaped his conception of political community in varying ways.

So what kind of political community, or communities, did Tāmihana Te Rauparaha imagine? The construction of his house in the mid-1840s – with its carvings outside and tukutuku inside¹¹⁸ – and the construction of Rangiatea – with tukutuku and carving on the inside¹¹⁹ – represents something about Tāmihana's approach to the new age of the Pākehā: he still wanted Māori to succeed as a people and retain their whakapapa and cultural memory; and he wanted them to succeed and survive *as a people*. This is evident from his proposal at the Kohimarama rūnanga that the Governor establish a school for native boys and girls 'whereby the maori race may prosper and be equal to the pakeha' ('kia tino tupu ai te Maori, kia penei ai me te Pakeha') and so that 'a generation may arise to uphold the maori name' ('kia tupu ai te tamariki hei whakamaranga i te ingoa o te tangata Maori'). At the same time, Tāmihana believed it was folly to attempt to vanquish the Pākehā or reject their influence, which he believed was good. His

¹¹⁸ Stack describes the interior, after staying with Tāmihana on their return from England: Reed, ed., *More Maoriland Adventures*, 127: '... I was pleased to find the two front rooms decorated after the best Maori style. The slabs supporting the walls were covered with scroll work, and the spaces between the slabs filled up with reeds and battens, on which were worked, with flax, the patterns usually seen on the best kind of Maori baskets'.

¹¹⁹ Stack also describes the church: *More Maoriland Adventures*, 129.

memory of England was called on to reinforce his argument: if you had been to England, he suggested, you would understand the good institutions of that place. Instead of separation he advocated the unity of the two peoples – ‘the black skins and the white skins’ – that all may prosper together (‘kia ora tahi ai tatou’).¹²⁰ And the Queen’s authority and person was conceived as that which bound the two peoples together – she was the parent of the Pākehā – the ‘tuakana’ – and the Māori – the ‘teina’.¹²¹ This was a picture akin to the Anglican state or Christian nation that was promulgated at Waitangi in 1840 as ‘he iwi tahi tatou’.

¹²⁰ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Aug. 1860, 25

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/08/03/25>).

¹²¹ ‘Kotahi tonu te Kuini he matua mo enei iwi e rua, e whakatuakana nei te Pakeha ki te Maori, me te Maori hei teina ki nga Pakeha’/ ‘There is but one Queen who is a parent for these two races, who thus stand in the mutual relation of elder and younger brothers. It is this *runanga* by which a light appears above the horizon like the morning star’, ‘Reply from Ngatitōa’, no. 2, 20 July 1860, in *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 30 Aug. 1860 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1860/11/30/29>).

Chapter 7: ‘A King for Myself’: Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa Wiremu Tāmeahana’s Conception of the Native Kingship

‘... waihoki ki nga roma o ia motu o ia motu e rere atu ra ki te waha o Te Parata, waihoki ko nga kingitanga katoa o ia iwi o ia iwi e whakamauru atu ana ki te Atua.’

In like manner as the currents from the various islands flow into the mouth of ‘Te Parata’, so also all the kingdoms of the different nations rest upon God.

Wiremu Tāmeahana to Governor Browne, [May] 1861.

‘Ko ta Ihowa, ko ta tou Atua e whiriwhiri ai, ko ia anake tau e mea ai hei kingi mou: ko tetahi o ou tuakana tau e mea ai hei kingi mou: e kore e ahei kia meatia e koe hei kingi mou te tangata iwi ke, ehara nei i te tuakana nou.’

Thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose: one from among they brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.

Tiuteronomi 17:15 [Deuteronomy 17:15]¹

‘Ma te whakarite whakawa a te kingi e mau ai te whenua...’

The king by judgment establisheth the land...

Whakatauki 29: 4 [Proverbs 29:4]²

Introduction

In earlier chapters, printed texts have been the primary focus for analysis – from the Bible and Prayer Book to works on ‘secular’ subjects such as *Nga Mahi a Pita*. In the last chapter on Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, the approach adopted was to build up an intellectual biography based on the texts authored mostly by Tāmihana himself. The present chapter – concerning Wiremu Tāmeahana’s conceptions of the native kingship – takes a different approach, in part because Wiremu Tāmeahana’s life and writings have been reasonably well treated, including his writings or correspondence pertaining to the selection and raising-up of the first Māori King. (To avoid confusion between the subjects of this chapter and the last, I will adopt ‘Tarapīpipi’ and sometimes Tāmeahana – with an ‘e’ – as a short-form reference to Wiremu Tāmeahana Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa.³) It is not necessary therefore to re-construct a narrative

¹ Cited in Wiremu Tāmeahana to Governor Browne, [May] 1861, *AJHR* 1865, E-11, 4.

² Cited in Wiremu Tāmeahana to Governor Browne, 7 Jun. 1861, *AJHR* 1865, E-11, 8.

³ This spelling inconsistency for the same name, Thompson, other than being to distinguish between the two subjects of chapters 6 and 7, is partly justified due to this spelling being adopted in the Ngāti Haua Deed of Settlement (2013): <https://www.govt.nz/assets/Documents/OTS/Ngati-Haua/Ngati-Haua-Deed-of-Settlement-18-July-2013.pdf> (although I also adopt the macron here, viz., Tāmeahana).

of Tarapīpipi's life and contributions from extant archival material – although he is still awaits a full-length biography informed by New Zealand, British-world and global historiographies.

This chapter is instead structured around a key text of Tarapīpipi's – what I am calling his 'epistle' to Browne in 1861 on the separateness of the nations (iwi) as a justification for a native kingship (1861).⁴ This piece of correspondence is an important one in the Tarapīpipi and Kīngitanga narrative because it was one of his most lengthy and considered *apologia* for the kingship. As such it contains much of his thought, and so I use it as an umbrella text to discuss various elements of this thought as they developed through the 1840s-50s period.

My key questions here are both 'what' he thought and 'how' he came to think it. In the first set, I want to consider his conceptions of the native kingship and, relatedly, of 'the nation' of 'New Zealand', or the relevant imagined political community. The second set of 'how' questions is, in effect, an inquiry into where he was getting his ideas from. Principally I consider the available printed material in the period, especially the newspapers and other printed books. In the first place, however, I conduct a close reading of the textual setting of one of the biblical verses that Tāmehana probably cited the most in his written justifications for the Kīngitanga; that is the book of Deuteronomy, from which he quoted chapter 17, verse 15 to the effect that 'you shall only select a king from among your own people'. The Deuteronomic subject-matter of God's chosen people, their promised land, their laws and their kings is critical to understanding Tāmehana's worldview (or *mentalité*).

I am also interested in other questions relating to the origins of the Kīngitanga, including the material bases or *realpolitik* of his promotion of the Kīngitanga; these contexts of political pressure and economic aspiration are important, but they have limited explanatory power for the phenomenon of the native kingship itself. The intellectual history methodology mostly adopted here carries the argument that the ideas or intellectual tools available to Tarapīpipi were the most significant causative factors in his promotion of a native *kingship*, as opposed to any other form of authority figure.

Critique of Kīngitanga historiography: *why* a King?

What does the historiography say about the adoption by Māori of the concept and institution of European kingship? Why was there a turn to kingship and not to anything else, such as a re-assertion of hapū or tribal authority, an assertion of some other form of pan-tribal authority or institution – perhaps akin to a pan-tribal rūnanga or parliament? In other words, why a

⁴ The original document appears to be contained within IA 14/3/27 (R18874398), ANZ; the text also appears printed in *AJHR* 1861, E1B; *AJHR* 1865, E11; and Evelyn Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana, Rangatira* (Wellington: Huia, 2002), 212-222 [Stokes does not cite the archival original]; see also Ann Parsonson, 'The Challenge to Mana Māori', in Geoffrey W. Rice, ed., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed., (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), 183-84.

king and not a chief, a *rūnanga* or a parliament? If a pan-tribal political leader, or a symbolic figurehead, was needed – the Kīngitanga seems to have aspects of both real and symbolic power – why a European-style leader or figurehead?

Angela Ballara has written:

For their part, contemporary Europeans questioned the purpose of the kingship: was it a land league or was it merely a quest for law and order? Did it challenge British sovereignty and was it opposed to the spread of Pākehā settlement? But these Pākehā questions were irrelevant to Māori, for whom the Kīngitanga was a development *for* Māori, not *against* Europeans.⁵

Ballara's *précis* seems to account quite concisely for how many Māori and many Pākehā saw the Kīngitanga. It does however understate the sense of a contest over questions of authority and land that the Kīngitanga represented for at least some Māori. Moreover, the search for new forms of law and order was clearly a motive force of the movement. Ballara does though register a significant point – that the movement was a development for Māori by Māori. It was a significant instance of an indigenous response to empire or colonialism, but this means that it cannot be explained simply by reference to indigenous forms of knowledge or polity. The indigenous foundation remained – though perhaps not itself unaltered – but the superstructure was unlike anything seen in the prior history of hapū or iwi.

The imperial context must also shade the interpretation of what a native kingship meant in relation to British imperial authority, especially in the form of the Queen's Governor. As Ballara also notes, Tāmehana tried to divert European attention from the term King; they were not opposed to European law nor rejected the Queen's overarching authority, which was a 'fence' to protect all.⁶ Therefore, the meaning of kingship for Māori cannot be presumed by simply importing European categories, definitions or iconography. Equally, the meaning of kingship for Europeans or British people of the nineteenth century should be interrogated rather than presumed.

Benjamin Ashwell wrote in August 1857 that the catch-cry of the Kīngitanga adherents was 'Te Rongo Pai me ngā Ture' – the Gospel and the Laws. At the same time, Ashwell thought the 'Kingites' wanted to establish a rival system, being 'anxious for the entire independence of their country'; however, they were not opposed to the Government as such.⁷ The somewhat

⁵ Angela Ballara, 'Introduction' to *Te Kīngitanga: the People of the Māori King Movement* (Auckland: Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books, 1996), 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

⁷ Benjamin Yate Ashwell, Journal, 20 Aug, 1857, in Ashwell, *Journals*, vol. 2., 1849-1858, qMS-0088, ATL.

disjunctive nature of these explanations appears stark – at least to a 21st century mind conditioned by notions of undivided nation-state sovereignty. For Ashwell cannot have meant ‘independence’ in a strong statist sense, and it seems neither can the ‘Kingites’ have meant such a thing. At the same time, the strong overtones of Western categories of law (ture) cannot be ignored. The conception of ‘gospel’ or Christian faith or belief in this context is, even more than kingship itself, difficult to deduce with clarity. The conceptions of Tarapīpī, explored below, may however help to meld these various elements into a consistent picture.

In his exploration of Kīngitanga origins, Vincent O’Malley cites Maharaia Winiata, who observed that although the title was borrowed principally from the Bible, the Kīngitanga was ‘sustained’ by ‘relationships and alliances’ that were ‘grounded in custom and tikanga’.⁸ Pei Jones explained that Pōtatau was related to all of the tribes of New Zealand, with descent from the waka leaders of the migrations; this was ‘one of the principal reasons for the prestige of the house of Pōtatau’, says Jones.⁹

While the choice of the person can be explained by reference to tribal history and whakapapa, and the actions or mana of an esteemed war leader, it does not explain the choice of the institution: kingship. Nor does it explain the various institutional forms, signs and symbols of European kingship that were adopted along with the kingship itself. The Kīngitanga utilized at one point the 1834 flag to identify its aspirations. It might be presumed that the use of the flag of the ‘United Tribes’ of 1834 represented some version or articulation of native ‘rangatiratanga’ or independence on the part of the Kīngitanga constructors. However, that explanation is an interpretation only using 1835 Declaration (He W[h]akaputanga) terminology, and it does not sit comfortably with reports from Kīngitanga hui where the constantly repeated sentiment was ‘The King on his piece; the Queen in her piece; God over both; and Love binding them to each other’.¹⁰ That is certainly some version of native self-government, but the language of kingship infused with Christian religion is certainly neither indigenous nor secular.

Moreover, various other institutional features of the incipient Kīngitanga included the appointment of ‘police’, the establishment of a printing press, and a ‘King’s council’. These were all features of British or Western governments and, in the case of the press, ‘modern’ government, which increasingly relied on communication technologies that could reach an ever-enlarging reading public – a phenomenon equally applicable to mid-century British

⁸ O’Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 88. These are O’Malley’s words, not a direct quotation from Winiata; see M. P. K. Sorrenson, who makes a similar point, ‘The Maori King Movement, 1858-1885’, ch. 6 in *Ko te Whenua te Utu: Land is the Price* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014), 115-118.

⁹ Jones, ‘The Maori King Movement’, typescript, in MS-Papers-5220-130, [pages] 31-33.

¹⁰ Cited O’Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 86 (citing *Southern Cross*, 9 Jul. 1863).

society. The significance of the printing press in reflecting structural change in indigenous society can easily be overlooked. The printing press was only relevant in the context of creating a pan-hapū or pan-tribal organisation where communication could no longer be village, hapū, or hui-based; rather, a much wider tribal population was now to be communicated with, a population that could not, because of geography or other necessary occupations, be always active participants at meetings. (This is not to downplay the ongoing importance of the hui as a political forum for smaller and larger groupings.) The use of the press suggests, too, a political restructuring represented by a 'kingship' of many tribes, for it was now necessary for messages, directives and even laws to flow 'down' – or at least 'out' – from a political 'centre' to the component tribal portions and peripheries. In other words, even though indigenous tikanga or laws would continue to influence the way things were done, the *scale* on which things would be done was larger and unavoidably more hierarchical.

The leading Pākehā historiography of the Kīngitanga has a tendency to explain its origins in functionalist terms only: that Māori wanted to stop land-selling so they banded together to establish a King and place their lands under his control. In so doing, they also intended to preserve their independence from the Europeans and their continued existence as tribes or, rather, an emergent 'Māori nation'. The explanations of Keith Sinclair, Keith Sorrenson and James Belich are all in this mould, with some variation. 'The most important fact about the King movement' wrote Sinclair, in his *Origins of the Maori Wars*, 'was that it was indeed a "land league"...'.¹¹ This interpretation reduces the movement to a political or socio-economic objective – a utilitarian *raison d'être*. It fails to fully appraise or account for the intellectual influences involved in the choice to promote a king. It views both the European language and institutional aspects of the Kīngitanga as only skin-deep: 'the imitation of European concepts and institutions was superficial', said Sorrenson, in basic agreement with Sinclair. This was the case partly because 'the King movement was essentially a reaction against European society, and attempt to shut out European influence'.¹² Sinclair added a more subtle interpretation from broader imperial contexts that:

The Maoris [sic] had learned from the Europeans what non-Europeans all over the world were learning or were to learn soon, that European predominance could be rejected only by imitating European political organization as well as by utilizing European technology.¹³

Sinclair then listed elements of this 'imitation' including a flag, councillors, troops, constables, and a surveyor, together with Wiremu Tāmehana's code of laws. Despite this somewhat

¹¹ Keith Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars* (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1961), 75.

¹² Sorrenson, 'The Maori King Movement', 108.

¹³ Sinclair, *Origins*, 76.

impressive list, the imitation of Europeans was, according to Sinclair, ‘limited in scope and was not the chief characteristic of the movement’. This analysis seems premised on a binary logic that ‘if one thing then not the other’. Since the King Movement, on Sinclair’s and Sorrenson’s reading, was ‘a rejection of European influence’ the imitation could only be that – mere imitation.¹⁴ The King Movement, on this view, becomes a basically Māori tribal movement dressed up in European garb.

This chapter queries this interpretation, as it considerably underrates the intellectual and spiritual influence of the Christian scriptures, as well as the examples from European history and present-day politics employed by Tararapīpi. It also underrates the way in which pre-European Māori *mentalité* or spirituality to a marked degree compelled Māori to take Christian spirituality seriously, especially once it was appreciated how it was sourced from the large and ancient corpus of Hebrew and Christian scripture.¹⁵ Wiremu Tāmehana is an archetypal example of this intellectual and knowledge revolution, but plenty of other examples can be found. Sorrenson, for example, quoted Paora Te Ahuru, who stated: ‘The Governor does not stop murders and fights among us. A king will be able to do that’.¹⁶ But why would a ‘king’ be able to do that? The force of divine scripture and, perhaps, European history is what seems to have been generating this *faith* in the kingship model.

James Belich’s interpretation was a shade removed from Sinclair’s and Sorrenson’s: institutional and socio-economic, though with some role for (Christian) religion and linguistic change. He identified the origins of Kīngitanga with a movement initially to resist land selling – identified with the early Manawapou hui in Ngāti Ruanui region in May 1854 – which then ‘merged into another: the Māori King Movement’.¹⁷ Belich wrote that the purpose of opposing land selling was ultimately to protect Māori independence – to protect ‘the Māori zone’, as he called it. He quoted Tāmehana that the Kīngitanga was a ‘plan by which the Maori tribes should cleave together, and assemble together, so that the people might be one’. Belich opined that the King Movement had wide support and that it would not be too far off the mark, if Eurocentric, to call it ‘nationalist’.¹⁸ While nationalist in tendency, Belich also cautioned that the sense of a unified native, pan-tribal identity was ‘very embryonic and incomplete’ in the 1850s. He postulated various other reasons – besides resistance to loss of tribal territory – for

¹⁴ See Sinclair, *Origins*, 76.

¹⁵ Ngāti Haua kaumātua, Mokoro Gillett, expressed something like this view to me, to the effect: Tāmehana’s tone was always spiritual and chiefs like him were ‘men of the word’ – they treated scripture seriously as a sacred thing (personal comm. with Mokoro Gillett, 16 Oct. 2019, at Te Wharekura o te Rau Aroha, Waharoa).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁷ James Belich, ‘The Governors and the Maori’, in K. Sinclair, ed., 2nd ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996): 75–98.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

this emergent sense of collective ‘Māoriness’, including the growing networks of interaction (often using Pākehā shipping and postal services), the rise of a common religion built around Christian scripture, and the ‘common problem’ and presence of the Pākehā.¹⁹ Belich’s general history did not delve into the minutiae of these processes, nor seek to attribute greater or lesser degrees of causation between them. Nor did he descend into the nuances of language use of the king advocates, and why it was a king that was chosen as figurehead.

Vincent O’Malley, Alan Ward and others attribute some key causative role to Māori being largely excluded from the franchise under the 1852 Constitution Act (as noted in chapter six). Some limited evidence suggests that chiefs were concerned about the lack of recognition of chiefly authority within the new constitution. While some chiefs might qualify for the franchise through their ownership of individual Crown grants, the bulk of the Māori population still held their land communally according to custom. In addition, the New Zealand authorities did not formally create native districts provided for under the Act.²⁰ Keith Sinclair, by contrast, considered that the granting of a constitution to settlers was only a minor factor in provoking the King Movement.²¹ Other evidence points to chiefs seeking Government approval for Māori governing bodies or rūnanga/councils. O’Malley and Ward recount the story of Wiremu Tāmehana’s visit to the Governor in Auckland; on being denied an audience by a minor official over a period of days, Tāmehana viewed this treatment as a rebuff and decided to establish his own authority for the tribes.²² This moment does seem like a significant one in provoking Tāmehana to consider a more independent course of action.

O’Malley and Ward also refer to the elements of the Kīngitanga, and other Māori political or rūnanga movements, that were inspired by Christian scripture.²³ O’Malley refers to the anointing ceremony for the King, in which Wiremu Tāmehana and his descendants have ‘anointed’ each new king with a copy of the Paipera Tapu (Bible in Māori). O’Malley also recounts the quotations of scripture and the hymn singing that accompanied key hui to

¹⁹ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 232-234, 245-246; but see also his discussion of Christianity and ‘biblicalism’ earlier (especially at 223), where he seems to attribute significant weight to various Christian or scripture-inspired variants of ‘Maori religion’ in developing a ‘shared collective identity’ that was ‘potentially revolutionary’ and ‘had important political and military as well as religious manifestations’.

²⁰ O’Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 65-71; Judith Binney, Vincent O’Malley and Alan Ward, ‘Rangatiratanga and Kāwanatanga, 1840-1860’, in Anderson *et al.*, *Tangata Whenua*, 194-227, at 223-24.

²¹ Sinclair, *Origins*, 81-82.

²² O’Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 71-72; Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial ‘Amalgamation’ in Nineteenth Century New Zealand* (Auckland University Press/ Oxford University Press, 1973), 97-98.

²³ See, for example, Ward, *A Show of Justice*, 97, 100-101; and Binney, O’Malley and Ward, ‘Rangatiratanga and Kāwanatanga’, 213-14, 223-25.

inaugurate the kingship.²⁴ He does not interrogate in any detail the meanings and significance of these usages.

A recent interpretation by Carwyn Jones gives considerably greater weight to intellectual or cultural factors, both tribal and European.²⁵ Jones argues that the Kīngitanga drew on 'Western constitutional forms and structures' in a way 'consistent with Māori constitutional traditions' and that it 'is best understood as a site of interaction between Māori and settler constitutionalism'.²⁶ That is, it was a mix of resistance and self-determination and 'reaction, adaptation and accommodation'.²⁷ He recites Sinclair and Sorrenson's view that the aspects imitative of European monarchy were overstated by contemporary Pākehā commentators; however he believes that the adoption of the 'form and techniques of a European constitutional tradition' were also important. For Jones, however, these techniques and forms were used *in order to maintain a Māori constitutional tradition*.²⁸ Hence, the Kīngitanga expressed Māori philosophies centred around whakapapa and connectedness, while also utilizing the European language of monarchy as well as 'Christian understandings and beliefs'. Jones does not pay too much attention to the latter, however. He indicates that this Christian language was employed 'in order to situate the movement in an appropriate spiritual context'. Thus, 'elements of form and substance that are expressed in the Kīngitanga are informed by both Māori and Pākehā constitutionalism and broader philosophies. The influence is not all one way, not is it uniform and predictable. It is instead complex and pragmatic...'. The idea that Christian belief was 'appropriate' or 'filled out' the philosophy of the Kīngitanga in a 'pragmatic' fashion, tends towards seeing it as philosophical material that helps to fill in a pre-set Māori mould. This is a little too functionalist, suggesting a view of 'anthropological stasis'. Jones does not confront the question whether Christian belief might have re-configured the pre-existing Māori structure; nor does he consider whether Christian texts or beliefs generated the Kīngitanga movement in the first place.²⁹

²⁴ O'Malley, *Great War for New Zealand*, 84-88.

²⁵ Carwyn Jones, 'From Whitehall to Waikato – Kingitanga and the Interaction of Indigenous and Settler Constitutionalism', in B. Patterson, R. S. Hill and K. Patterson, eds. *After the Treaty: the Settler State, Race Relations and the Exercise of Power in Colonial New Zealand* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2016): 132-48.

²⁶ Ibid., 132, 146.

²⁷ Ibid., 146.

²⁸ Ibid., 134.

²⁹ 'Anthropological stasis' may be too strong a characterisation of Jones' view; however, at one point Jones states that in writing a Maori legal history, he seeks to 'avoid a sense of periodisation that tends towards presenting a picture of uniformity and linear development'; rather he stresses the capacity of Māori tradition to be flexible and adaptive. This is essentially an argument for continuity with the past, rather than allowing for some discontinuities or breaks with the past, as it suggests that the basic structure of Maori ideas and institutions remained unchanged: see 'From Whitehall to Waikato', 141.

If we are seeking to explain causation in history, can we explain the Kīngitanga as a historical phenomenon *without* the role played by the missions and scriptural belief and language? This must be difficult, because from the beginning many of the key proponents of the Kīngitanga seem to express their ideas in Christian or scriptural language. The early movement towards pan-tribal unity associated with Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi, as chapter six has shown, was inspired in part by scriptural injunctions to love and unity: perhaps these sentiments are what the ‘Te Rongopai’ part of the catch-cry was mostly about, as recorded by Ashwell in 1857.³⁰ Further, the influence of Te Rongopai on Pōtatau himself cannot be denied, as seen in his injunction: ‘Firstly, hold fast to the law; secondly, hold fast to love; thirdly, hold fast to the faith’.³¹ This is to highlight the effect of Christian or scriptural language at a high level; the analysis of Wiremu Tāmehana’s discourse will take the analysis deeper.

Concerning the historiography on Wiremu Tāmehana himself, Richard Boast has highlighted the sophistication of his thought:

The Māori King movement, the Kīngitanga, was not anti-European as such. With Wiremu Tāmihana it had a remarkable constitutional theorist as its most sophisticated and prominent leader, who aspired above all to create a political structure which could unite Māori and could then develop a real partnership with the government.³²

Boast does not expand on this description of Tāmehana as a type of constitutional intellectual. Mark Hickford’s intellectual and imperial history of Māori property rights and authority alludes to the thought of chiefs in the era of the 1840s-60s as reflecting ‘indigenized versions of ecclesiology’ or ‘the salience of the spiritual and its entwining with political authority’.³³ He cites various chiefs, including Tāmehana, who were responsible for producing ‘a brief statement of legalistic rules, predicated on the protection of the norms of the scriptural deity’.³⁴ Hickford highlights the sophistication of Tāmehana’s distinction between the Queen (or Crown) in Britain and her officials in New Zealand: since the Queen was ‘the minister of

My analysis will stress the effect of new ideas and institutions; however it is important to register the way these became embedded in a Māori context, through Māori agency (as Jones’ argues).

³⁰ Jones acknowledges the new motivations of the Kingitanga but also relates these to the Māori practice of ‘uniting against a common threat’: ‘From Whitehall to Waikato’, 138. The positive emphasis on Te Rongopai as the unifying motivation is however more prominent in the language used by some proponents.

³¹ Pei te Hurinui, *King Pōtatau: An Account of the Life of Pōtatau te Wherowhero, the First Māori King* (Auckland: The Polynesian Society, 2010), 194.

³² Boast, ‘Ngati Toa Lands Research Project. Report One: 1800-1870’, 25; see same appraisal in Boast, ‘Vanished Theocracies’, 71 (viz., ‘... the most important constitutional theorist of the Māori King Movement’).

³³ Hickford, *Lords of the Land*, 395, 399.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 398.

God', she could not herself do wrong.³⁵ He also cites Tāmeahana's metaphor about two sticks – King and Governor – stuck in the ground, with a third laid across them horizontally – representing 'the law of God and the Queen', followed by a circle drawn around the sticks, being 'the Queen, the fence to protect all'. Hickford characterises this language of Tāmeahana and other allied chiefs as reflecting not the language of 'subjects' but rather 'of independent associates in government'.³⁶ Boast has concluded, relatedly, that Tāmeahana 'did not imbibe from his mission education and his committed Christianity any sense of political subservience to the colonial authorities', and that Christianity's expansion in New Zealand cannot be equated with the expansion of the colonial state.³⁷ Why that is the case must partially relate to the content of the biblical narratives themselves. The way Tāmeahana drew upon these narratives and scriptural injunctions has not been closely studied.

Lyndsay Head has written by far the most penetrating analysis of Tarapīpī's altered *mentalité* or Christianized worldview, though without expanding on many of the background texts.³⁸ Still, her analysis is insightful for several reasons. First, she has appreciated the deep Christian convictions of Tāmeahana. Second, she has actively connected these to his conception of the new dispensation of Christian civilization, characterised by peace rather than war, and governed by God's law (ture). Third, like Boast, she has appreciated that it was Tāmeahana's Christianised *mentalité* that was central to his thinking, his conception of a pan-tribal native identity and nationality, and his resistance to the colonial government.³⁹ And he was the leading intellectual force of the King Movement, as Head concisely expresses it: 'In setting up a polity to defend the land and govern the community Tāmeahana made the first coherent political statement of the peoplehood of Māori'.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Head states fairly emphatically what Tāmeahana was not: he was not an indigenous 'freedom fighter';⁴¹ his mana or authority was not simply derived from his whakapapa and action but also from his Christianity;⁴² his intellect was not 'colonised' and neither did he remain in the 'otherness' of an 'unknowable' native culture, but rather engaged with the new literacy that offered

³⁵ Hickford, *Lords of the Land*, 400: Hickford relates this statement to the constitutional trope that the Crown can do no wrong, but it equally could be (in fact, is more likely to be) a quotation from the New Testament, Romans 13:4: 'For he [the ruler] is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil' (KJV/Authorised).

³⁶ Hickford, *Lords of the Land*, 401.

³⁷ Boast, 'Vanished Theocracies', 81.

³⁸ Lyndsay Head, 'Wiremu Tamihana and the Mana of Christianity', in Stenhouse and Wood, eds., *Christianity, Modernity and Culture: New Perspectives on New Zealand History* (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2005): 58-86.

³⁹ See key insights at Head, 'Wiremu Tamihana', 68, 72, 73, 82.

⁴⁰ Head, 'Wiremu Tamihana', 60.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 74-77.

individual intellectual autonomy;⁴³ his life was not tragic nor was he a martyr (as Western mythologies might have it), as his submission to General Carey was in the cause of peace and he continued to seek justice thereafter (rather than retreat into silence or transform into ‘prophetism’).⁴⁴ Moreover, Head considers the question asked directly in this chapter – why did Māori choose a king and the language of kingship rather than a native phrase or institution? The answer she suggests – a ‘more serious answer’ than the European descriptions of child-like imitation of Western institutions – is that ‘king’:

united conceptually two streams of foreign power: the Old Testament story of the righteous nation under God, and the contemporary might of the victors of Waterloo (think of the number of chiefs who changed their name, which represented their *mana*, to ‘King George’ or ‘King William’)...⁴⁵

Along the same lines, Head alludes to ‘the simultaneous emergence among Māori of the national concept (through the instruction of the Bible), and of the liberated self (through literacy)...’.⁴⁶ These references to the shaping influence of the Christian scriptures on Māori conceptions of political community (and individuality) are suggestive. This chapter (as with previous chapters) attempts a closer analysis of the very texts that helped to re-shape notions of the group, tribe or collective.

This chapter is, therefore, interested in thinking further about the native kingship and Māori nationality as a product of the text: especially the texts of Christian scripture and prayer book. I suggest that the Deuteronomic subject-matter of God’s chosen people, their promised land, their laws and their kings is critical to understanding Tāmehana’s worldview or *mentalité*, and thus was a text that, in important ways, constructed or ‘produced’ the native kingship.

For historical analogies or precedents, we need look no further than the United Kingdom and various New World polities. Some of the key arguments from earlier chapters can be rehearsed in summary. Linda Colley, regarding eighteenth century Britain, wrote that, ‘Here, as in so many other countries, it was religion that first converted peasants into patriots, long before the onset of modernisation in the shape of railroads, mass education, advanced press networks and democracy’.⁴⁷ Specifically, Colley’s description of the coronation of William and Mary in 1689, in which the English Bible played a prominent part, could be compared with the use of the Māori Bible to anoint the Māori Kings from Wiremu Tāmehana onwards.

⁴³ Ibid., 70, 85.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 83.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 66.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 84.

⁴⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 369.

Benedict Anderson argued for the critical role in nationalism's emergence of 'print capitalism' in Europe's New World colonies – locating it in the newspapers of the 'creole pioneers' of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ Adrian Hastings also identified a critical role for vernacular literatures, but located this much earlier in the English and European past – in the vernacular translations of scripture and the Book of Common Prayer. He argued that England was the 'prototype' on which other nations evolved.⁴⁹ Hastings also argued that it was the peculiar content of the Christian scriptures and liturgy that shaped English nationalism and its offshoots. England, he said, was influenced by the scriptural picture of 'a world of nations', which have a divinely-constructed origin and destiny.⁵⁰

As canvased in chapter three, Hastings gave a strong version of the argument that the text shapes the world rather than the text being shaped by the world – by economics, politics, culture – or, indeed, being completely irrelevant to real history. I am interested in the question of to what extent this 'text shapes the world' phenomenon was true for the Kīngitanga in New Zealand in the 1850s-60s. It is a similar enterprise to John Coffey's masterly account of 'deliverance politics' in Protestant Christianity – 'a story about texts and the power they have over readers' and the way in which the 'realm of theology' seeps into the 'realm of politics'.⁵¹

The key focus of this chapter is the political discourse of Wiremu Tāmeahana, but the record displays plenty of other evidence of where the text was to the fore. Pei Jones gives the key account when Tāmeahana Te Waharoa and Pōtatau reconciled and Pōtatau accepted the invitation to be 'King', rather than an Ariki Taungaroa (Chief of Chiefs), a Toihau (Supreme Head), or a Kahutaratara (High Chief of scattered tribes). At what seems like a conjunctural moment, scripture was quoted by an old priest, who was tutored by Rev. John Morgan. The scriptural texts included Deuteronomy 17:15 and Matthew 21:9, and Hymn 130 was sung 'Ka mahue a Ihipa' (Forsaken is now Egypt).⁵² Of course, the physical text itself was a prominent

⁴⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

⁴⁹ Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 4, 15.

⁵⁰ Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 3, 16-17; Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 3.

⁵¹ John Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation: Deliverance Politics from John Calvin to Martin Luther King Jr.*, (Oxford Scholarship online, January 2014, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199334223.001.0001), 10.

⁵² Pei Jones, 'The Maori King Movement': 3-4; cf. Pei te Hurinui, *King Pōtatau*: 211-17, which gives slightly less detail on these elements; in the 1840 Prayer Book, this hymn, 'Ka mahue Ihipa', was Himene no. 23 (see BIM 78), which means that it had been sung for probably about two decades by 1858; it generally refers to the Exodus narrative and the escape from slavery and sin; an English translation of Hymn 23 appears in Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana*, 165 (citing from the *Southern Cross*, 6 Aug. 1858): 'From Egypt lately come/ Where death and darkness reign/ We see a new, a better home, Where we our rest shall gain:/ Halleluia,/ We are on our way to God, &c'. (The 'liberation theology' aspects of the King Movement, in particular those derived from the biblical story of the Exodus, I do not have space to develop in this chapter, but the use of this hymn is a clear example that such narratives were also in play; and see comments on John Coffey's scholarship below.)

part of the anointing or raising-up ceremony for Pōtatau (and all subsequent monarchs), in which Tarapīpipi placed the Paipera Tapu (Bible) over his head. In short, the conception and institution of the Kīngitanga was replete with scriptural language and symbolism.

The text of the epistle

The full text is set out in [Appendix H](#) (as it appeared in the AJHR 1865).⁵³ The key passages for my purposes are extracted and summarised as to their key intention or ‘point’, beginning with the following:

Na whakarongo mai, tenei taku mahara ki nga roma o nga awa o te tuawhenua e rere nei ki to ratou hopuatanga, no to ratou matapuna i hamama atu ai tona waha tae atu ana ki to ratou mutunga mai, ka hua ahau e hui ana nga roma o ia awa o ia awa e haere ana ki te waha o te Parata, kaore a te pawhiriwhiri he wai tai koe, he wai Maori tera, noho atu koe, mo te wai tai anake tana pai, kao mo ratou katoa, waihoki ki nga roma o ia motu o ia motu e rere atu ra ki te waha o Te Parata, **waihoki ko nga kingitanga katoa o ia iwi o ia iwi e whakamauru atu ana ki te Atua**, ka rite ano ki te waha o Te Parata e okioki nei nga wai ki a ia, ka tae ki tenei mahi ka riria mai, akuanei ka karakia ahau ki te Atua kaore e riria ko te ingoa nui ko te Atua e karangata nei ki a hau he aha ra i noa, ai **ko tenei ingoa kingi ka kiia ekore e tika he mea tapu**. Heoi ano ra e hoa ma ko te tikanga a te rangatira raua ko te ponanga, ahakoa tika te kupu a te taurekareka e kore e tika i te rangatira,... [emphasis added]

Harken! I thought that the currents of every river flowed together into the mouth of Te Parata [AJHR 1865 E-11 notes: ‘a sea monster, which by swallowing and disgorging the water, causes the tide to ebb and flow’] where no distinction is made, nor is it said ‘you are salt water and that is fresh water’, ‘remain you away’ from a preference for the salt water only: nay, but it is for them all. In like manner as the currents from the various islands flow into the mouth of ‘Te Parata’, **so also all the kingdoms of the different nations rest upon God** as the waters rest in the mouth of ‘Te Parata’. When this work is arrived at we are rebuked; now when I worship God I am not rebuked. This great name of God which is spoken to me, why is this free to me while of **this name of King it is said, it is not right (to mention it): it is a sacred thing**. Enough, O friend: it is founded only upon the relation subsisting between the master and his slave; although the word of the slave may be right, the Chief will not admit it to be right. [emphasis added]

⁵³ AJHR 1865, E11 (and see original document reference at beginning of chapter).

Point of the Text (paraphrase): you make an unjustifiable distinction when you say that we cannot have a ruler/king when other nations do. In addition, you have taught us to worship God and understand his Word, but when we take up this ‘name’ or institution of kingship, which is found in the Bible, somehow that is not valid.⁵⁴ You are thus basically treating us as slaves – unjustifiably assuming authority over us.

The next prominent section is:

koia tenei. E hoa ma tena koa titiro hoki koutou ki a Tiuteronomi xvii. 15. Ana **no Roma anake nga Kingi o nga tini motu**, ae, kei reira hoki te tehi mo konei, **ina pea no Ingarangi a Kuini, no Ruhia ano a Nikorahi, no Wiwi ano a Ponipata, no Tahiti ano a Pomare, no tona iwi ano no tona iwi ano**, he aha hoki ahau enei iwi i riria mai ai e koutou, me hui atu tatou ki raro ki a Kuini. **He aka te take o Marikena i tukua ai kia wehe atu i a ratou, te tukua mai ai ki roto i te maru o Kuini**, ta te mea no roto taua hunga i taua momo kotahi, i te Ingarihi. **Ko ahau he tangata ke ahau tenei motu, kihai i tata, heoi ano taku tata kia koutou na te Karaiti Epeha ii. 13.** Me he mea kei roto katoa nga tini motu i te maru ko tahi i a te Kuini tika rawa kaore he tangata e rere ke ka hui katoa tenei motu, **tena wehe ana he iwi wehe ana he iwi, me ahau hoki e tu nei i taku mahara, koia tenei, kia Kingi ano moku.** [emphasis added]

This is it, O friend, look you at Deut. Xvii. 15 [ch. 17, vs. 15] **If all the Kings of the different islands (countries) were from Rome only**, from thence also might come one for here. **But is not the Queen a native of England, Nicholas, of Russia, Buonaparte, of France, and Pomare, of Tahiti, - each from his own people?** Then why am I, or these tribes [or people-nations], rebuked by you, and told that we and you must unite together under the Queen. **How was it that the Americans were permitted to separate themselves: why are not they brought under the protecting shade (sovereignty) of the Queen**, for that people are of the same race as the English: **whereas, I of this island, am of a different race, not nearly connected. My only connection with you is through Christ** (Ephes. 11. 13). Were all the different islands (countries) under one sovereignty, that of the Queen, it would be quite right, no one would differ; all this island would also be united with the rest. Instead of which, **each nation is separate**,

⁵⁴ There is a variation of this argument later on when Tāmihana says that they accepted the ‘sacred things’ of God – Baptism, the Lord’s Supper and Marriage. So why not, he implies, the institution of kingship? ‘God did not make night and day for you only’, he contends.

and I also, standing here in my own thought, which is this – that I must have a King for myself. [emphasis added]

Point of the Text (paraphrase): we are a separate people-nation (or iwi); why then can we not have separate rulers? The only thing that truly unites us is our common faith in God (or Christ). In addition, (and this is a fascinating extra layer of nuance), the Roman imperial system obviously no longer applies because each land has its native rulers, including England, Russia, France, and Tahiti. In addition, the British imperial system has allowed the ‘separation’ of old colonies, thus creating new nations – as in the case of ‘America’.

The next section worthy of analysis is:

... ana no **te tiriti i Waitangi** ta koutou riri ko, to matou rironga tena i a koutou, e he ana, titiro hoki ki te ahua o nga whare taonga e rua, ko tahi i hokona o aua, whare ko tahi kihai i hokona nga taonga, tena koa i riro katoa ranei nga mea o teteahi whare i te hokonga o nga taonga o teteahi whare. E mea ana ahau kihai i riro, waihoki ko te whakaaetanga a te tehi rangatira, kihai ta teteahi i riro i tana whakaaetanga... [emphasis added]

Is it on account of **the Treaty of Waitangi** that you are angry with us? Was it, then, that we were taken possession of by you? If so, it is wrong. Look! There are two stores of goods (or shops). The goods in one store are sold. Those of the other are not sold. Now do you consider because the goods of one store are sold that the goods of the other all went also. I say that they did not go. So with the consent of one Chief; that which belonged to another did not go by such consent being given... [emphasis added]

Point of the Text (paraphrase): just because some Chiefs consented to the Queen’s authority (or to the sale of land/territory to the Queen?) does not mean that all consented.

The last section for analysis is:

E aku hoa mo te aha ra koutou i manawapa ai ki te Kingi, ana he ingoa nui atu i te Atua? E kore e marere mai i te Atua ka tika, e, ia, me mahue tena kaore ona riri mai ko tatou tangata nei hei riri e kore e mahuetia, **ana he riri kei puta ke nga ture, a, e pai ana tukua ahau ma te tino kai whakarite whakawa ahau e whakawa**, ara, ma te Atua ma te tangata nana nga mahi katoa e mahi nei tatou. **Ko tenei e hoa ma, waiho tenei Kingi kia tu ana i tona wahi ake ma to tatou kai hanga te whakaaro kia hinga kia tu ranei.** Heoi tenei wahi o aku kupu. He ahakoa te he ai ko Rapau ki runga. [emphasis added]

My friends, do you grudge us a King, as if it were a name greater than that of God. If it were that God did not permit it, then it would be right (to object), and it

would be given up; but it is not He who forbids; and while it is only our fellow-men who are angry, it will not be relinquished. **If the anger is lest the laws should be different, it is well; let me be judged by the Great Judge** – that is, by God, by Him in whom all the worlds that we are employed in have their origin. **And now, O friends leave this king to stand upon his own place, and let it rest with our Maker as to whether he shall stand or fall.** This is sufficient of this portion of my words; and although they may be wrong; yet they are openly declared. [emphasis added]

Point of the Text (paraphrase): God is over all as the ultimate authority and judge of right and wrong. A king is of no ultimate consequence. If we are proposing a different system of law, then perhaps that is wrong. However, leave it to God to decide (or judge) whether a king is legitimate for us.

The immediate political context of the epistle

The epistle of Tāmehana Tarapīpipi was a reply to two letters from the Governor. The first was a letter direct to Tāmehana of 25 April 1861, initially carried by the Resident Magistrate, Searancke, into the Waikato. In it the Governor alleged that some men of Ngāti Hauā and Ngāti Maniapoto had gone to fight in Taranaki (at Waitara) without justification, had attacked the Queen’s troops, and had destroyed and plundered property. The Governor asked Tāmehana to inform him ‘what amends those men will make for breaking the peace and trampling on the law’; he also asked for guarantees of peace in the future. The original Māori version is not extant or has not been located.⁵⁵

The second letter was really a printed ultimatum or ‘Declaration’ to the ‘Natives Assembled at Ngaruawahia’, for which there is no extant Māori version. This ‘declaration’ was a somewhat prolix document that set out the Governor’s view of the King Movement as ‘an independent authority’ that was ‘inconsistent with allegiance to the Queen, and in violation of the Treaty of Waitangi’. The Governor demanded ‘that every man yield implicit obedience’ to the law and relinquish all attempts to enforce rights or redress wrongs by force. He ‘specifically’ demanded ‘submission without reserve to the Queen’s Sovereignty, and the authority of law’, restoration of all plunder taken, and compensation for property destroyed.⁵⁶

Tāmehana’s letter was an ‘immediate’ response to this ‘declaration’, and the earlier letter.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Stokes, Wiremu Tāmehana, 207-08.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 208-212.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 212.

Central ideas in the epistle: the textual sources of Tāmehana's global knowledge

Introductory notes

Tāmehana's epistle argued that all the kingships of the different people-nations (or 'iwi') rested upon God. The text of his letter elaborated on this point. The core logic of his statements was that, since the natives were a separate people or 'iwi' then they also should have a king. This was mandated by scripture and scriptural history. It was also mandated by the geopolitics of the present day, in which the European 'iwi' each had their own king, while the Tahitians also had their monarch. Furthermore, even within the history of the British nation, other nations had emerged or split off – the United States, or 'America'.

Lyndsay Head has attempted to characterise Tāmehana's worldview and his reference to Deuteronomy 17:15:

... what he read in the Bible convinced him that human societies were politically divided by race, by which he meant national culture. Ethnic divisions were not an imperial device for race-ranking, but natural boundaries arising out of, as he said, 'the customs of men'. Ethnicity presupposed the sovereignty of 'nations apart'.⁵⁸

Is Head right to suggest that the separation of people-nations was based on 'natural' or 'ethnic' boundaries, where ethnicity was understood as different national cultures or customs? The fact that Tāmehana was seeking a new system of law and government across an enlarged, if not totally new, political society of iwi – both closely and distantly related – suggests that national custom was malleable. Ethnicity – if it was a valid concept in the mid-nineteenth century – did not mean 'race', as in biological or inherent difference, but nor did it seem to have necessarily separated Ngāti Hauā from the Pākehā colonists.

The real question becomes, then, what really was the basis of pan-tribal unity, and of unity with the Pākehā? Tāmehana added a sting in the tail of his epistle when he asserted that shared Christian beliefs was the only thing that really united the New Zealand natives with the British peoples – not a Queen, or a Kāwana (Governor). This statement seems related to Head's insight that with respect to the 'British presence', Tāmehana 'sought both to abstain and to belong'.⁵⁹ The way in which he sought to belong seems partially related to this idea of a universal human (or Christian) community. Head characterises this as a belief in 'the supra-ethnic unity of the world Christian community (civilisation was universal)', which existed alongside 'the natural, ie ethnic, division of human-societies (sovereignty was national).' While

⁵⁸ Head, 'Wiremu Tamihana', 71 (thus the different European rulers governed their own people. At the same time, Head states that with respect to the 'British presence', Tāmehana 'sought both to abstain and to belong').

⁵⁹ Ibid., 71.

a ‘Māori kingdom’ was a legitimate reflection of world and scriptural geo-politics, it did not – in Head’s words – ‘make New Zealand a purely Māori country’.⁶⁰ Towards the end of this chapter, I consider how all these aspects were somehow melded together in Tāmehana’s understanding of political community.

It is necessary to probe the Tarapīpipi epistle text, because it is all too easy to sail over his references without registering their significance in tracing the growth of a ‘global knowledge’ among literate Māori. The question must be asked: where was Wiremu getting his ideas from? The sources of the biblical knowledge are not in question. Tarapīpipi was an early convert in the Waikato area and was schooled in the Paipera Tapu (Bible) and te Rāwiri (the BCP). Therefore, the arguments of earlier chapters apply to Wiremu Tarapīpipi with respect to the influence of these texts and their weekly utterance in shaping understandings of a world of nations or ‘iwi’ that was providentially ordained. In the translations of the Bible and Prayer Book, the Māori became one of those people-nations.

The broader textual setting of the verse from Deuteronomy requires further examination, however. I first consider this Old Testament text and book as to what it might tell us about the images of kingship that Tarapīpipi derived from scripture, along with broader conceptions of authorities and collectivities (or political communities). I then touch upon the ‘secular’ texts printed by the Bishop’s Press that were available in the Waikato region, that Tarapīpipi might well have had access to. I lastly inquire into the possible other textual sources – mostly newspapers – for his references to Russia, France and recent British imperial history.

The textual setting of Deuteronomy 17:15: the text that Tarapīpipi read

Wiremu Tarapīpipi cited the text from Deuteronomy 17:15 on more than one occasion. It requires some elaboration by reference to its immediate textual context and to the wider narrative of the people of Israel. The central message of this text was, ‘choose a King from among your people, not from one of the surrounding tribes/nations – one of your own brethren’. The point of this in its scriptural context was that when the people of Israel entered the promised land, they were to drive out the heathen tribes and not intermarry with them. To choose a king from these heathen tribes would have been anathema to the nation that God desired to create in this new land – in short, a covenant nation living in accord with different laws.

The book of Deuteronomy recounts at length how Israel entered the Promised Land, how God gave them promises of victory over the heathen peoples, and how they duly drove out these peoples or killed them. Interleaved with this narrative are restatements of various laws that God gave the people for their new society. Various linguistic usages in the Māori translation

⁶⁰ Ibid., ‘Wiremu Tamihana’, 72.

by Robert Maunsell reiterated and underlined the kinds of distinctions brought out in the Prayer Book, including that between the people or ‘iwi’ of Israel and the heathen nations or ‘tauiwi’ they were instructed to drive out. The linguistic distinctions provided a conceptual invitation to Māori to see themselves as a people-nation – or ‘iwi-nation’ – of a land given them by God.⁶¹

This was not just a proof-text for Tarapīpipi – something called upon, out of its textual setting, to buttress his argument. Rather, the whole text of Deuteronomy can be understood as one of the most important intellectual sources of his whole conception of a ‘new world order’ of God-given law and God-ordained kingship. The real-world tension in his use of these scriptural texts was, of course, to do with the fact that the Pākehā had brought these texts and had their own understandings or applications of them. Tarapīpipi had, however, read the texts for himself and had arrived at his own renderings and applications. And those renderings and applications were not disingenuous. They carried their own internal logic and – to employ a phrase – they ‘mapped onto the world’ of the mid-nineteenth century for the simple reason that kings and kingdoms were contemporary reality.

The Deuteronomic text and scripture generally was an integral part of the discussions and ceremonial surrounding the selection and anointing of the Māori king. It seems to have been part of the decision over what to name the new leader – a king, as opposed to a native appellation – and was possibly quoted during the installation itself. That ceremonial involved Tāmehana physically placing the Bible on the head of Pōtatau. This action was probably understood in more than just symbolic terms: the scriptures contained the Word of God and in his Word was authority. The symbolism of the Bible – both the quotation of scripture and the use of the physical volume – was therefore a manifestation of hidden worlds of meaning and significance but also carried spiritual force.⁶²

Images of kingship, authority and collectivity in Deuteronomy and how Tarapīpipi applied them

There was a basic secular sense to the phenomenon of kingship in Old Testament scripture. Kings were part of the geo-politics of the Ancient Near East. The Israelites escaped Pharaoh king of Egypt, and then took the Promised Land from various kings of other nations including ‘Og king of Bashan’ and ‘Sihon king of Heshbon’. Kings were rulers of various peoples who each had their own territories, although these were, in reality, often contested or overlapping spaces, or the kings were themselves the delegates or subordinates of higher imperial authority

⁶¹ Deut. 4: 6-8, 27; Deut 6: 14 cf. Deut. 9: 27 and Deut. 14: 2; see also Deut. 15: 6 [see [Appendix I](#) for excerpts and analysis].

⁶² See ceremonial and biblical allusions referred to in Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana*, 158-73; and Pei te Hurinui, *King Pōtatau*, 212-17; and the brief discussion above, including the reference to Hymn 23.

in the case of the ancient empires.⁶³ Nevertheless, the scriptural texts reinforced for nineteenth-century readers, including mission-educated chiefs such as Wiremu Tāmehana, an imagined global geography of separate people-nations, or people-kingdoms, and perhaps particular *ethnie*, ruled by kings.

In the context of ancient Israel itself, the text from Deuteronomy identified the model of kingship as something that Israel might consider adopting for itself from the surrounding nations. (They had also been warned that kings may cause greater problems than they solved.) God instructed Israel that if they so determined to establish a kingship then their king should be one from themselves, rather than a ‘stranger’ – the Māori text has ‘te tangata iwi ke’, another usage for foreigner or strange tribe, rather than ‘tauiwi’. The relational or kin-based language used in the Māori text is important as the king must be a ‘tuakana’ – the term for an older sibling in a family or extended family, even connoting, in the Māori linguistic universe, the concept of a senior line of whakapapa (genealogy).⁶⁴ In addition, God was to select this king.

I suggest that when Māori were reading this text, it would appear to them that the king (of Israel) was to be divinely appointed from among the extended kin-group and, probably, from a senior line of descent. Read this way, and having regard to Tarapīpipi’s quotation of this text, I suggest that this text is a foundational text for understanding how Māori leaders understood the native kingship. It accorded with Māori expectations concerning the nature of tribal leadership. It thus provided the philosophical rationale for appointing a native king in the first instance.

The Deuteronomic text gave further instructions for how this king should conduct himself. This text is important in the context of an emergent pan-tribal New Zealand entity, which the Kīngitanga was. First, the king should not accrue large numbers of horses, wives, or treasure (silver and gold), as an abundance of these would cause his heart to ‘turn away’. Second, he should personally write out a copy of the law as contained in Deuteronomy (including the Ten Commandments), reviewing it regularly in order that he might obey the law and God who gave it.⁶⁵ The text brought out a further, critical reason for such a way of life and conduct:

⁶³ One thinks of Pontius Pilate, governor of Judaea at the time of Christ, and the various king Herods of Judaea who were ‘client kings’ of the Roman Empire.

⁶⁴ Williams, *Dictionary*, 7th ed.: gives meanings of tuakana as (i) *elder brother* of a male; (ii) *elder sister* of a female; and (iii) *cousin* of the same sex and of the same generation but *in an elder branch* of the family.

⁶⁵ Interestingly, it was a common practice in the ancient world that treaties or law codes were to be ‘placed before the gods at the religious centres of the nations involved’: Kenneth Barker, gen. ed., *The NIV Study Bible, New International Version* (Michigan: Zondervan, 1985), 281-82 [text note on Deut. 31:9].

[20] That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, *to* the right hand, or *to* the left: to the end that he may prolong *his* days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.

The king was to regard himself as a type of ‘first among equals’ who, like everyone else in the kingdom, was under the law, not above it. The concept of the sovereign or monarch being themselves subject to law rather than the author or dictator of law was a central tenet of Israelite polity; one which markedly influenced the development of ideas of sovereign power in Europe and, perhaps most especially, Britain.

The native king as the upholder of law and the protector of the weak is prominent in Tāmehana’s descriptions, and these often echo the sensibility of the Old Testament texts:

Listen to our words, as the south, east, and west winds are too weak to carry out the law of God and man amongst us,... we have united this day to give the power into the hands of one man, so as to give force to the laws of God and man amongst us... so we are uniting to give hands and feet to this man, that he may assist the oppressed and wrench the sword out of the hands of those that are dark.⁶⁶

Such statements, and other statements Tāmehana made about the native kingship, as well as reflecting Israelite ideas of kingly polity, seem to also closely reflect a Western philosophy of the state: it is the state, embodied in a king or parliament or some other institution, that represents the political community and defends individual rights and property – in a phrase, that enforces law. To say this another way, by constituting a new governing institution centred on a king and the enforcement of a legal code (a new ‘ture’), a new political community (or state) is also thereby constituted that ‘unites’ formerly independent tribes.⁶⁷ That a new political community or state was being conceptualised seems evident, but at the same time it is important to emphasize the personal authority of the king over people, including other chiefs, rather than an overly statist conception. Such a personalised view of kingship is seen in Tāmehana’s statement in 1858:

The laws for the king are these. The power he is to exercise over men and land is the power of protecting them against quarrels, wars, and murders, – a power to extend to

⁶⁶ Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana*, 162-63 (citing *Southern Cross*, 11 June 1858).

⁶⁷ The English translation above of Tāmehana’s words also displays fascinating parallels with the language of Thomas Hobbes’ *Leviathan*, especially in terms of describing the Sovereign entity or Leviathan as the literal carrier of the will and interests and ‘sword’ of the community. As indicated, this language of representative authority invested in a Sovereign King or Assembly is a central trope of Western political discourse.

all the chiefs and councils of all the tribes. Every man is to live upon his own land, and the king is to defend him against all aggressions against his land or person.⁶⁸

A new power was being vested in a new authority figure. This native king was to be surrounded by a council and assisted by judges or *kaiwhakawā*. The biblical inspiration is also not hard to see here. As outlined in Deuteronomy, ancient Israel was also a place of other types of authorities relating to the offices of law and war (or defence of the people-nation), including chiefs or heads of tribes ('Upoko' – head), captains of various tribal divisions ('rangatira'), and officers ('kaiwhakahauhau'). There were also judges ('kaiwhakatikatika'), charged to hear disputes among kin ('teina' – younger or junior members of a family or kin-group).⁶⁹

The prominence of the idea of the law or 'ture' in the accounts of ancient Israel cannot be overemphasized. The law that God gave to Moses – the (literal) foundation stones being the Ten Commandments – were the special possession of Israel and made them a 'peculiar' or unique people. This law was the source of their greatness – if they obeyed it. Obedience would ensure that they remained in the land given by God. This is because the law was ultimately about how they related to God and to each other. If the law was breached then curses would follow, including on the land as a source of food and livelihood; conversely, if the law was followed, then material blessings would flow.⁷⁰ This is why, if Israel was to appoint a king over themselves, this king must himself write out a copy of the law and study it, so that his rule conformed with its stipulations.⁷¹

The Kīngitanga can also be appreciated in a wider historical context that John Coffey identifies as the 'Israelite paradigm' of Protestant Christianity in Europe. This paradigm was often framed as an Exodus-derived 'deliverance politics' or 'historical providentialism'. In the English-speaking world it emerged during the Puritan Revolution or Civil War period, was taken up in the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89, and later in the American Revolution. Then it was employed by slavery abolitionists and by African Americans in the 20th century. This reading of Exodus as a narrative and type of God's intervention in politics and historical time to liberate his people physically, sat alongside (although often antagonistically) a reading of Exodus in spiritual terms – where Christ was a type of Moses freeing his people from spiritual or moral bondage. Another important strand or framing of the Israelite paradigm was focussed on God as law-giver, which spurred a prophetic mode of demanding freedom from oppression or unjust laws (and was often associated with the motif of the Jubilee – the release of slaves

⁶⁸ Cited in Rev. Thomas Buddle, *The Maori King Movement in New Zealand* (Auckland: New Zealander, 1860), 14; also cited in Head, 'Wiremu Tamihana', 72.

⁶⁹ Deut. 1:15-16.

⁷⁰ Deut. 4:6-8; Deut. 5:7-21.

⁷¹ Deut. 17:16-20 [see [Appendix I](#) for extracts].

and the return of land to former owners).⁷² Some early elements of the Kīngitanga – including the description of the role and function of the native king – can be read as reflecting such a political reading of the Israelite narrative. This political reading of Exodus and the liberation of Israel was taken up – often more forcefully – by other Māori ‘prophet’ leaders and groups during and after the New Zealand Wars period. In the earlier phase of the Kīngitanga, it was the ‘King-as-law-upholder’ that dominated the discourse, rather than the King as liberator from external oppression. However, the looming threat of the great settler rūnanga (the New Zealand General Assembly), which made no real room for Māori, and the increasing conflict over land sales to government agents, were all part of what constituted a sense of oppression from external agency.⁷³

Another strand to images or conceptions of kingship in the wider Old Testament is the representation of God himself as king. This is prominent in the Psalms. God is pictured as a king ruling his earth – always with justice and sometimes with an iron fist where evil needs to be quashed or expelled. I do not expand on this aspect here, but the image of God as king and law-giver is one that Tarapīpipi and others certainly appear to invoke, including in his epistle to the governor.

Sources of the epistle’s ‘global knowledge’

Having considered the use Tarapīpipi made of Deuteronomy, we can turn to examining the possible textual sources of the global knowledge he exhibited in this letter – that is, the references to Russian, French, American and Pacific contexts, along with the old Roman imperial system. We can postulate at the outset various sources: printed texts in te reo Māori, including books and newspapers; printed texts in English, available in New Zealand, that were translated orally into Māori in the context of hui/meetings or private discussions – perhaps especially, newspapers; discussions generally about global politics within Tarapīpipi’s networks, especially with the missionaries Benjamin Ashwell at Taupiri, John Morgan at

⁷² Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation*, see especially ‘Introduction, “Biblical Traditions that Call for Liberation”’, 1-22. Coffey stands in a tradition seeking to understand the Hebraic roots of Western political thought, rather than the Greco-Roman roots. This was provoked in more recent times by Michael Walzer’s *Exodus and Revolution* (1985); see also his earlier *The Revolution of the Saints* (1965) on the U.S. civil rights movement. Coffey differs from Walzer in a number of ways, including that he ‘looks beyond Exodus to the Jubilee tradition and to the New Testament’. He remarks that even for African Americans, Jesus was more important than Moses (at 12). He also conveys the contested uses of Exodus, as both justifying oppression (and possibly colonisation at points) and freedom from oppression (and colonial exploitation). Coffey is particularly focussed on the Reformed, especially Calvinist, version of understanding Exodus politically – ‘the building of new Israels in sixteenth century Europe’ – and then 17th century England and 18th century America (at 18).

⁷³ See Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation*, 20: ‘For the most part, readers of Exodus had little sense of how it had been read before them. They turned to the biblical narrative because of the pressure of circumstance; the experience of various kinds of subjugation prompted them to read it as a political narrative concerned with the overthrow of domineering power’.

Otawhao, and A. N. Brown at Tauranga, but also with Kāwanatanga (Government) agents such as Donald McLean, William Searancke, and John Gorst in their visits to (or residences in) the Waikato. In addition, there would almost certainly have been kōrero (discussion) with Māori chiefs and others who had travelled globally, including the Waikato chiefs, Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe of Rangiaowhia and Hemara Te Rerehau Paraone of Ngāti Maniapoto, who in 1857 brought back to New Zealand a printing press from the Emperor of Austria at Vienna.⁷⁴

Printed 'secular' texts of the Bishop's Press

Nga Mahi a Pita / Peter the Great (1845)

As chapter five detailed, Peter the Great was an example held out to Māori of a king who sought the good of his people through economic transformations and sound government inspired by Christian principles. Tarapīpipi referred in his epistle to 'Nicholas of Russia', but I have otherwise not detected direct reference to Peter the Great – person or book – in his correspondence. Given the apparent wide distribution of this text, it would be surprising if he had not been aware of it. Peter the Great was mentioned in the newspapers (see below) and the story was clearly referenced in the large meeting at Paetai in May 1857, arranged by Tarapīpipi and others to discuss the proposal for a native king. On this occasion it was used as its authors had probably intended – as an inspiring story about a leader seeking prosperity for his people through knowledge derived from England (and other European nations).⁷⁵

Nga Tupuna a te Pakeha/ Forefathers of the Pakeha (1850-51)

As discussed in chapter five, this text was distributed in the Waikato in 1850-51, copies being sent to missionaries Ashwell and Morgan. Since both knew Tarapīpipi, it is not improbable that he was a recipient of this text. The main message of this text was that the ancient Britons, ancestors of the English, were backward and ignorant until they were civilized by the Roman empire and the Christian church. One measure of their civilization was that they stopped fighting each other – tribe-to-tribe/ 'iwi' – and became one nation/ 'iwi'.⁷⁶ The power and might of Roman state authority (rangatiratanga) and its Caesar ('te Kīngi') was emphasised in the text. The text also discussed the decline of that authority and the emergence of new kingdoms – including that of England.

⁷⁴ See notes about *Te Hokioi* newspaper at <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/hokioi-o-nui-tireni-e-rere-atuna> (accessed 13 March 2019).

⁷⁵ *AJHR* 1860, sess. 1, F3, 145: '*Heta Tarawhiti*: He spoke of the character of the King of Russia, Peter the Great. He said that king was ignorant, but he clave to the learning of England, and he acquired all that learning. So let us cleave to the Governor, that is to England...'

⁷⁶ *The Forefathers of the Pakeha* (Auckland: St John's College Press, 1850), 5 (BIM 396).

He Korero mo Nga Whenua Katoa o Te Ao Nei/ A Geography of the World (1855, 1856)

This was a book of lessons on geography for Māori students published in 1856 by Bishop Selwyn's press.⁷⁷ However, it was first published the year prior in *Te Karere Maori*, which would have ensured it a wider readership.⁷⁸ The text provided a synopsis of all the principal continents and countries and their peoples and climates. While doing so, it also commented on their politics or governments. Although it was an elementary text, it presented to Māori readers in a concise or 'snapshot' form the knowledge of the world possessed by contemporary Europeans – knowledge that, until contact with Europe, had not been possessed by Māori. The 'one world' or 'global' picture it contained thus represented a revolution in Māori knowledge. This revolution had been occurring for some time, but this relatively small text captured it in one re-presentation. Considering this representative importance and the wide readership this text would have had (by virtue of its printing in *Te Karere*), I outline its contents in some detail.

The 1 February 1855 issue of *Te Karere* began the printing of this text. It was expressed to be 'kindly furnished by friends who are very much interested in the welfare of the native people'. The editor stated that after the printing in *Te Karere* it would be bound 'in a small volume for the use of the various schools under the direction of members of the Church of England'.⁷⁹ The first chapter described the general layout of the various continents and regions of the world, their climates and animal life.⁸⁰ In chapter two, the text began a geographic history of the world, beginning with Noah and his family.⁸¹ It discussed the geography of the Middle East, the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, the Dead Sea, the lands of 'Judea' and 'Canaan' and 'Arabia', Egypt and the Pyramids.

In chapter three, the text continued to speak of the countries 'known to our forefathers' ('i mohiotia e nga tupuna o te Pakeha'), including the lands of North Africa and the Mediterranean, Ephesus and Greece. The text paused to remark that the New Testament was written in Greek – 'the best and clearest of all languages' – and that the biblical texts 'were all

⁷⁷ *He Korero mo nga Whenua Katoa o Te Ao Nei* (No te Kareti: I Taia Tenei ki te Perehi a Te Pihopa, 1856), (BIM 466), which includes a separate English language print version entitled *Geography for the Use of Children in New Zealand* (Auckland: St. John's College Press, 1856); the reference to children in the English version title is not contained in the Maori version or in the earlier *Te Karere* version.

⁷⁸ Beginning with *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Feb. 1855, 20 (see below).

⁷⁹ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Feb. 1855, 20

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/02/01/21>).

⁸⁰ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Feb. 1855, 20-23.

⁸¹ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Mar. 1855, 39

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/03/01/40>).

written; no one knew how to *print* them'.⁸² This self-conscious identification of the knowledge revolution stimulated by the printing press was of course a revolution that the text itself represented.

The text next surveyed Italian geography and history, telling (impliedly) of the unification of Italy by the Romans and the conquest of other surrounding nations as far as England, 'to conquer our forefathers the Britons' ('ki te patu i o matou tupuna'). The text next described the countries to the west of Italy – Spain, Portugal, and France. The description of Great Britain had it divided into two parts – England the southern portion, Scotland the northern. Wales was mentioned as being the 'west of England'. Ireland was a separate island from Britain. Of critical importance was the statement: 'Formerly the people of Scotland, England, and Ireland were each governed by a king of their own. Now they are all one nation, and have but one Queen over all.' It added, correctly, 'The people in Wales are Britons, to whom all the country formerly belonged'. The parallel Māori text for this passage read:

I mua, **he kingi ke** to Kotirana (Scotland), **he kingi ke** to Ingarangi (England), **he kingi ke** to Aiarana (Ireland), **inaianeī, kua iwi kotahi. Kotahi tonu te Kuini**, ko nga tangata e noho ana i Wera (Wales), no nga Piritone, ko nga tangata hoki era nona te whenua i mua.⁸³

After describing Holland's geography and the industriousness of the Dutch in building dykes and dams, the article described Germany or the Germans as 'not all one nation; though they speak a common language. There are several kingdoms, each with its own king':

Ehara tenei i te iwi kotahi. Erangi ko te reo kotahi tonu. **He kingi ano** to tera iwi o Hameni (Germany) **he kingi ano** to tera. He maha nga iwi.

The two great divisions of Germany were the kingdom of Prussia and that of Austria. The article added that the people of Germany and England were of common descent and their languages very similar.⁸⁴ The article then described the geography and economics of Russia. It essentially repeated in brief the story of Peter the Great, and emphasized that 'the king or emperor of Russia rules over the whole country' ('No te kingi anake o Ruhia (Russia) tera whenua').

⁸² *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 May 1855, 12

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/05/01/13>).

⁸³ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 May 1855, 14

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/05/01/15>).

⁸⁴ 'Na he tupuna kotahi to te Pakeha o Hameni (Germany) o Ingarangi (England). Ko nga reo e tata tata ana.' *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Jun. 1855, 6

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/06/01/7>).

The article then described the Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden and Lapland, and Iceland, mostly focussing on their harsh climates. These were all the countries ‘well known to our forefathers’ stated the article, adding that parts of India, China and Tartary were known to some traders, who brought back gold, spices, fine muslins and silks – which ‘only kings and great nobles’ could afford (‘Mo nga kingi anake, mo nga rangatira nui: he nui hoki no te utu’).⁸⁵

In chapter four, the text described Africa as it used to be known – really the northern most part by the Mediterranean as ‘the ports of the West and South of Africa were quite unknown’. It then told of the explorations by the Spanish and Portuguese down the western coast of Africa, eventually reaching the south Cape (later called the Cape of Good Hope because of the new hopes of reaching India by this sea route).⁸⁶ The article then described briefly the English colonies and Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope. Governor Grey had been sent to the latter to ‘tame and civilise’ the Africans.⁸⁷

Chapter five described the English in India. Initially they came to trade but then, says the article, the English gave the people of India ‘good laws’. The effect of this was to bring peace where previously there was constant warfare between many small kingdoms. (This was a quite optimistic picture of English influence that pre-dated the Mutiny by about two years.)⁸⁸ Concerning China, the article described its great civilization but also its idolatry. Like India it was only through ‘the gospel alone’ that they could ‘grow to be a really great people’.⁸⁹

In chapter six, the global geography moved to the Americas, telling the story of Columbus, who first sailed west in order to find a new route to the East Indies (later naming the land he found ‘the West Indies’). The Spanish built cities, encountered Mexican religion, and behaved cruelly to the natives. Some travelled north to California, others south to Peru, Chile and other places.⁹⁰ (An article some five years earlier had described ‘the Discovery of America’, in a similar fashion to this.⁹¹)

⁸⁵ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Jun. 1855, 9
(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/06/01/10>).

⁸⁶ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Aug. 1855, 11
(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/08/01/11>).

⁸⁷ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Aug. 1855, 12
(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/08/01/12>).

⁸⁸ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Sep. 1855, 6
(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/09/01/7>).

⁸⁹ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Sep. 1855, 10
(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/09/01/11>).

⁹⁰ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Nov. 1855, 11
(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/11/01/12>).

⁹¹ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 3 Jan. 1850, 2-3
(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1850/01/03/2>); *Te*

After describing, thus, the discovery of South America by Europe, chapter seven then transitioned to the story of English colonisation in North America. According to the article, the English also wanted to find a short route to India by sailing due west from England. Newfoundland was reached, and then Greenland.⁹² The French settlements were then described: St Laurence, Quebec, and New Orleans. Then the native ‘Indians’ were described, being largely uncultivated peoples who roamed the land and hunted bison. The settlements of the English now occupy the whole country westward to the sea and are ‘almost like England now’, proclaimed the text, with ‘many large towns and villages, and such good roads, and so many shops and steamers’. It added: ‘The whale ships that visit New Zealand come from North America.’⁹³

The political history of North America was then briefly described, now cited in full as the language of this reflects the language used by Tarapīpipi in referring to America:

Ko tenei iwi [Amerika] i mua ai i roto i **te kingitanga o England. No muri mai ka wehea. Ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga mo ratou** ano. Ko nga heke kotoa [katoa?] ki reira, kua huia atu ki roto ki te tikanga kotahi. No te kotahitanga ka kiia the United States. Ko te whakamaori tanga, ko nga iwi kua whakakotahitia.

Formerly this American people and the kingdom of England were all one, but after a while they separated and became independent. All the different settlements there are now united under one Government, and because of this union they are called the United States. [contemporary translation]⁹⁴

The language used here – that of separation (‘wehe’) and of being ‘allowed’ or ‘released’ (‘tukua’) to separate – was very similar to that used by Tarapīpipi in his letter to Browne:

He aka te take o Marikena **i tukua ai kia wehe atu i a ratou, te tukua mai ai ki roto i te maru o Kuini**, ta te mea no roto taua hunga i taua momo kotahi, i te Ingarihi.

An official translated this text of Tarapīpipi quite literally:

Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger, 28 Feb. 1850, 2-3

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1850/02/28/2>).

⁹² *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Dec. 1855, 1

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/12/01/2>).

⁹³ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Dec. 1855, 2

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/12/01/3>).

⁹⁴ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Dec. 1855, 2-3

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/12/01/4>).

How was it that the Americans were permitted to separate themselves: why are not they brought under the protecting shade (sovereignty) of the Queen [?]

Here, Tarapīpīpi specifically asked the searching question about why the Americans were allowed to become a separate nation under separate government or authority. Although this was probably at least partly rhetorical, there is also a real sense in which Tarapīpīpi did not understand the story of the American Revolution. How could he, in fact, without further, and somewhat complex, elaboration of the historical setting and causative factors? This is a real question, then. It was not clear to him why England should have allowed one of the branches of its people to be lopped off.

The way Tarapīpīpi phrased the question seems, in fact, to directly reflect the way this article described the history, in particular the suggestion – not very true to the actual story – that England somehow ‘allowed’ the Americans to form a separate government. It is interesting that in using this language the Māori text in the Te Karere article was taking liberties in translation, as the parallel English text offered no reason for the separation of the Americans from England; it simply stated that it happened (see above). The Māori text was in fact an elaboration on the source English text of the article (or book).⁹⁵ This is seen by translating the Māori text back into English; the highlighted phrases below are clear additions to the original English text.

Ko tenei iwi [Americans] i mua ai i roto i te kingitanga o England. No muri mai ka wehea. **Ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga mo ratou ano.** Ko nga heke kotoa [katoa?] ki reira, kua huia atu ki roto ki te tikanga kotahi. No te kotahitanga ka kiia the United States. **Ko te whakamaori tanga, ko nga iwi kua whakakotahitia.** [emphasis added]

*This people [the Americans] previously were within the Kingdom (or Realm) of England. Sometime afterwards they separated. **They were granted laws for themselves.** All the migrants there were included within a single system (or under a single law). From this unification, they are called the United States. **The meaning (or interpretation) is that all the peoples have become united.*** [emphasis added. New back-translation.⁹⁶]

⁹⁵ The *Books in Maori* entry for the printed version (BIM 466) suggests that Lady Martin wrote the text and Robert Maunsell provided a ‘free’ translation for publication (see *Books in Maori*, 236).

⁹⁶ Translation by S. Carpenter and T. Chrisp, 2019.

Māori translations of the period were often quite free, reflecting the two quite different languages and the effort to capture the sense of the English.⁹⁷ But in this example, the Māori translation was doing considerably more explanatory work than the English text. It especially reinforced the notion that England somehow allowed its American colonies to separate, even granting them laws for themselves – this last phrase was a complete addendum to the English original.

The global geography continued with a final chapter, which outlined the adventures of Magellan in rounding Cape Horn, followed by the Dutchman Tasman who ‘discovered’ the ‘islands in which we live’ and named them New Zealand after his ‘native town’.⁹⁸ Tasman was followed by Captain Cook, who went first to Australia. The geography of Australia and its principle European settlements was described. Cook’s navigations and landfalls around New Zealand were outlined. Then the Pacific Islands were briefly described: Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, Raratonga, Tahiti, the Marquesas, and then, distantly, Hawaii – where Captain Cook was killed. All these islands, excepting Fiji were, interestingly described as ‘all inhabited by the Maori race’, all sharing the same language. Then other islands to the south west of Fiji were described, including New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, the article commenting that the inhabitants of these islands were ‘not of the Maori race’. In the description of the Pacific islands, it was noted that Tonga had a single king, named King George, and that the Hawaiian group also had one King.⁹⁹ The global geography ended on a positive note by referring to the ‘dawn’ of Christianity over the islands.

For a relatively short text, this was an impressive survey of world geography and geo-politics from biblical times through to the contemporary period of the 1850s. It is possible to see this type of world-historical knowledge filtering through into Māori-produced texts. Although there is some doubt about how widespread the circulation of *Te Karere* was, large and accessible communities, such as those in the Waikato, would have had access to at least some copies.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, rangatira such as Wiremu Tāmehana would have ensured their own access to the paper. The analysis above reveals some strong language similarities between Tāmehana’s description of British-American history and this text from *Te Karere*.

⁹⁷ *Te Karere* itself admitted that its translations were ‘free’, preserving however ‘the sense and substance’; see *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 22 November 1849, 1:

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1849/11/22/1>.

⁹⁸ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Jan. 1856, 8

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/01/01/9>).

⁹⁹ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Jan. 1856, 11

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/01/01/12>).

¹⁰⁰ See Paterson, *Colonial Discourses*, 21, who can only identify clear evidence of 500-copy circulations in 1856.

Reading Lessons in Biography, History and Geography (1853)

This was the title of a text published by the St. John's College Press in 1853, which outlined in sixteen chapters New Zealand, American, English, biblical and ancient history.¹⁰¹ Although it was published in English, it is mentioned here to underscore how this subject-matter was seen as central to the mission school syllabus. The National Library catalogue indicates that it was a text intended for Māori learning English. It also discounts Hocken's suggestion that Judge Martin was author – suggesting a 'humbler' author.¹⁰² However, given the authorial history of Judge and Lady Martin, the text's subject-matter, and its publication at the Bishop's Press, it is quite probable that the Martins were the authors, as Hocken thought.

The text drew a common parallel between the ancient Britons and the contemporary Māori: both were tribal and barbarous (or 'savage') and often at war. The Roman history of Europe and Britain was emphasized. The text described the growth of the imperial power from the city of Rome, to the conquests of Italy, followed by those of Greece, Spain and the barbarian tribes and chieftains, including those of Britain. Julius Caesar was singled out for approbation as:

a sample of the Roman character with its faults and virtues; a man with such a thirst for conquest, and such a genius for war and for government, that he gathered together in one, and under one rule, all the nations of the earth.¹⁰³

The language used to describe this ancient imperial hero thus combined that of war, government, and the imperial rule of many nations. As Caesar appears as some sort of exemplar for a gifted ruler, so parallels between the contemporary British empire and ancient Rome are implicit in the text. This is especially so as 'the Greeks and Romans and all the nations of Europe' were the descendants of Japhet (one of the three sons of Noah) and thus had been blessed to spread all over the world and also have the knowledge of the gospel (that came through Christ, the descendant of Shem). Biblical geography and history was thus folded into both ancient and contemporary geography and history.

The same types of history, geo-politics and implicit (or explicit) messaging were the subject of much newspaper material originating in the Government. A sample of this is now examined.

Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger

The Māori-language newspaper of the Government, *Te Karere*, endeavoured to keep its readers informed about the state of European and world affairs. Much of this was descriptions

¹⁰¹ *Reading Lessons in Biography, History, and Geography, for the Upper Classes in Primary Schools* (Auckland: the College Press, 1853).

¹⁰² http://natlib-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=NLNZ&search_scope=NLNZ&docId=NLNZ_ALMA21220662380002836&fn=permalink (accessed, 3 September 2018).

¹⁰³ *Reading Lessons in Biography, History, and Geography*, 148.

of high diplomacy or the latest acts of state of kings and queens. It would not be surprising if these general descriptions of world affairs began to affect tribal consciousness of themselves vis-à-vis other nations and governments. That is, as they became more aware of the structure of a global geo-politics, divided into many empires and states – which were often described by an ethnic label, ‘French’, ‘Spanish’, ‘English’, and so on – that this global knowledge reinforced a growing consciousness of supra-tribal solidarity or identity of interests and origins between ‘nga iwi maori’. At least, this seems to be the type of affect that is visible in the correspondence of Tarapīpipi. He understood the ‘separateness’ of the nations as something supported by the contemporary world setting, as well as biblical precedent. Others were clearly imbibing the same texts.¹⁰⁴

It could be observed that the presentation of this ‘foreign affairs’ material often made too easy divisions between states and nations, gliding over the reality that many of these were multi-ethnic states or empires, often with important local or regional governmental institutions. The appellation ‘England’, for example, was often used to refer to the United Kingdom.

References to ‘Roma’ – the (old) Roman imperial system

Te Karere could print some remarkable material. One little article – obviously abbreviated from a published work – combined a number of elements reflected in Tarapīpipi’s writing. This article, written by ‘an American tourist’ (‘tetahi Merikena’), described the behaviour or demeanour of the English when in modern-day Italy.¹⁰⁵ It referred to the English as modern-day Romans – ‘haughty to the proud, and forbearing towards the weak’. Their Pax Britannica was like the Pax Romana – ‘They force the mood of peace upon Nations that cannot afford to waste their strength in war. They are law makers, road makers, and bridge makers’; in addition, ‘They are penetrated with the instinct of social order, and have the organ of political constructiveness’. These phrases were translated into Māori with a prominent emphasis on the ‘iwi’ identity of the English in relation to other ‘iwi’:

E tohea ana e ratou te maunga rongo ki nga iwi ekore nei e kaha ki te whawhai. **He iwi hanga ture** te Ingarihi, **he iwi mahi huarahi**, mahi arawhata wai hoki. Kei roto kei

¹⁰⁴ For example, at the May 1857, Paetai hui: Paora Te Akura said: ‘God did not say that there was to be no king for all the people; it originated in the unity of Israel...’, and Takirau: ‘All other Islands have obtained great power; therefore we say let our Island ascend in the unity to God’: *AJHR* 1860, sess. I, F3, 143.

¹⁰⁵ ‘The English in Italy’/ ‘Te Ingarihi i Itari’, *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Sep. 1855, 22-23 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/09/01/23>).

i a ratou nga ritenga mo nga mahi ata tika; ko te matauranga ki te **whakatakoto ritenga mo te iwi** kei i a ratou.¹⁰⁶

The translations highlighted identified the English as a ‘law-making people’, a ‘road-working people’, and a people who had knowledge of ‘establishing order [or practices] for the peoples/nations’. This last expression did not, could not, capture the full English sense of a people skilled in ‘political construction’ – the construction of new polities seems intended here – but was perhaps the best usage available in Māori.

Fascinatingly, it described what might be understood as the ‘island consciousness’ of the English:

He motutere a Ingarangi, no reira e momotu nei te Ingarihi i a ratou; a, aki noa te ngaru o nga iwi ke ki a ratou, horerawa he ahatanga.

*As England is an Island so they everywhere form an insula [sic] community, upon which the waves of foreign influence beat in vain.*¹⁰⁷

The result of this resolute sense of self-possession was that the English abroad did not attempt to conform with ‘the manners and customs’ of the local people. Rather they clung to their own sense of national rightness, regardless of the reactions they received. (Later the superlatives increased: Truth, courage, and justice – these lion virtues that stand round the throne of national greatness – shape their blunt manners and their downright speech.)

The national pride of the English was further described:

The English are proud of their own country, and for that, surely no one can blame them. They are proud of its history, of its literature of its constitution; and especially of the rank it holds, and the power it holds at the present time... A new sense of the greatness of England is gathered by travelling on the Continent.¹⁰⁸

This article is interesting because it held up a mirror to the English sense of national identity and their world dominance. They were the new Romans. Even the Continental Europeans acknowledged this, if begrudgingly. For a Māori readership, it set the English in their wider European and world context.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 22.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 22.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 23. ‘E whakapehapeha ana te Ingarihi ki to ratou whenua tupu; otira nei kia kinongia ratou mo tena? E whakapehapeha ana ratou ki nga korero whakapapa mo Ingarangi, mo nga korero whakatohunga tangata, mo nga ritenga whakatakoto mo nga ture; a, mo te mana, me te rangatira nui o to ratou whenua i roto i tenei takiwa... Ko te mana, me te kaha o Ingarangi e kitea nuitia aua ina haerere atu ki nga tini whenua o Oropi.’

It might be asked whether this was the type of portrayal of the English – a representation of their imperial *modus operandi* – that Tarapīpipi was in a sense reacting to, or pushing away. By asserting, as he did, that he wanted ‘a king for myself’ he articulated a need to maintain political separateness. At the same time, a ‘king for myself’ was not a different law. In other places, he articulated his acceptance of English law or English legal models.

References to ‘Ruhia’/Russia or ‘Nikorahi’/Nicholas

In the mid-1850s, Russia and its rulers were the subject of a few articles in *Te Karere*. Mostly these articles conveyed news about the Crimean war, and Peter the Great (see chapter five) was mentioned at least twice.¹⁰⁹ The 1 January 1855 edition of *Te Karere* carried an article entitled ‘Foreign Intelligence’ (‘Rongo No Tawhiti’), which gave a brief description of the state of the various peoples/nations of Europe, including Russia. The article referred to the publication of the life of Peter the Great (‘Pita te Nui’) by ‘an old and true friend of theirs’ (‘tetahi hoa tawhito hoa pono’) – obviously a reference to the text’s putative author, Chief Justice Martin. The article went on to describe the splendour of the imperial fetes and the Winter Palace, which was greatly in contrast to the state of poverty of most of the people.¹¹⁰

The 1 June 1855 edition of *Te Karere* had a single reference to Nicholas, King of Russia in a long article about the Crimean war between ‘the aggressor’, Russia, and the English and French. The same article also mentioned briefly the history of Russia since Peter the Great (‘Pita te Nui’). It described Peter’s visits to England and Holland to acquire knowledge of ship building and other arts. It described his conflicts with Charles the Twelfth of Sweden (‘Hare te Tekauarua, Kingi o Witana’). Interesting linguistic usages included: ‘the great European family’, translated as ‘nga iwi katoa o Oropi’; the concept of civilization (or rather the opposite of ‘barbarous and inferior’), rendered as ‘tikanga Pakeha’; while nations surrounding Russia were described as ‘nga iwi tu tata’.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ For a short article on the Crimean war, see ‘The War in the East’/‘Te Whaingā ki te Marangai’, *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Jan. 1855, 18-19 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/01/01/19>); another was in *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Aug. 1855, starting at 1 (with pages missing thereafter, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/08/01/1>).

¹¹⁰ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Jan. 1855, 16-17 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/01/01/17>).

¹¹¹ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Jun. 1855, 1-4 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/06/01/2>); see also ‘Te Whawhai ki Ruhia’, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/06/30/5>; ‘Te Maungarongo o Oropi’, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/07/31/2>; ‘the Russian Flight from Sebastopol’, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MMTKM18560630.2.7>.

References to ‘Wiwi’/ France and ‘Ponipata/Ponupata’/ Napoleon

In the 1 April 1845 edition of *Te Karere*, Hone Heke was compared to Bonaparte, who was ‘dictating to you’ (or disputing with you).¹¹² The fact that this reference is unexplained indicates that Napoleon was a figure known to Māori; it is very likely that missionary teaching included the recent history of British and French relations and warfare, and that visiting Frenchman and Americans had spoken of these events. In 1852, Hongi Hika was referred to as ‘the Bonaparte of the New Zealanders’ (‘te Ponupata tera o te tangata Maori’).¹¹³

The 9 May 1850 version of *Te Karere* carried an apocryphal sounding story of the Emperor Bonaparte – rendered simply as ‘Ponupata’ – giving the crucifix around his neck to a common soldier during the retreat of the French army from Russia in 1812. This was to recognise the soldier’s courage, in that he had been carrying his dying captain on his back. Both men were picked up by Napoleon’s guard and survived the ordeal.¹¹⁴

In the 1 January 1855 edition of *Te Karere* (mentioned above re Russia), the article entitled ‘Foreign Intelligence’ (‘Rongo No Tawhiti’), described the Emperor Napoleon as enjoying the ‘great confidence and respect’ of the French people. According to the article, ‘the most friendly relations exist between this nation and the British...’ (‘He nui te whakahoa o te Ingarihi raua ko te Wiwi’). The subsection of this article on England described the ‘peace and prosperity’ currently prevailing there, and that ‘our Maori friends’ (‘nga hoa Maori’) would be glad to learn that ‘the great Parliament of Britain is not forgetting the loyal and industrious inhabitants of New Zealand’ (‘e maharatia mai ana e nga Runanga o Piriteni, nga iwi whakaaro-u, nga iwi ahuwhenua, o Niu Tireni’).¹¹⁵

The content of this issue seemed to generate some response from Māori readers, including none other than Wiremu Maihi (‘William Marsh’) Te Rangikaheke, a literate Māori of rangatira status. Among other matters, he commented on reports of the great war with Russia (‘nga whawhai nui ki Ruhia’ – the Crimean War) and the remark that the English and French were now friendly – he supposed instead that the two peoples ‘were still at variance on account of the death of Napoleon Bonaparte’ (‘kei te mauāhara mo te matenga o Ponupata’).¹¹⁶ The reo

¹¹² *Te Karere o Nui Tireni*, 1 Apr. 1845, 15 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1845/04/01/3>).

¹¹³ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 6 May 1852, 4 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1852/05/06/4>).

¹¹⁴ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 9 May 1850, 4 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1850/05/09/4>). This was from a story appearing in *Chamber’s Journal*.

¹¹⁵ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Jan. 1855, 15-16 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/01/01/17>).

¹¹⁶ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Mar. 1855 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/03/01/19>).

Māori version was stronger than the English rendering, as ‘mauāhara’ means hatred, malice or antagonism.

References to ‘Merikena/Marikena’/ America

In a June 1849 edition of *Te Karere Maori* there was an extensive article on the land of California, including its conquest by the Spanish.¹¹⁷ Some interesting usages were the following: the native Indian tribes were referred to as ‘te tangata Maori nei nga iwi...’, and also as ‘nga tangata whenua’ – the first usage reflected the original meaning of ‘maori’ as ordinary or normal; the Spanish were referred to, at the time of their conquest, as the greatest power in Europe or ‘te iwi rangatira ake o nga iwi katoa o Oropi’; and the ‘Kings of Spain and the Indies’ were rendered as ‘he kingi no Paniora, me nga Ine’. After Mexico became independent from Spain it became a Republic – a concept translated as, ‘they did not have a king’ (‘kīhai i whai kingi ratou’), and elaborated further as, ‘the authority of the land was the voice of the people’ (‘ko te mana o ia whenua kei te reo o te iwi’), which seems to be some attempt to translate the concept of democracy.¹¹⁸

The article referred to the war between the United States and Mexico that resulted in a U.S. victory and California being handed over to the U.S. The article then described the African slave trade, where the warring tribes of Africa encountered by the European nations (‘nga iwi o Oropi’) were rendered as ‘nga tini Hapu o taua whenua’. The use of ‘hapū’ suggested the Africans were so many smaller tribes, rather than larger tribal-nations or ‘iwi’. The article described the abolition of the slave trade by England and France and the patrolling of the Atlantic by the two navies to prevent slave trafficking; nevertheless, the Portuguese and Spanish still trafficked African slaves. The ultimate point or message of the article was to warn Māori not to go to the California gold fields in case they were taken into slavery – as slavery was still lawful at that point in time in the United States.

In the *Te Karere* article of 1 February 1855, updating about ‘Foreign Affairs’, America or ‘Merikena’ was described as a ‘great power’ (‘rangatiratanga nui’) that was ‘spreading her eagle wings far and wide’ (‘e whakamaro ana i ona pakau kahu, ki nga wahi mamao’) – referring to the great export of goods. The article lauded the prohibition on sale of ‘intoxicating drinks’ in Merikena.¹¹⁹ On a related theme, there were various articles in the *Maori Messenger* on

¹¹⁷ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 21 Jun. 1849, 1-2

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1849/06/21/1>).

¹¹⁸ Nb., this is my more literal rendering, as the parallel English text in the newspaper refers simply to ‘Mexico under its freed condition’.

¹¹⁹ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Feb. 1855

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1855/02/01/20>).

American agriculture, including instructional pieces on the American practice of propagating potatoes from seed.¹²⁰

Other than the reference to the Americans ‘separating’ from the English/British – mentioned in the global geography text (*Nga Whenua o te Ao Nei*) – there does not appear to have been discussion of the American Revolution in the Māori language press. The English language press in the period c. 1840-1861 had approximately 40 articles referencing or discussing the American Revolution in some way, including in the judgment in the case of *The Queen v Symonds* (1847).¹²¹ It is possible that some of this was translated orally in discussions with Māori, or some few Māori that were competent in English could read these articles.

References to Tahiti and King Pomare

In the *Te Karere* of 1 May 1845, there was an article in response to Hone Heke’s actions and allegations, seeking to explain why the flag of England was for the protection of Māori and British (‘hei kara tiaki i a tatou’) from the French and the Americans. It recounted a letter from King Pomare of Tahiti to England asking for protection, which was not forthcoming; and as a result of which the French arrived and brought havoc to Tahiti.¹²²

There were plenty of news items about Tahiti, the French and Queen Pomare in the English-language press during the 1840s-50s, but very little in fact in the Māori language press. Given the history of trade and interconnections between Tahiti and New Zealand, and Tahiti and Britain, since the time of James Cook, it is not surprising that the Pomare monarchs were known to Māori.¹²³

References to the British monarch – ‘Kuini Wikitoria’ – and to Kings generally

References in print to the British sovereign should not be forgotten about. There were frequent references to Kuini Wikitoria in *Te Karere* and a few other newspapers in the period 1840 to 1860, although not necessarily excessively high instances – the average being only about four

¹²⁰ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 30 Apr. 1856, 3

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1856/04/30/4>).

¹²¹ A search in Papers Past of “American Revolution” – exact phrase – delivered 41 results for c. 1840-1861:

(https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers?phrase=2&sort_by=byDA&items_per_page=10&snippet=true&query=American+Revolution&start_date=01-01-1839&end_date=31-12-1861).

¹²² *Te Karere o Nui Tirenī*, 1 Mar. 1845 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1845/03/01/1>). There was also a letter from Queen Pomare written in September 1844, telling of her various troubles: *Ko te Karere o Nui Tirenī*, 1 May 1845

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1845/05/01/2>).

¹²³ See references in ch. 1.

per year.¹²⁴ The gaps in production of *Te Karere* would partly account for this, and other Māori language newspapers lasted only for a short time in this period. It is noticeable however that references to the Queen increased in the period 1858-60.

References generally to kings and kingship were more regular than to queen or Queen Victoria. In approximately the same period, c. 1840-1860, there were over 1500 separate articles dealing with *kīngi* or *kīngitanga*, although most of these were after 1854, once the native King Movement became a subject of avid conversation.¹²⁵

Other subjects

Political subjects were of course a common topic in *Te Karere* and other Māori language newspapers of the period. For example, there was a brief imagined conversation between a Māori and Pākehā about the phenomenon of elections in January 1855.¹²⁶

Reference was made to the Haitian Revolution in July 1863. The article gave a brief history of Haiti. It then appended a type of address to the 'Kingite natives', which sought to counter a 'parable' known as the 'Talk of Hayti' that drew analogies between the natives ('Maori') of the island and the Spanish and French imperial powers ('Pakeha') whom they overthrew. The writer condemned this parable as 'a cunning mixture of the truth with falsehood' ('kotahi wahi pono kotahi wahi teka') – as a false 'similitude', designed to deceive Māori into error.¹²⁷

Te Karere was also concerned to counter false reports about the Indian Mutiny or Rebellion (1857-58) that it thought Māori would have been exposed to. In fact, it devoted eleven pages over two issues in mid-1858 to explaining the Mutiny in the context of the Indian imperial scene. India was explained as a land of emperors and kings, with multiple peoples and language groups and two dominant religions, Muslim and Hindu. The Mutiny was characterised as an overindulged servant rebelling against the master who had prospered him, including saving him from the disorder of a dismembered Mogul (Mughal) empire. The

¹²⁴ An 'all word' search for 'Kuini Wikitoria' in Papers Past produced 79 results for the 1839-60 period (an 'all word' search meaning the search picked up 'kuini' and 'Wikitoria' separately or together): https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers?end_date=31-12-1860&items_per_page=10&page=5&query=Kuini+Wikitoria&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA&start_date=01-01-1839.

¹²⁵ Searches for 'kingi' delivered 1,545 instances: https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers?items_per_page=10&snippet=true&query=kingi&start_date=01-01-1839&end_date=31-12-1860.

¹²⁶ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 1 Jan. 1855, 28 (https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MMTKM18550101.2.27.1?end_date=31-12-1859&items_per_page=10&query=elections&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA&start_date=01-01-1852&title=HAEATA%2cMMTKM).

¹²⁷ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 18 Jul. 1863, 9 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1863/07/18/9>).

language of kingship and government was prominent, even when the English read ‘sovereign’.¹²⁸ One wonders how Tarapīpipi would have understood this text if he had read it: on one reading the British were quite willing to acknowledge and even support native kings and princes in India, so this would have been further grist to his argument. The point, however, on which his argument seemed to turn was the separation of nations or kingdoms with their own kings. That said, he was willing to conceive of native king and British queen operating within New Zealand in their different spheres.

Conclusions

Part I: sources of the political thought of Tarapīpipi and the native kingship

What were the intellectual sources of the political thought of Tarapīpipi and the Kīngitanga that he was a leading proponent of? In the first instance, the language and conceptions of kingship were derived from contemporary European models and from biblical narratives and injunctions. To employ a phrase from the nationalism literature, Tāmehana’s native kingship was a ‘derivative discourse’. But he and his compatriots also needed to embed the kingship in a native setting that was governed by conceptions of kinship and genealogy. Pōtatau was of a superior chiefly line and of ‘extended influence’.¹²⁹ These conceptions were not dissimilar from the Old Testament Hebrews (Jews) that Tarapīpipi read about in the book of Deuteronomy and other scriptures. The similarities or parallels almost invited the importation of kingship into the multi-tribal context of New Zealand. Tāmehana hoped that a King would unite the iwi of the country and be a single source of law and adjudication of disputes. The biblical texts seemed to answer the need.

Second, this new global knowledge was mostly sourced from printed texts in te reo Māori: the Bible and Prayer Book, the printed ‘secular’ works of the Bishop’s Press, and the newspapers – I suggest, in descending order of importance or ‘causation’. Such knowledge was also the subject of discussions with missionaries and government officials and agents. But the genesis of this knowledge for literate Māori such as Wiremu Tāmehana was the printed word. Furthermore, he exhibited confidence in reading and interpreting these texts for himself, without being bound to a missionary understanding or application of them. The epistle to Governor Browne is a clear example of this.

¹²⁸ *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, 30 Jun. 1858

(<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1858/06/30/6>); 15 Jul. 1858 (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/maori-messenger-te-karere-maori/1858/07/15/2>).

¹²⁹ ‘The reason why I set up Potatau as a king for me was, he was a man of extended influence, and one who was respected by the tribes of this island’; Wi Tāmihana to the Governor, 7 Jun. 1861; *AJHR* 1865, E-11, 8.

In summary, this chapter has identified and analysed the printed materials that were in circulation that contained and carried this new knowledge – down to the actual subject-matter that Tarapīpipi referred to in his 1861 apologia for the Kingship. It has been possible to trace texts, including articles in the newspapers, that included the references to countries and kings referred to by Tarapīpipi. Since these were the few printed texts in Māori available at the time that contained such subject-matter, it is reasonable to infer that Tāmehana read these texts and sourced his knowledge of European geo-politics from them. A reasonably clear picture is therefore able to be reconstructed of how a global knowledge emerged through printed texts and their circulation via missionary and government networks. Without this knowledge – without this tissue of intellectual sources – it is difficult to see how the Kīngitanga could have been produced by Māori. Drawing on Eugene Irschick, the production or creation of it was another example of a dialogic encounter between indigenous models and introduced, exogenous models: neither the source models nor the host context remained unchanged by these intellectual and institutional innovations.

A further reflection on the print and knowledge revolution is that leaders like Tāmehana were acutely aware of the power of the printed word to shape political discourse. This is shown by the fact that the Kīngitanga printed its own newspaper; and John Gorst's Government printing press at Te Awamutu was (in)famously attacked and carried away by Kīngitanga adherents, although Tāmehana himself reportedly did not agree with this action.¹³⁰ When Tāmehana wrote to the Governor in June 1861 he opened by saying that he wanted his 'korero to be printed' so that 'the source of my thoughts may be seen, and the cause of my exertions on the side of the Maori'. This was doubtless because he also wanted to avoid being misrepresented, as had happened in the past. But the sense of his request alludes to the power of print to quickly circulate and affect public discussion.¹³¹

Part II: what was Tarapīpipi's 'imagined political community'?

We can now return to the question of how Tarapīpipi conceived of various political communities within the greater New Zealand landscape and how he belonged to them. Did he consider that there was, if not actually then potentially, a single political community in New Zealand as at 1860? If there was not, what, then, were the wars of the 1860s? They could not, on this analysis, be a civil war – a war between fellow citizens (or subjects).

Yet, with respect at least to Wiremu Tāmehana, to say that there was not a single political community – at least in prospect or imagination – does not seem to tell the whole story. It does not seem to encircle the embracing nature of Tāmehana's humanity and his Christian

¹³⁰ <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/pihoihoi-mokemoke-i-runga-i-te-tuanui>.

¹³¹ Wī Tāmihana to the Governor, 7 Jun. 1861, *AJHR* 1865, E-11, 8-9. This was another epistle-like letter, but told a more personal narrative of how he came to adopt the kingship concept.

frame of reference – seen in his statement that he was united with the Governor and the British based on their common Christian faith. While Tāmehana felt excluded from the political community of the Pākehā, with their Governor, parliament and councils, laws and courts, he identified with the same law, believing it to be derived from Christian scripture. This was essentially the law that he also wanted applied – fairly and equitably – to Māori tribes and communities. And he wanted an equal share in the administration of this law.

A desire for ‘order and law’ – for the new ‘ture’ – was the driving force in his whole conception of the native kingship: ‘give us a king to judge us’ (‘Homai he kingi hei kai whakawa mo matou’) was another verse he cited (from the Book of Samuel 8: 5) – that is, give us a single source of law and order, and the authority to compel obedience. According to Tāmehana, it worked: ‘the blood at once ceased’. He elaborated on these reasons for Pōtatau’s elevation:

That, O friend, was why I set him up – to put down my troubles, to hold the land of the slave, and to judge the offences of the chiefs. The King was set up; the Runangas [sic] [councils] were set up; the Kai-whakawas [sic] [judges] were set up; and religion was set up. The works of my ancestors have ceased; they are diminishing at the present time: what I say is, that the blood of the Maoris has ceased (to flow).¹³²

He went on: ‘I do not desire to cast the Queen from this island, but from my piece (of land). I am to be the person to overlook my piece.’¹³³ He denied, according to Gorst’s account, that the King’s flag did away with ‘the supremacy of the Queen’; it rather represented their agreement to hold on to land and ‘suppress evil among themselves’; and the flag was not to remain upon land fairly sold to the Queen.¹³⁴ He also stated:

This [native] King was to be in close connexion with the Governor, to stand in the same relation to the Maoris as the Governor does to the Pakeha. The King was to be ‘pa taka’, stronghold of the laws.¹³⁵

¹³² Wi Tāmihana to the Governor, 7 Jun. 1861, *AJHR* 1865, E-11, 8-9; also cited Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana*, 231-232.

¹³³ Wi Tāmihana to the Governor, 7 Jun. 1861; *AJHR* 1865, E-11, 9.

¹³⁴ John Gorst, *The Maori King* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan, 1864), 173-74; cited Stokes, 225-226.

¹³⁵ Tāmihana, interview with H. T. Clark, Resident Magistrate, Tauranga, 14 Jan. 1861; cited Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana*, 179-80.

Therefore, the king's primary role and significance was as the chief administrator of law in respect of Māori communities and their lands. And this law was in fact the same scripturally inspired law that governed the British.¹³⁶

Since the law/*te ture* was understood as constituting an orderly political community, and since that law was common to both communities, there was a meaningful civil polity embracing both peoples (or perhaps more accurately, multiple communities and colonies of varying *ethnie* or historic origins). Therefore, if '*te ture*' becomes the focus of analysis, then Tāmehana's sense of being part of a wider political community identified by its obedience to scriptural law means that he remained a fellow citizen with his British brethren. It might be more accurate to say he was a fellow subject of the same divine law. That might not make him a subject *per se* of Queen Victoria, but it made him a member of the same law-defined or *ture*-governed community that she was. (Lyndsay Head has described this conception slightly differently as a 'law-based citizenship'.¹³⁷) In the words of the old English authority of Henry de Bracton – the law made the King, not the King the law. In this significant sense of a law-defined polity, the Waikato and Taranaki wars were civil wars – wars between Māori and Pākehā fellow subjects or kin.

Commentary in David Armitage's recent magisterial study, *Civil Wars*, seems to align with this characterisation. Armitage said that 'to call a war "civil" is to acknowledge the familiarity of the enemies as members of the same community: not foreigners but fellow citizens'. On this point, Armitage cited the German legal theorist Carl Schmitt (1888-1985), who said:

Civil war has something atrocious about it. It is fraternal war, because it is conducted within a common political unit ... and because both warring sides at the same time absolutely affirm and absolutely deny this common unit.¹³⁸

This might be understood as the phenomenon of political thought in tension with itself, for the very reason that political thought, or ideas, or symbols – whether they be kings, or flags, or constitutions or laws – are means of making sense of and ordering social experience. In the

¹³⁶ '[H. T. Clarke] asked: "You speak of the King as a stronghold for the laws – what laws"? Answer, "Your laws, the Queen's laws; they are just and scriptural..."'; see Tāmehana, interview with H. T. Clark, Resident Magistrate, Tauranga, 14 Jan. 1861; cited Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana*, 180. John Gorst remarked on the two different views of the purpose of the Kīngitanga held by Tāmehana and Rewi, respectively (*The Maori King*, 279-80; cited Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana*, 187): '[Tāmehana] desired to create a paternal sovereign to execute just laws to which all should yield obedience; and to oppose the progress of the Pakeha by passive and peaceful resistance, giving no pretext for war. Rewi, on the contrary, rejected every attempt of the King to exert, in time of peace, the least authority over any member of the Ngatimaniapoto tribe, but as the head of a confederation of Maoris against the common enemy. Rewi was his most devoted subject...'. Gorst thought that Rewi's conception of the kingship became 'the popular view'; this might be queried given the on-going role of the Tumuaki line of Tarapīpipi in the institutional structure of the Kīngitanga.

¹³⁷ Head, 'The Pursuit of Modernity', 116.

¹³⁸ David Armitage, *Civil Wars: a History in Ideas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 14.

case of Wiremu Tāmeahana Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa, there was a kind of existential tension in his thought and political aspirations that directly reflected his lived experience of seeking actual law and order in a fast changing world – a world in which he and his Māori compatriots sought to preserve themselves and their groups as viable and living entities alongside and interacting with the European world. The Kīngitanga can therefore be seen as the product of a crisis that was both empirical/existential and ideational/ideological. Historical anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, once wrote on the nature of religious or sacred symbols in a way that resonates with the symbolic and institutional system that Tāmeahana promoted in a native kingship:

symbolic activities – religion, art, ideology ... [are] attempts to provide orientation for an organism which cannot live in a world it is unable to understand. If symbols ... are strategies for encompassing situations, then we need to give more attention to how people define situations and how they go about coming to terms with them.¹³⁹

Similarly, Duncan Ivison has explored how cultures are malleable and ‘internally complex’, made up ‘of negotiable, replaceable stuff, more patched-together and reassembled than woven of the same cloth’.¹⁴⁰ The Kīngitanga worked within a society of independent, interdependent, and variously-related tribal groups. But its intellectual exemplars were from outside the culture and exerted a form of cultural and customary change in the application. They were intellectual ‘tools’ that were employed by Māori interpreters to argue for the maintenance of Māori-ness, but the very application of them both indicated and induced cultural change. One change was in the definition of what it meant to be a tribal society. A coalescing of groups was perceived as a foundation of pan-group survival: strength in unity.

In summary, the Kīngitanga was fashioned by Tāmeahana and others to shore up land and establish law for a people-nation or iwi that did not want to be lost.¹⁴¹ This expanded, pan-tribal sense of iwi received its clear mandate in the biblical texts. In its broadest historical meaning, then, the Kīngitanga was an ideological and institutional response to a crisis of social and political order in an imperial situation, using the ideological and institutional forms of the

¹³⁹ Clifford Geertz, ‘Ethos, World View, and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols’ (1973), in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 141.

¹⁴⁰ Duncan Ivison, *Postcolonial Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 36; also cited Hickford, *Lords of the Land*, 401.

¹⁴¹ For example, Tāmeahana, interview with H. T. Clark, Resident Magistrate, Tauranga, 14 Jan. 1861; cited Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana*, 178: ‘We feared that unless some means were devised to check [the purchase of native land by the Government] we should soon be lost (ngaro) among the Pakehas, and cease to be a distinct nation. The land league was the result of these thoughts, of which it was ultimately decided that the King should be head.’

imperial culture, which itself had been shaped (in arguably similar ways) by the texts of Hebrew and Christian scripture.

Conclusion: Drawing Together the Textual (Discursive) Threads of New Political Communities

If we take the establishment of liberty for the realisation of moral duties to be the end of civil society, we must conclude that those states are substantially the most perfect which, like the British and Austrian empires, include various distinct nationalities without oppressing them. Those in which no mixture of races has occurred are imperfect; and those in which its effects have disappeared are decrepit. A state which is incompetent to satisfy different races condemns itself; a state which labours to neutralise, to absorb, or to expel them, destroys its own vitality; a state which does not include them is destitute of the chief basis of self-government. The [modern] theory of nationality, therefore, is a retrograde step in history.

Lord Acton (1862)¹

E Ihowa to matou matua i te rangi, kaha rawa, e noho iho ana i runga rawa, te Kingi o nga kingi, te Ariki o nga ariki, te Kawana o nga pirinihi, e kite iho ana koe i runga i tou torona i te tangata katoa e noho ana i te w[h]enua; E tino inoi atu ana matou ki a koe kia titiro atawai, mai ki nga rangatira maori; a kia w[h]akakahangia ki tou Wairua Tapu, kia rongo ai ratou ki tau pai, kia haere ai i ou haerenga ...

O LORD our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of princes, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold our most gracious Sovereign Lord King [WILLIAM]; and so replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that he may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way ...

Te Rāwiri/ Book of Common Prayer (1833)²

At the heart of this thesis is words or texts and what people did with them. Before they did anything with them, they first had to read them or hear them read or recited. New texts introduced new languages of political thought or a new global knowledge. Pākehā or European protagonists did not, in translating texts into the native language of the islands of Niu Tirenī (the disaggregation of 'New Zealand' is also a feature of this thesis), come from static worlds of political discourse, but rather ones contested, often reformist, and sometimes revolutionary. The thesis has attempted *inter alia* to sketch some of the major tensions between older ideas of national and imperial community and new settler discourses.³ It has also attempted to show

¹ [Lord Acton], 'Nationality', *Home and Foreign Review* 1 (1862): 1-26, at 23-24; see below for explanation of 'modern theory of nationality' associated by Acton with the French Revolution.

² From the text of Evening Prayer/ 'Ko Te Inoinga i te Ahiahi': *Ko te Pukapuka Inoinga, me Nga Karakia Hakarameta, me Era Ritenga hoki o Te Hahi o Ingarani* (Hirini [Sydney], 1833), 20; English version from *The Book of Common Prayer ... of the Church of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1796).

³ Lisa Ford has characterised the moment of the 1820s-30s as 'the moment of settler sovereignty' when state formation began to be more forcibly conceived as the exercise of 'perfect territorial jurisdiction'; see Ford, *Settler Sovereignty*. I would prefer the 'Liberal-Radical' moment of settler self-

the differing ways in which Māori protagonists engaged with new texts and knowledge and employed them in political argument and in the imagining of new political communities.

While the creation of a new, literate, indigenous public sphere in New Zealand is another way to characterise the study undertaken in this thesis, the context of orality was still predominant in many locations in the period studied here, *circa* 1814-1863. Into this context came not just the new texts of scripture and liturgy, but the daily *practice* of the Prayer Book. Since by the mid-1840s more than half the Māori population was estimated to meeting regularly for Christian services, the liturgical texts become vital in appraising the diffusion of new political languages and global knowledge. Perhaps the central argument of the thesis, then, is that the Prayer Book was political: it taught new conceptions of the group (from tribe to nation) and authority (kings, governors, law). As with earlier English and European national formations, the Book of Common Prayer, which became 'Te Rāwiri', helped to constitute a sense of indigenous ('maori') identity as pan-tribal and God-ordained. The Māori Prayer Book/Te Rāwiri both expressed and formed England's older, Anglican confessional state, which fused religion and law. It also expressed, in its language and especial content – including prayers for kings or rangatira (or those in authority, as cited above) – an older imperial view of political community. As Lord Acton argued in 1862, this older imperial order was infused with a Christian concern for liberty and 'self-government' of particular locales, peoples and customary regimes.

The Prayer Book's influence on native political thought and broader mentalities has not been sufficiently emphasised by the New Zealand historiography of early print literacy, which has focussed on the Bible *per se* and literacy *per se*. Other scriptural content became important from the late-1840s (especially the Old Testament), along with a secular literature of law, history and geography, and the government newspaper (*Te Karere*). Whether 'sacred' or 'secular', however, most of the texts analysed here share a common identity: they were translated or crafted by people who were in various ways influenced by an older vision of political community: a 'nationality' that was identified with a constitutional monarch who governed both church and state. This *mentalité* was contested in the Age of Reform by new visions in which the political nation was understood as the people: the state became commensurate with the people, and this meant the new settler (colonial) republics of Britain in the period 1830s-50s should be accountable to and embrace themselves alone.⁴ The contest over the shape of New Zealand political community (or communities) can be understood as a

government and emergent (revolutionary-Continental and English Romantic-Saxonist) ideas of 'nationality', given the actual nature of political language and the key role of settler-colonial coteries in both metropole and empire.

⁴ See Acton, 'Nationality', 14 ('the state and nation must be co-extensive', citing J. S. Mill's *Representative Government*, 1859); cf. Mandler, *The English National Character*, 3.

contest between this ‘modern theory of nationality’ (derided by Lord Acton) and the Anglican confessional state or ‘Christian empire’ (a state that fused religion and law), and between the texts that had shaped both. In this contest, Māori were also protagonists, deriving their own meanings from these texts, but mostly influenced, before the 1860s and arguably for a long time after, by the Anglican languages and *mentalité* of political community.

The thesis commenced this reconstruction of the languages of politics and nationality both occurring within and shaping the New Zealand isles by showing that the missionary pioneer Samuel Marsden was busily engaged, even intent, on civil society and government dialogues from his first contacts with native or indigenous New Zealand. There is clear evidence that chiefs were interested in these new ideas, which they witnessed in institutional form while visiting the convict settlement of New South Wales and the imperial centre of London. I suggested that we need to date serious Māori engagement with Western political ideas not from the 1840s or 50s, but from the 1820s (and even earlier). Although we do not usually know what Māori thought at least from extant documents produced by themselves in the pre-1840 period, we see in the recordings of Samuel Marsden, James Busby and others, evidence of serious engagement, which sometimes appears to reflect pressing political need – such as responding to the warfare and uncertainty of the 1820-30s period. More especially, we have the indigenous language text of the 1835 Declaration (a rendering by British missionaries of Resident James Busby’s English language draft) in which leading northern chiefs assented to and declared themselves possessed of a form of authority that was partly continuous with but also quite discontinuous from traditional hapū-based leadership.

Historiography on this period has insufficiently appreciated the matrix of political ideas and constitutional paradigms that British protagonists were employing and deploying in constructing new ‘constitutional’, ‘political’, or ‘national’ futures for the islands of New Zealand. In articulating ideas about the British jury, kingship, and national assemblies, Marsden and Busby can be understood as operating within paradigms of language and thought deeply rooted in British political history. Scottish Enlightenment modalities or ‘stadial history’ have recently been highlighted for New Zealand, but we require a more well-rounded appreciation of the complex of British constitutional notions and *mentalité* being drawn upon and deployed. Angus Hawkins and David Cannadine (among others) have perceptively highlighted the ongoing significance for British political culture of ‘natural hierarchies’, including the role of landed elites in local communities. This was a view of political and social ordering that British protagonists – not just British elites, as Marsden was hardly elite by background – exported to their empire.

While it is British protagonists at this early period who were doing the primary construction or narration of a single indigenous (‘native’ or ‘maori’) political community, it might be asked

how both British and indigenous parties began to participate in a dialogic process, in which incommensurate streams of thought became intermingled. In this process, both British and indigenous conceptions were arguably distorted or, at least, were applied in new ways. Most singularly, in He Wakaputanga (the Declaration of Independence, 1835) it might be asked how the notion of an annual assembly of New Zealand chiefs not only reflected British parliamentary modalities but also proposed a revolution in custom in the New Zealand setting by elevating chiefs to national legislators who would make laws affecting the exercise of local tribal authority and custom.

He Wakaputanga might (also) be characterised, to borrow another formulation from an influential scholar of early indigenous-Western contact, as a kind of textual ‘middle ground’, in which both parties partially apprehended and partially misapprehended the other’s meanings or intentions. The use of new languages of ture (law) and kāwanatanga (government), intermixed with extensions to or new uses of old concepts – mana was yoked to kīngitanga (kingship), while a certain rangatira-tanga (with meanings in Māori ranging from chieflihood or nobility, to chiefly authority, to a more biblical ‘kingdom’ as in ‘thy kingdom come’) was employed for the ‘independence’ of a ‘state’ (again, these English terms differing in shades or worlds of meaning from the indigenous terms, even in their biblical re-uses) – means that the chiefs who declared these things cannot have thought they were only asserting some traditional form of (hapū-defined) authority.⁵ To employ White again, the Māori and English texts of the Declaration ‘speak across cultural boundaries’ and in so doing ‘forg[e] new systems of meaning’ or a new middle ground that is neither purely ‘native’ nor purely ‘European’.⁶ In addition to these new languages of authority, He W[h]akaputanga suggested the radically new concept of a ‘maori’ nation, people or ‘iwi’ of ‘Nu Tireni’ (New Zealand) that would encompass enemy or ‘tauīwi’ (foreign) tribes. However, the concept of ‘the nation’ or the meaning of ‘New Zealand’ in the minds of northern chiefs can only be gestured at in 1835. The existence of a native nationality or national consciousness therefore remained inchoate.

⁵ *Contra* the Waitangi Tribunal’s view in its 2014 Northland (stage 1) report that a hapū rangatiratanga only was declared (see commentary on this in chapter 1); cf. this view with Manuka Henare (whose Ph.D. thesis was in evidence before the Tribunal), and the authors of *Tangata Whenua*, who suggest that Maori were asserting something quite new, even a new Maori state (see chapter 1 also). This represents a wide range of interpretations of what ‘He Wakaputanga’ meant to its Maori ‘declarers’. We cannot be certain exactly what the chiefs involved thought they were doing. To suggest the Western idea of an impersonal Western ‘state’ in 1835 is going too far; but, on the other end of the interpretive spectrum, to practically ignore (as the Tribunal seemed ultimately to do) most of the new language and language uses in the Māori text itself, seems to me to involve serious interpretive errors.

⁶ As White articulated in his 20th anniversary edition preface to his much-quoted work: White, ‘Preface’, *The Middle Ground*, xxiv.

It awaited more intense engagement with biblical and secular texts through the rest of the 1830s and then the 1840s, as the latter half of the thesis explored.

The second chapter situated the thesis in the ‘Liberal-Radical’ moment in British domestic politics of the 1830s and particularly explored the colonial reform movement for ‘Responsible Government’, conducting a study of some of the key protagonists. I argued that the liberalising context, which included franchise reform and the breakdown of the Church-State nexus, was a milieu in which Liberal arguments for reform of imperial governance could receive a hearing. These reforming arguments dovetailed with emerging notions of ‘nationality’ as self-conscious identification with a political community (well before fully-fledged nation-statism). John Stuart Mill’s essay on Samuel Taylor Coleridge of 1840 was a significant intellectual text that explored three principles of ‘social union’ – including a collective ‘sympathy’ – without which a society was in a state of ‘civil war’.

I also argued here that the colonial reform movement and the imagining of new colonial political communities was made possible by new print technologies or mass-produced newspapers and journals. These new fora of print generated new publics or political networks with widespread readerships, interlinking London and various colonial peripheries – the *Colonial Gazette* being a leading example. These new ‘settler nationalities’ – effectively promoted by a version of Benedict Anderson’s print-men, although these were both ‘metropoles’ and ‘creoles’ at various times of their careers – were Radical or Liberal in tendency. A great irony of the liberal century, however, was the illiberal and exclusionary nature of the new colonial political communities towards races and people-groups that were often simultaneously displaced in territorial terms or absorbed into the great settler mass (often both processes were at work).

This process of creating English settler republics – inimical alike to indigenous political communities and colonies of other ethnic or national origins – recalls the specific argument of the Durham Report: that English political institutions should be established for all races in the Canadas, including the French, which would solve the problems of ‘antagonism of race’. This was, to employ somewhat later terminology of white settler colonies – an argument for ‘amalgamation’. I do not consider, however, *contra* Damon Salesa (who follows others such as Catherine Hall), that ‘race’ was understood as ‘bio-cultural’ or an aggregate of ‘physical, moral, and political’ qualities of a people group.⁷ While there may have been a biological element or

⁷ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 39-40; Salesa’s quotation from Buller bears this out (where Buller critiques the old French monarchy, backward French agriculture and Catholic priests – these are historical and customary factors, not biological or innate differences); in fairness, Salesa is right to point out the ‘cultural’ aspects of these constructions, but defining them as primarily ‘bio-cultural’ has a tendency to mislead; cf. James Fitzjames Stephens, whose 1861 essay suggested a somewhat innatist view of

a sense (sometimes) of innate racial or national characters, 'race' was a synonym for 'people' or 'nation' and was primarily – in the early to mid-nineteenth century – still understood as defined by differences of history, laws, customs and language, which were not immutable.⁸ The amalgamation of the French Canadians, proposed by Durham and his Radical aides, was about absorbing them into an English settler republic of English laws and customs rather than (primarily) a process that would occur through intermarriage. It was primarily a project to break down their existing *political* community, which involved political-economic and geographical separateness.

These embryonic settler nationalities (republics or commonwealths) found themselves in tension with other, older visions of British nationality and empire – the exact tension that Lord Acton explored in his famous essay, 'Nationality', of 1862 (cited above). Recent scholarship on empire has explored how the British empire, as with other empires before it, was a heterogenous collection of different types of authority, law or custom. In the third chapter, I explored some British conceptions of nation and government that I called 'Anglican', in particular those associated at the contemporary moment of the 1830s-40s with the Evangelical Anglicans in England (the Clapham group), and the C.M.S. missionaries in New Zealand. I suggested that the humanitarian impulse associated with the Clapham reformers – another significant part of the patchwork of the Age of Reform – was more decidedly imperial in framing and tone. In many respects, the Clapham milieu and *mentalité* was 'old Tory', supporting the old local institutions of political order: landed estate, tenant farmers, magistracy, and parish church. In other words, it was not averse to a more hierarchical vision of society, so long as the authorities in question observed a Christian morality and charity towards those less fortunate in the social scale.

There is a sense, then, in which the Clapham vision was more capable – certainly than metropolitan/colonial radicals – of supporting the ongoing existence of tribal societies as forms of customary social order. And rather than these societies being absorbed within settler colonies, they could be incorporated as distinct sub-entities, as long as they observed the basic

'national character', that it consisted in the 'temperament' or 'general turn of body, mind, and manner' of an imagined representative of the nation, although Stephen's discussion also canvassed history, laws, institutions, and literature as representing or forming national character: see [J. F. Stephens], 'National Character', *Cornhill Magazine* 4 (1861): 584-98; also cf. Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil, or The Two Nations*, orig. pub. 1844 (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1995), 107, for example: '[Sybil:] When I remember what this English people once was; the truest, the freest, and the bravest, the best-natured and the best-looking, the happiest and the most religious race upon the surface of this globe; and think of them now, with all their crimes and all their slavish sufferings, their soured spirits and their stunted forms; their lives without enjoyment, and their deaths without hope; I may well feel for them, even if I were not the daughter of their blood'.

⁸ This argument between racialist and constitutionalist/civilizational understandings of people groups was the primary focus of my M.A. thesis: Carpenter, 'History, Law and Land'.

new legal framework of British law and morality (understood generally as also Christian). Another key reason for the Claphamites to support more centralised imperial authority was in order to achieve one of their key aims of ‘protecting’ indigenes from white settler influences, which included the new Radical-Liberal settler communities. In sum, the kind of ‘nation’ envisaged by the Anglicans who contrived the phrase at Waitangi in 1840 – ‘we are one people-nation’ – was an imperial political community characterised by constitutional monarchy and law governing a social fabric of customary hierarchies. Significantly it allowed for (in fact, advocated) the ongoing ‘integrity of the hapū (tribe)’ and its authority structures including rangatira.⁹

Chapters four through seven of the thesis examined the effects of the new languages of political community – of authority and collectivity – on indigenous political consciousness. The argument was developed that a native or Māori nationality, as with English and European nationalities, was formed by the text and practice of scripture and liturgy. Borrowing loosely J. C. D. Clark’s characterisation of England as a ‘confessional state’, religion and law constituted the earliest sense of a Māori nationality. This was the notion that an overarching government or state would now constitute the political community, uniting all tribes and groups under a form of law or legal adjudication heavily inflected with scriptural or Christian religion. Renata Kawepō expressed such notions in striking language when he castigated the Governor in November 1860 for failing to submit the Taranaki troubles to legal adjudication: ‘Now, my duty to that mother of mine [the Queen] is ended, unless she will look upon the fault of this Governor who feeds us with guns, powder, and ball, and recall him, and give me a Governor who will feed me with digestible food, with Councils, with Courts of Justice, with love, and with good deeds’.¹⁰

⁹ William Williams, *Three Letters Addressed to the Right Hon. The Earl of Chichester* (London, 1845), 14, 15, 18; cf. Lord Acton’s advocacy in 1862 for the old imperial, Christian orders that consisted of many nations/peoples/races exercising a form of local self-government but under a single rule, government or ‘union’ (a nice description in fact of ‘he iwi kotahi’), as opposed to the ‘modern theory of nationality’ that he traced (primarily) from the French Revolution that aimed for ‘popular’ or ‘democratic’ government of an entire ‘ethnological’ people, but which led to centralised, absolutist states imposing ‘uniformity’. Acton quoted J. S. Mill’s, essentially modern, idea that the state and the nation must be co-extensive – viz., the new theory of nationality; rather Acton was more enamoured of the medieval, Christian idea that a state could tolerate many races within it, who would retain ‘their cherished habits, their customs, or their laws’: see [Acton], ‘Nationality’, at 18-19 (especially); W. Williams and the Clapham concepts are consistent with this Actionian vision of imperial political community, as opposed to the Colonial Reformers, including J. S. Mill himself, who were more concerned with the new race-based nationalities or political communities. This makes a difference as to what ‘amalgamation’ meant; even if the C.M.S. supported a version of amalgamation, it looked quite different from the settler version: cf. Paterson, *Colonial Discourses*, 53-54.

¹⁰ Renata Tama-ki-Hikurangi Kawepō, *Renata’s Speech and Letter to the Superintendent of Hawke’s Bay on the Taranaki War Question; in the Original Maori with an English Translation* (Wellington:

Such notions of mixed religion and law continued to constitute a supra-tribal nationality in various forms and formulations, including the ‘prophetic’ modes, right though the nineteenth century, and beyond. In important, fundamental respects, a national Māori consciousness was religiously infused, whether that was the patriotism or incipient nationalism of Hone Heke, the fledgling nationality of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha that (despite the orthodox accounts of the Kīngitanga) wedded itself to Queen Victoria even while seeking to maintain a distinctive chiefly order and native dignity, or the more biblically-inspired, formalised, institutional conception of native nationality in the Kīngitanga – that of Wiremu Tāmehana Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa. The indigenous sense of connection with land was always important here, too, but it also was altered (though not without significant ongoing continuities) through interactions with these new ideas and new institutions into ideas of a territoriality or authority of the group or chief over a discrete area. In the first instance, the idea in the Prayer Book and scripture of the people-nation of Israel and its God-given whenua or country can be perceived in the language use of Hone Heke. A decade later, Wiremu Tāmehana pursued the idea of a kingdom, with its connotations of defence of both people-nation or ‘iwi’ and their land.

Clifford Geertz, in an insightful summation of much of what he had been saying for 30 years, queried the tendency in Western modes of political theory and anthropology of conflating various terms together in describing societies as public actors.¹¹ Although dictionary definitions (citing the *OED*) gave a sense of the divergent origins of various terms, it was the convergent meanings of ‘country’, ‘people’, ‘state’, ‘society’ and ‘nation’ over time that had assumed prominence in explaining a world split into supposedly homologous units of collective agency. There were various problems with this, however: the units so described were not homologous or identical (‘England’ and ‘Yugoslavia’, for example); the units had seen a tremendous reshaping both internally and externally, especially since 1945, and such was ongoing; and the diversity and multiplicity of actual units of global geo-politics was such that the very terms used to describe them had uneasy and unequal applications – especially words such as ‘nation’, ‘people’, and ‘state’. Geertz argued that for many (or nearly all) units these were not interchangeable terms, such that he was concerned to ask ‘What is a Country if it is not a Nation?’.¹² Within this, he also queried the assumption of Western political theory that

Spectator Office, 1861), at 6S (the Māori language original reads: Ko tenei kua mutu taku pai atu ki tena Matua oku, engari ki te titiro mai ia ki te he o nga mahi a tenei Kawana whangai pu whangai paura whangai mata ka whakahoki atu, ka ho mai ai i te Kawana whangai i au ki te kai ngawari, ki te Runanga, ki te Whakawa, ki te Aroha, ki nga tikanga pai.’).

¹¹ Clifford Geertz, ‘The World in Pieces: Culture and Politics at the End of the Century’, ch. 11 in *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000): 218–63.

¹² *Ibid.*, 231.

saw the western model of the nation-state as being simply diffused and adopted throughout the non-Western world (citing Anderson, perhaps somewhat unfairly, as ‘the master-narrative theorist of all this, “nationness [as] virtually inseparable from political consciousness” ’).¹³ It was clear to Geertz that other things were going on. Actual political history, especially the anti-colonial revolutions of the second half of the twentieth century, had ‘rendered the notion that the world is composed of atomic nationalities, mighty and unmighty, sovereign and subaltern, hard to articulate and harder to defend’. It was ‘conceptually useful, morally imperative, politically realistic’, therefore, to resist ‘the coalescence of the dimensions of political community, keeping the various lines of affinity that turn abstract populations into public actors separate and visible’.¹⁴

Geertz’s critique assists with understanding the world as it both is and was – surely even more so in the nineteenth than in the twentieth century. The apparent certainties represented by the terms ‘New Zealand’, ‘Māori’, ‘iwi’/tribe, ‘England’, ‘Britain’, ‘nation’, ‘empire’ and ‘colony’ must give way to an analysis of how these terms arose in the first place and what they meant to different kinds of people using them across multiple phases of history. To take just two examples: when did ‘New Zealand’ come to mean ‘the New Zealand nation-state’; when or how did ‘maori’/ the indigenous as an ethnic category or population ever become ‘maori’ the political community? This study has sought to track some of the uses of these terms and how their meanings morphed or stretched – some developing a consistent use or meaning and others subject to ongoing fluidity of application. Stretching and morphing occurred in the translation of terms across cultures, and in the translation of narratives from one historical and cultural context into one quite alien. As this occurred, new meanings were created, meanings that drew from the source context but were pressed into service in a quite different context. The word ‘iwi’ was applied to something called ‘Israel’ – an entity itself consisting of twelve iwi (or perhaps hapū) – as well as the contemporary peoples, countries and governments called England, France, Russia. It could not, in these new contexts of application retain its meaning as an extended kin-group bound by genealogical ties (which is possibly a much crisper definition than the pre-contact Māori world utilized).

Angela Ballara’s study of Ngāti Kahungunu and other iwi transformations was concerned with the way new groups emerged out of old, and the replacement of ancestral names with ones more recent in time and memory. Under pressures of warfare and European settlement, a larger pan-tribal group known as Ngāti Kahungunu emerged by the mid-nineteenth century. But these transformations differed in scale if not in nature from the ones shaping the emergence of something called ‘nga iwi maori’, followed by ‘te iwi Maori’. The word ‘maori’

¹³ Ibid., 235, 261.

¹⁴ Ibid., 235.

itself became transformed from its root sense of ordinary or natural to become the appellation of the entire *ethnie* or collectivity of the native people. Could it be said, however, that 'Māori' represented a single or homogenous *ethnic or cultural identity*? Further, to what extent did it become an appellation for a new pan-tribal *political community*?

This study has argued that the very possibility of imagining an ethnic community or political community 'across' or 'above' the hapū matrix was generated by the new print cultures of the missions and te Kāwanatanga (Government). Jurgen Habermas traced the rise of such 'public spheres' in the rise of the new bourgeois classes of Europe and their coffee houses and journals, an insight shared (in various formulations) by many other scholars of nationalism and of particular nationalisms (or nationalities), such as England's or Britain's. Benedict Anderson similarly ascribed the new, emergent nationalities of the New World to the newspapers and novels of the creole empires. Others however put the rise of national consciousness earlier in the translation of scripture and liturgy into vernacular languages. This thesis took these insights, of such as Adrian Hastings and Peter Burke, and saw their relevance in the story of the translation of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer into te reo Māori. The central chapters of the thesis formed the central argument: that the almost saturation coverage of these texts through the native population by the early 1840s provided a new world of texts and narratives that transformed native (maori) political consciousness. In the context of a still predominantly oral environment, it was the Māori Prayer Book that took the lead in introducing new languages of collectivity and authority and, over time, transforming political mentalities. Te Rāwiri, together with other scriptural translation, enabled Māori to see themselves as a separate or distinct 'iwi' or people-nation, akin to the people-nation of Israel. Such a reading has been seen multiple times in the post-Reformation era histories of England, Europe and then further afield. Later 'prophetic' versions of the Israel complex – outside the scope of this thesis – were formed in the contexts of the post-1863 wars and often stressed the liberation theology elements of the Exodus story or the building of new Jerusalems. In the earlier period of the 1840s-50s studied here, it was the combination of people and land, religion and law that constituted a potent reading of Prayer Book and the Pentateuch (first five books of the Bible printed in Māori in 1848) and issued in movements such as the Kīngitanga.

Before the Old Testament prophetic literature (especially perhaps the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Joel) began to work its discursive power in the later, 1860s wars period, it was the Psalms and Prayer Book primarily that formulated the new group consciousness. Among Benedict Anderson's numerous insights was that concerning the effects (or postulated effects) of 'simultaneity' in the new print cultures. That is, Anderson thought that the reading of the same newspapers by a widespread population encouraged a collective consciousness and new collective affinities. This insight seemed highly relevant to the daily and weekly

reading of and worshipping with sacred texts – or the same Prayer Book – across a widespread and diffuse tribal population. It was a culturally new practice in which many tribes were now regularly engaged. It was a collective practice – involving the whole group – across gender and status lines. And it occurred at the same times of the day and night and in accordance with a yearly calendar of new types of observance (Saints and Feast days and the like, as the ubiquitous new ‘Maramataka’ or Anglican liturgical calendars recorded). It generated, this study suggests, a new sense of collectivity across, between and among tribal groups. It formed, in addition, the basis of a new collective sphere of public debate – one that was pan-tribal and was based on printed texts.

What Benedict Anderson called the new languages of state – originally of the western empires and their ‘administrative units’ or colonies – were also important, but here, in New Zealand, these languages were very much built upon the first layer of scripture and BCP translation. Here, also, many of the same personnel became the translators of Government texts in the early treaties, proclamations, laws and newspapers. Paralleling this, in the 1840s-50s period, were the production of more secular histories and geographies by the clergy and laity of the Bishop’s Press at St John’s College (as explored partially in chapter five). In sum, these new knowledges and new collective practices contained in printed matter constituted a new public sphere of debate that was pan-tribal and world-applicable. Bayly used the word *ecumene* or ‘form of cultural and political debate’, and he skilfully traced how Indian nationalism of the later nineteenth century had older, indigenous foundations.¹⁵ Similarly, the new forms of tribal or native (Māori) patriotisms and nationalisms drew on older affinities with land and kin. This thesis has not attempted to reconstruct or describe the nature of these earlier, pre-European political communities.¹⁶ Starting from a baseline of leading scholarship on pre-European forms, the thesis has shown how new languages had infused native political debate to such an extent that mentalities were reshaped and transformed. This infusing of language was partly a function of translation – as old words were used to translate new European cultural forms (for example, ‘iwi’ for ‘nation’) the meaning of those old words morphed. Such infusion-by-translation could be misunderstood as a process occurring independently of indigenous agents. While indigenous actors were not usually in command of most of the translation work of the new textual universe – including the texts of the BCP and the Bishop’s Press – the application of these new concepts could only be embedded in tribal worlds through Māori agents using this modified language (as well as totally new concepts without obvious equivalents). The transformed (or new) meanings only had purchase on indigenous minds and

¹⁵ Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), esp. ch. 5; and Bayly, *Origins of Nationality in South Asia*.

¹⁶ As noted in the Introduction, the scholarship of Ballara, Te Maire Tau and others has been relied on here.

persons because they were practised in such forms as the liturgy and were then taken up in correspondence and political discourse. As Rowse argues, the new texts were incorporated by Māori agents into 'indigenous political discourse'. If the text was powerful, it was, as Elizabeth Elbourne has argued similarly for Christianity itself, rapidly 'out of the hands of the missionaries and settlers who brought it'.¹⁷ Māori were agents of their own intellectual and cultural transformation when they used Western texts and Christian practices in multiple ways to re-imagine their own social and political (and spiritual) orders.

A new political community denominated 'Māori New Zealand' could now be imagined by indigenous-native agents. This imagining was however not homogenous: it could be perceived as a non-tribalised native identity – 'nga tangata maori', 'te tangata maori' or possibly, linguistically rarer, 'te iwi maori' – a type of incipient 'ethnic nationalism' or at least patriotism, which partly also drew from the *realpolitik* needs of defending whenua (land) and from indigenous conceptions of whenua itself.¹⁸ Land or whenua meant both tribal (genealogical) associations with particular places and resources but also a growing sense, by 1860, of a territorialised 'country' – not however identical to the twentieth century maps of New Zealand. The sense of 'New Zealand' as denominating a territorial nation or nation-state was still incipient in British communities and colonies in New Zealand, though it might be a mapped territory over which the Queen's empire ruled.¹⁹ Other instantiations of 'Māori New Zealand' were akin to an institutional authority constructed from both indigenous genealogical ties and priorities and the new languages and institutions of law and kingship. In the form of the Kīngitanga, this imagined political community did not however carry all before it – either imaginatively or politically. The Kīngitanga had a widespread following and it divided tribes between those who supported it and those loyal to the older tribal identities or to Queen Victoria and her Kāwana-tanga. This phenomenon of traditional ties untied, of hapū solidarities sundered, is one practical demonstration that the Kīngitanga was a 'modern' or post-customary entity: it was something other than or 'above' or 'beyond' commitment to a tribal (hapū) political community.²⁰ Thus, a 'Māori' or native New Zealand – whether as a

¹⁷ Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff', *American Historical Review* (2003): 435-59, at 444.

¹⁸ As noted in chapter six, at footnote 115: 'te iwi Maori' is by far the least common usage on PapersPast in the period c. 1840-1870; a similar pattern, on a smaller sample size, is revealed in the AJHRs, c. 1854-1870: 'nga tangata maori' – 29 results; 'te tangata maori' – 6 results; 'nga iwi maori' – 10 results; 'te iwi maori' – 6 results (see https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary?phrase=2&items_per_page=10&snippet=true&query=te+iwi+maori&start_date=01-01-1854&end_date=31-12-1870).

¹⁹ The almost primary political/institutional fact of the provinces until 1876 meant that many colonists' identities and loyalties were local/provincial (are they still?).

²⁰ Apirana Ngata's assessment in the 1930s is pertinent and in basic agreement with my analysis: 'Mention must ... be made of social movements among the Maori people which to some extent cut

more basic (genealogical or 'primordial') ethnic formulation or in institutional or 'civic nationalist' formulations such as the Kīngitanga (and later, Kotahitanga) – still competed with older identities of the hapū and, increasingly, wider pan-hapū or iwi conglomerations (such as Ngāti Kahungunu or Ngāti Raukawa/Ngāti Toa).

Various imaginings of this native New Zealand also sometimes competed with, sometimes sat alongside, the loyalties to Queen, Government and law. Tāmihana Te Rauparaha's version of a distinct native society surviving due to recognition by the imperial order of customary, chiefly status was of course congenial to empire. His loyalties and identification were with the new legal and political order, although not without caveat. It might be thought that his status recognition as an Assessor in the 1860s and reasonable success as an individualist landowner enabled him to continue believing in the new Pākehā order. Wiremu Tāmehana, on the other hand, was refused an audience with the Governor at a key moment in the mid-1850s in a wider context of Māori exclusion from the political society of Europeans due to a franchise (for the colonial assembly and provincial assemblies) based on the ownership of individual property. It may have appeared to Tarapīpī, the son of Te Waharoa, that the older system of chiefly recognition – fostered so assiduously by Governor Grey – had run its course. That is, a system of deference to a Māori aristocracy had also fallen by the wayside. (Also to fall by the wayside was Grey's 'pro-consular despotism' of the 1840s-50s that had partially held at bay settler elites²¹; not until c. 1863 did Grey side with the settler political community against native political communities.²²)

Since Māori generally were being excluded from civil society, in the sense of a meaningful political membership or a meaningful application of civil government (or Kāwanatanga, as te Tiriti had it), an alternative form of political society needed to be found – one constituted from

across the tribal system. These naturally are post-European in origin. Of them the King Movement is the most dramatic and the most extensive. Its origin, as indicated elsewhere, was in the Land Leagues formed by the Maori people in the fifties of last century when they felt that while settlement was overwhelming them. One form of this movement culminated in the election of a Maori King; an idea doubtless derived from what the Maori had heard of the institution of kingship in other lands and also from the Bible. What further justification for such a step was needed than the injunction found in that book which the white man had brought to them, translated into their language, urged upon them, and the teaching of which some of them had accepted in all literalness. They quoted: 'One from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee.' ... Looked at from this distance it is seen as merely one of the organizations evolved by the Maori people for resisting the destruction of their culture and the loss of its foundation, the land.'; Apirana T. Ngata, 'Tribal Organization' in I. L. G. Sutherland, ed., *The Maori People Today: a General Survey* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940): 155-81, at 177-78.

²¹ To employ C. A. Bayly's characterisation in *Imperial Meridian* (1989).

²² Although Grey's version of Anglicized amalgamation was considerably closer to the settler one than the Clapham or C.M.S. version; as his 'Port Louis paper' of 1841 and his South African excursions indicated, he was against the separate 'nationality' of indigenous groups: see Cadogan, 'Constituting the Settler Colony and Reconstituting the Indigene', 307.

among the natives of Niu Tirenī themselves. It was time to find ‘a king for myself’, as Tarapīpipi so concisely and determinedly expressed the goal. However, the Kīngitanga, at least for Tāmehana and others whose minds had been similarly formed, was not in opposition to the Queen’s government or to the same legal framework (as chapter seven explored). In mapping the various imagined political communities of 1850s and early 1860s New Zealand, it can be asked whether there was a single political community somehow uniting the various smaller political communities, even inclusive of the tribes supporting the Kīngitanga. To answer this question, it is not necessary to refer to Anderson’s 1983 formulation of ‘imagined political communities’. We can employ instead a formulation for ‘nationality’ contemporary to the 1840s – that of J. S. Mill in his 1840 essay on Coleridge:

We mean a feeling of common interest among those who live under the same government, and are contained within the same natural or historical boundaries. We mean, that one part of the community shall not consider themselves as foreigners with regard to another part; that they shall cherish the tie which holds them together; shall feel that they are one people, that their lot is cast together, that evil to any of their fellow countrymen is evil to themselves; and that they cannot selfishly free themselves from their share of any common inconvenience by severing the connexion.²³

Did Tāmehana wish to ‘sever the connexion’ with the British monarch, her Governor, or her Pākehā subjects in New Zealand? The answer must be a resounding ‘no’, and therefore, it is possible to say, even on the newer definitions of ‘nationality’ understood or defined by British thinkers such as J. S. Mill (even though Mill himself, as a Liberal-Radical member of the colonial reform coterie, would have discounted the concept of a mixed settler and indigenous political community enjoying political equality in the 1840s), that Tāmehana imagined himself to be a member of a wider British imperial community; one that would, in his conception, allow a distinctive local indigenous authority – even a kingship – to maintain itself as a people-nation or ‘iwi’. It is possible, then, to see how the new texts of the Prayer Book, Bible, and contemporary histories and geographies, had made possible the imaginative construction of a single political community united by a common law.²⁴ If this was so, then in at least some Māori minds, the 1860s wars were civil wars – wars between fellow subjects or ‘citizens’ (to use the newer formulation of Continental derivation) of the same law-bound community.

Perhaps the tragedy of ‘the New Zealand wars’, then, was at root an intellectual misapprehension by Pākehā in authority of what Māori like Tāmehana were ‘doing’ with their kingship. It was – to Tāmehana, I suggest – the instantiation of a law-based order with a

²³ [Mill], ‘Coleridge’.

²⁴ As Bishop Selwyn put it, in 1862, the challenge presented by the Kīngitanga was of reconciling ‘the Unity of Law with the Duality of Mana’: *AJHR* 1863, E-12, 12.

symbolic, hierarchical figure-head or 'king', embedded in a customary, indigenous context that prioritised whakapapa and victorious legacies in warfare (though not any longer, because of Christianity, warfare itself). This customary-hierarchical legal order – a melding of indigenous, scriptural and European forms – was not inconsistent with the government of an empire or colony, represented by Victoria's governor in New Zealand. And it was not inconsistent with older Anglican imaginings of national community that were built around loyalty to monarch, constitution and common law. The difficulty – for Europeans – was mostly in comprehending a united polity of two kings, although Bishop Selwyn's characterisation of the problem ('reconciling the unity of law with the duality of mana') illustrated that imagining such a system was not impossible.²⁵ The wars though – civil wars – can be seen as the outcome of a dialogic process, a middle ground, in which new texts and language created new meanings and applications not always mutually comprehended by Briton and Māori alike.

²⁵ He also, at the same time, at the Peria meeting in Oct. 1862, suggested that the Kingitanga tribes might form a local government on the provincial model, with regulations or laws to be approved by the Governor: see *AJHR* 1863, E-12, 6. Such might have satisfied Tāmehana, if it had been generous and non-prescriptive.

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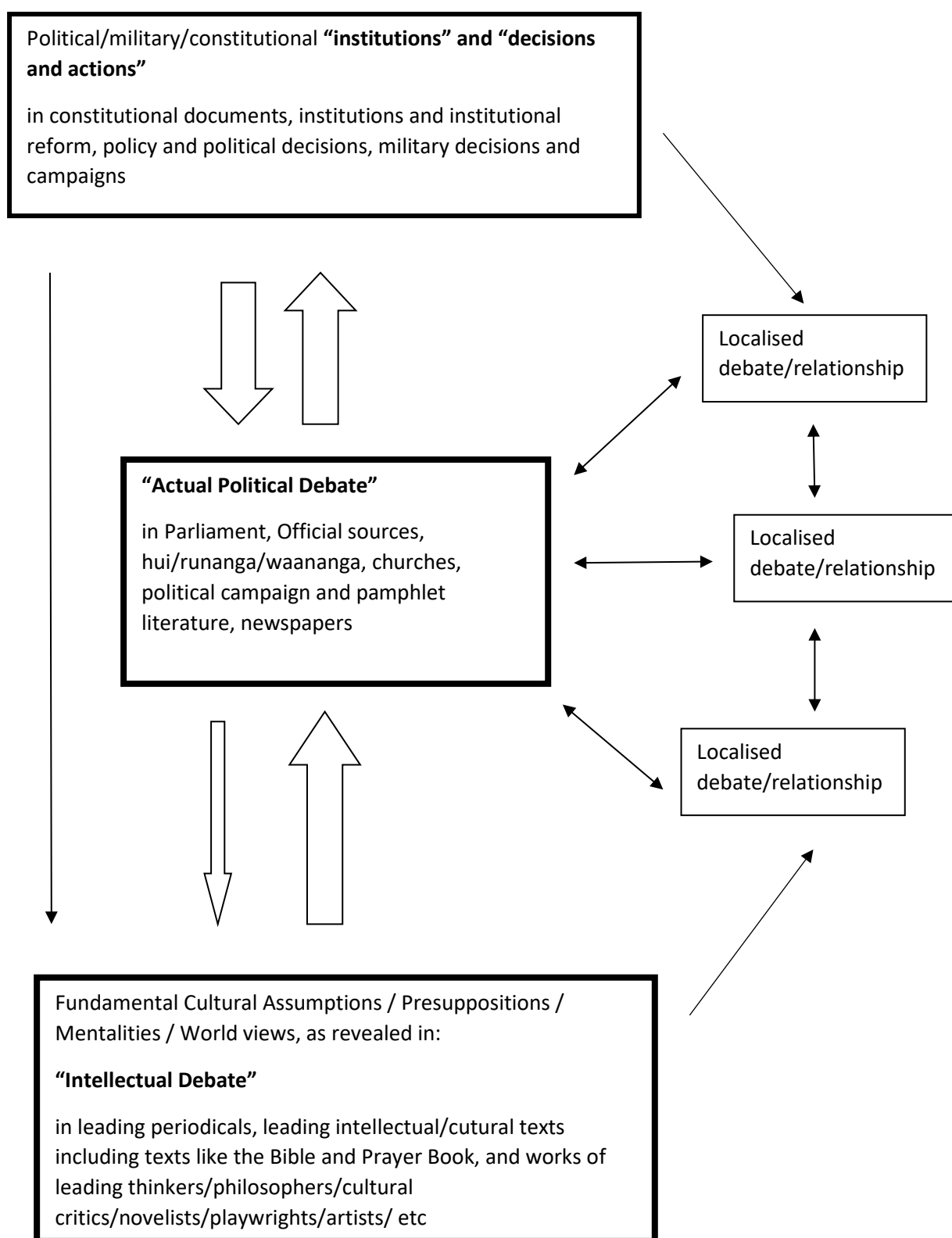
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Appendices

Appendix A (Introduction): a layers of texts methodology

[Note: arrows show how different layers affect each other; the size of the arrow indicates degree of influence. Thus, the diagram also depicts a ‘ground-up’ model in that it is cultural assumptions/mentalities that often exert an unidentified or unrecognised influence in political argument; the bottom layer is also the slowest to change, though is influenced over time by the realm of *realpolitik* and political change.]



Appendix B (chapter 4): William Colenso's Printing Ledger, Paihia mission press: selections from the ledger.

Note: since the Paihia mission and Hone Heke are the particular focus of chapter four, the numbers of texts issued to the Paihia mission have been highlighted below. Issues to rangatira (chiefs) have also been highlighted as a matter of interest. In total the numbers of *Prayer Books* printed numbered 53,000 in the period 1835-42: 47,000 'Small Prayer Books' (essentially Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer), and 6,000 'Large Prayer Books' (most of the BCP). There were also around 5,100 copies of the Psalms printed, that were bound with the Small Prayer Book. There were considerable (though lesser) numbers of New Testaments and other scriptural portions, as indicated below: 5,000 copies of 1837 New Testament, plus separate N.T. and O.T. books in printed runs of between 1,000-5,000. The reference to the 1841 New Testament is probably to the 1841 London printing, as indicated below, of which the ledger indicates 9,840 copies distributed in 1841-42.

The Paihia station received in the period 1835-42: 2,070 copies of the Small Prayer Book; 390 copies of the Psalms (note, possibly bound with the Small Prayer Book); 77 copies of Large Prayer Book; 200 copies of St. Luke's Gospel; 100 copies of Ephesians and Philippians; 600 copies of Isaiah; and over 900 copies of the New Testament (1837 and 1841 printings).

Note on format: the presentation of the ledger below has somewhat simplified Colenso's original, which is in the form of a book-keeping ledger with Debits on left side and Credits on right side; Colenso for some reason recorded the numbers printed on the Debit ledger, with numbers issued or distributed on the Credit ledger. Note, further, that square brackets indicate additions by me – mostly calculations of sub-totals or totals.

Epistles to Ephesians and Philippians			
Date	Item – description (or copies issued)	Numbers distributed	Numbers printed
Feb 1835	'Numbers of Copies printed of Epistles to the Ephesians & Phillipians [sic]'		2000
1835. July	Mr Baker, for Paihia	100	
	Mr Davis, for Waimate	200	
	Mr King, for Tepuna	50	
	Individual missionaries	32	
	Parent Society [England]	12	
	[sub-total]	394	

Mar. 23	Sent to Public Store [Kerikeri?] for Mr. Edmonds [?]	1600	
	Less waste	6	
	[total]	2000	
Gospels of St. Luke, 1835 [Ledger, pp. 39-40]			
Date	Item – description (or copies issued)	Numbers distributed	Numbers printed
Dec 1835	‘Numbers of Copies of St Luke’s Gospel Struck off’		1000
1836	Individual Missionaries, 1 each	54	
	Tauranga station	25	
	Matamata station	25	
	Puriri station	30	
	Mangapouri station	25	
	Rotorua station	25	
	Te Puna station	20	
	Kerikeri station	40	
	Kaitaia station	37	
	Waimate station	235	
	<u>Paihia station</u>	200	
	Mr. and Mrs. Busby	2	
	Capt. Fitzroy, H.M.S. “Beagle”	1	
	Parent Society [CMS]	10	
	Corresponding Committee	2	
	Rev. N. Turner, W. Miss.	1	
	Mr. Mair	1	
	Richd. Fairburn	1	
June 17	Sent to Kerikeri Public Store	260	
	Less, waste	6	
	[Total]	1,000	

New Testament, 1836-37 [Ledger, pp. 41-50]

Date	Item – description (or copies issued)	Numbers distributed	Numbers printed
1836-1837	‘Numbers of Copies of New Testament Printed, according to order’		5,000
1838			
Jan	Bound, 20		
June	Bound, 40 [total 60 bound]		
	1 each to [?] mission[aries]	52	
	Parent Society [CMS]	4	
	Mr Broughton	1	
	Mr Busby	1	
	Rev. N. Turner	1	
	Bishop of Australia	1	
	[sub-total]	60	
June	Bound, 200		
	Te Waimate station	60	
	Paihia station	50	
	Kaitaia station	20	
	Kerikeri station	10	
	Te Puna station	4	
	Kaweranga station	5	
	Maraetai station	5	
	Tauranga station	10	
	Rotorua station	5	
	Moeatoa [?] station	10	
	Mrs. R. Matthews	1	
	Mr. Wade, for [?] Brown	1	
	Wesleyan Missionaries	4	
	Capt. Harding, R.N.	1	
	Capt. King, R.N.	1	
	Commodore Dupt. Thonay [?]	1	
	Dr. Day	1	
	Sold to Mr. Busby	4	
	Rev. T. Wilkinson	1	
	Chief from Taupo	1	

	Mr. Mavelling [?]	3	
	[sub-total]	198	
	Wesleyan Missionaries, in Sheets	1,000	
July 13.	Sent 500 Copies to the Colony [NSW] to be bound		
Jany. 24	Received from Colony copies		
	Tauranga, for S.D., [Southern Districts?]	200	
	Kaitaia Station	60	
	Waimate Station	70	
	Paihia Station	45	
	Te Puna Station	6	
	Kerikeri Station	10	
	Wangaroa Station	12	
	Parent Society [CMS]	6	
	Rev? ____ Coleman	1	
	Mr. J. M. Knight	1	
	[sub-total]	411	
Jany	Bound 200 Testaments in parts; each making 5 parts, 200 +5 – 1,000 pts.		
	[total carried over page]	1669	
1839	Issued:		
	Tauranga, parts 250	50	
	Waikato, parts 150	30	
	Maraetai, parts 50	10	
	Kaitaia, parts 150	30	
	Waimate, parts 150	30	
	Paihia, parts 100	20	
	Whangaroa, parts 30	6	
	Kerikeri, parts 24 Te Puna, parts 12	7	
	[sub-total]	183	

Apr. 26	Issued:		
	Rev. Hy. Williams	20	
	Iwitahi, (chief, Wangarei)	1	
	Kauwata, (chief, Wangaroa [?])	1	
	Parent Society [CMS]	2	
	Rev. R. Taylor	1	
	Mr Mavelling	5	
	[sub-total]	30	
Mar 2	Sent 500 to Colony to be bound;		
July 4	Received from Colony, 492.		
	Issued:		
	Tauranga & Rotorua Stations	140	
	Waikato and Thames Stations	140	
	Waimate Station	50	
	Kaitaia Station	50	
	Paihia Station	50	
	Wangaroa Station	10	
	Kerikeri Station	10	
	2 painter lads	2	
	Taranaki (Dr. George Parsons)	2	
	Tareha	1	
	Hakiro	1	
June 11	Rev. Henry Williams	6	
	[total]	462	
May 1	Sent 500 to the Colony;		
Sepr.	Received 498 from thence		
	Issued:		
	Kapiti Station	50	
	Paihia Station	40	
	Waimate Station	40	
	Kaitaia Station	35	
	Kerikeri Station	10	
	Te Puna	10	

	Thames	50	
	Waikato	65	
	Tauranga & Opotiki	65	
	Rotorua	50	
	[sub-total]	415	
	[total carried over page]	2759	
1839	Issued:		
	East Cape (... Mr. Clarke)	30	
	Whangaroa Station	10	
	Mr. and Mrs. Mason	2	
	Sold Mr Mair	2	
	Tamati Waka, (Hokga)	1	
	2 Young Chiefs from Kapiti [almost certainly Mātene Te Whiwhi and Tāmihana Te Rauparaha]	2	
	[sub-total]	47	
Novr. 11	Issued:		
	Turanga Station	66	
	Turanga Station (before)	9	
	Sundry Individual Chiefs and others not enumerated	6	
	[sub-total]	81	
	Waiomio Chapel	1	
	Wangarei	2	
	Testaments sold (see cash a/c)	3	
	Copy for Office	1	
	Patuone, on his Baptism	1	
	Hauaora [?], Young chief Wangarei	1	
	[sub-total]	9	
1840	Sent 500 to Colony;		
July 14	Received from Colony, 553		
	Issued:		
	To Kapiti & Wanganui, Testaments	50	

	To Kapiti & Wanganui (parts 50)	10	
	Paihia Station	30	
	Kerikeri Station	8	
	Waimate Station	40	
	Kaitaia Station	36	
	Te Puna Station	6	
	Whangaroa Station	10	
	Turanga Station	50	
	Tauranga (for S.D.) [Southern Districts]	220	
	Wanganui, Tests: 15; parts: 20	19	
	Sold, from Jany. 1 to Mar 31, inclusive; see Cash a/c, p. 19	64	
	Karekare, Chief, Mangakahia	1	
	Tirarau, Chief, Mangakahia	1	
	Revd. R. Burrows	2	
	Commodore Wilks, American Squadron	1	
	Kihi, in prison at Kororareka	1	
	2 Chiefs of Kapiti returning with Revd. R. Mason & Co.	2	
	John Betts, Esq.	1	
	Disbursed by Printer in Travelling	3	
	[sub-total]	555	
	[total carried over page]		345 ¹
1840			
Mar 24	Shipped 500 on board the "Eleanor" [?] for Colony		
Augt 3	Received 494, by[?] Columbine from Colony, bound		
	Issued:		
	James [?] going to Opotiki	1	
	Noble Panakareao	1	
	Kapiti and Wanganui	60	
	Turanga & East Cape	80	

	Tauranga for S.D. [Southern Districts]	220	
	Paihia	40	
	Kerikeri	6	
	Te Puna	6	
	Wangaroa	10	
	Kaitaia	30	
	Waimate	30	
	Sold from July 1 to August 19 th	19	
	Gave one for an English Bible	1	
	[sub-total]	504	
Octr. 26	Issued:		
	Wangaroa	8	
	Kerikeri	6	
	Waimate	34	
	Paihia	26	
	Kaitaia	30	
	Te Puna	6	
	Waikato & Thames District	120	
	Tauranga & Rotorua	100	
	Turanga & East Cape	120	
	Kapiti and Wanganui	50	
	[sub-total]	500	
Nov. 12	Te Rev. R. Burrows	1	
26	(omitted) sold, prior to June 30 th	19	
	(omitted) disbursed in Travelling (5 parts)	1	
	[sub-total]	21	
1841 Jany. 22	Sent to Parent Committee (3 parts)	1	
March & April	Issued: Testaments Parts of ditto		
	Paihia 25 40	38 1/3	
	Kerikeri 4 8	6 2/3	
	Te Puna 3 8	5 2/3	

	Wangaroa 4 8	6 2/3	
	Kaitaia 12 26	20 2/3	
	Waimate 20 40	33 1/3	
	Revd. R. Burrows ... 6 10	9 1/3	
	Mr. Clarke 6 10	9 1/3	
	Turanga 30 50	46 2/3	
	Kapiti 20 48	36	
	Wanganui 20 40	33 1/3	
	Tauranga, ... & Opotiki ... 50 80	76 2/3	
	Thames, Waikato & Manukau ... 50 80 ...	76 2/3	
	[sub-total]	400 1/3	
	[total carried over page]	4,876 1/3	
1841			
April, to	Sold, at different times	4	
May	Presented to Lady Franklin	1	
	Presented to Lieut. Blackett, R.N.	1 6	
July 9	1 Testament to Mr. Davis, Waimate	1	
July 9	Issued 2 Testaments on a/c of [pra..s?]	2	
Nov 8	Issued to Turanga Station Testaments	20	
18	Issued to Rev. R. Burrows ...	6	
18	Issued to Thames & Waikato Stations	20	
1842			
Mar. 8	Issued to Turanga Station, Testaments	20	
Ditto	Ditto..., parts of Testament (140)	35	
Ditto	Tauranga, parts (100)	25	
	Paihia, Kororareka, & Waikare	30	
	Ditto..., parts (46)	11 2/4	
	Waimate, Testaments	20	
	Ditto, parts (30)	7 2/4	
	Kaitaia 10 [Testaments], parts (25) 6 1/4	16 1/4	
	Kerikeri 4 [Testaments], parts (7)	5 3/4	
	Te Puna 4 [Testaments], parts (8)	6	

	Whangaroa 4 [Testaments], parts (8) ...	6	
	Kapiti 10 [Testaments], parts (60) 15	25	
	Waikato, Thames, etc, Test[ament]s	20	
	Ditto, parts (100)	25	
	Wanganui 10 [Testaments], parts (50) ... 12 2/4	22 2/4	
May 4	Mr. Clarke, Testaments 4, parts 2	4 2/4	
12	Rev. W. Williams Testaments	2	
24	Rev. R. Burrows Testament	1	
June	Rev. Kissling, Reay, & Dudley	3	
	The Bishop	1	
Nov. 16	Mr. Telford, Printer	1	
		[5000?]	

'Small' Prayer Book, 1839 [Ledger, pp. 57-62]			
Date	Item – description (or copies issued)	Numbers distributed	Numbers printed
1839			
March	Number of Copies of Small Prayer Book, printed, 1 st edition		3,000
August	Number of Copies of Small Prayer Book, printed, 2 nd edition		4,000
Decr. to March, 1840	Number of Copies of Small Prayer Book, printed, 3 rd edition		20,000
	[total printed]		[27,000]
1839			
March	Issued:		
	<u>Paihia Station</u>	200	
	Te Puna Station	30	
	Kerikeri Station	65	
	Wangaroa Station	85	
	Waimate Station	500	

	Kaitaia Station	500	
	Thames Station	500	
	Tauranga & Rotorua	500	
	Turanga	500	
	[sub-total]	2980	
Augt.	Issued:		
	Paihia Station	500	
	Waimate Station	500	
	Kaitaia Station	500	
	Tauranga & Rotorua Station	750	
	Waikato & Thames Station	750	
	Kerikeri Station	50	
	[sub-total]	3050	
Octr.	Issued:		
	Kapiti Station	400	
	East Cape	100	
	Taranaki	100	
	J. Busby, Esq.	12	
	Mr. Mair, going a coasting voyage	20	
	Individual Chiefs, other Natives, & Whites, at times	60	
	Captains in Navy, [Hon. Comm.]	10	
	Individual Missionaries	26	
	[sub-total]	728	
Nov. 6	Revd. J. Mason, copies	2	
11	Turanga Station	500	
	[sub-total]	502	
1840			
Jany. 23	Paihia Station	250	
Feby. 13	Parent Society	10	
14	Kapiti & Whanganui Stations	500	
Mar. 4	Waikato & Manukau Stations	500	
27	Revd. R. Taylor, Waimate	10	

Apr. 2	Turanga Station	500	
2	Waimate Station	500	
	Kerikeri Station	100	
26	Wangaroa Station	100	
May 13	Capt. Lewington for Ngunguru	6	
	Tauranga, for S.D.	1,500	
15	Rev. J Mason for Wanganui	200	
18	Tahuri, nephew of Rauparaha	6	
June 18	John Belts, Esq.	2	
	Sundry Books, ... And disbursed in Travels.. [?]	37	
26	Pace[?] (Wickliffe) for Manawaroa	4	
	[sub-total]	4225	
July 13	J. Fedarb, going a coasting voyage	12	
	Paihia Station	250	
	[sub-total]	262	
	[total carried over page]	11,747	
Oct. 26	Issued:		
	Whangaroa	50	
	Kerikeri	50	
	Waimate	300	
	Paihia	270	
	Kaitaia	300	
	Te Puna	30	
	Waikato, Thames Districts	1200	
	Tauranga, Rotorua Districts	600	
	Turanga East Cape	1200	
	Kapiti Wanganui	1000	
Nov. 13	Rev. ___ Burrows	6	
18	Capt. _____, Columbine	6	
	[sub-total]	5,012	
	[_inder, to Ben _____, with _____?]	100	

1841			
March & Apr.	Issued:		
	Paihia	500	
	Kerikeri	35	
	Te Puna	30	
	Wangaroa	35	
	Kaitaia	300	
	Waimate	500	
	Rev. To. Burrows	50	
	Mr Clarke	50	
	Turanga	500	
	Kapiti	500	
	Wanganui	400	
	Rotorua, Tauranga, Opotiki	800	
	Thames, Waikato, Manukau	1,000	
	[sub-total]	5,100	
1841	Issued at various times to Binder	4900	
1842	To bind up with Psalms ¹		
June	Issued to the Bishop of New Zealand	100	
(Jan)	Disbursed by W. Colenso in travelling	100	
(Jan)	To Binder to Bind up with Psalms ²	100	
1842	No Copies, Small Pr. Book, printed, 4 th July ed.		20,000
July	Issued to Tauranga, Rotorua & Opotiki	500	
	Issued to Waikato and Thames	500	
	Issued to Turanga, E. Cape, Wairoa, &etc	4000	
	Paihia Station	100	
Sept	Issued to Tauranga, Rotorua, & Opotiki	500	

¹ See the ledger below for 5000 copies of Psalms printed.

² As per note above.

28	Issued to Waikato & Thames	500	
Oct 4	Issued to Kaitaia Station	500	
	Issued to Wanganui Station	500	
	[sub-total]	[12,300]	
	[total]	35,000?³	
1842			
Octr. 7	Issued to Kapiti Station	1,000	
Novr. 18	Issued to Wangaroa Station	50	

Copies of the Psalms, 1840 [Ledger, pp. 93-94]			
Date	Item – description (or copies issued)	Numbers distributed	Numbers printed
1840 Nov.	Number of Copies of Psalms printed, to bind, with Small Prayer Books N.B. as pr number bound by Binder 5,101.		5000 [5,101] ⁴
1840			
Nov. 7 [?]	Bound 100 Copies		
	Issued 1 each to every Missionary	50	
29	Issued 1 each to every Missionary	10	
1841			
Jan 22	Sent to Parent Society	10	
	Sent to Messr. Broughton & Knight	2	
	Sent to J. Busby, Esq.	1	
	[sub-total]	[73]	
April	Issued:		
	Paihia	100	
	Kerikeri	12	
	Te Puna	10	

³ The question mark (or what appears to be a question mark) is in the original.

⁴ This 'N.B.' in the numbers printed column suggests that Colenso miscounted the numbers of Psalms he printed, i.e., that it was 5,101 rather than 5,000.

	Wangaroa	12	
	Kaitaia	70	
	Waimate	100	
	Revd. R. Burrows	20	
	Mr. Clarke	25	
	Turanga	150	
	Kapiti	100	
	Wanganui	80	
	Rotorua, Tauranga, Opotiki	150	
	Thames, Waikato, Manukau	160	
May	Presented to Lady Franklin	1	
	Presented to Edwd. Marsh Patuone	1	
	Presented to Chief from Straits	1	
	Paid Natives for Work done for CMS	6	
June	Sold	2	
	Revd. H Williams, 1 ... Lieut. Blackett, 1 ...	2	
	[sub-total]	1002	
July	Issued 1000 Psalters to North. Stations, as follows:		
	Paihia & Waikare	290	
	Kororareka	80	
	Waimate	270	
	Kerikeri	40	
	Wangaroa	40	
	Te Puna	40	
	Kaitaia	220	
	Press	20	
	[sub-total]	1000	
Novr.	Issued to:		
	Turanga Station, Psalters	500	
	Thames & Waikato Stations	500	
	Turanga Station	500	
	Tauranga Station	200	

	Waikato and Thames Stations	340	
	Kapiti Station	300	
	Wanganui Station	260	
June	The Bishop	30	
	Rev. ____ Kissling, Reay & Dudley	4	
	2 Young Gent[lemen?] ret[urnin]y to England	2	
	Tauranga Station	360	
	Copy prepared for to send home	1	
	[sub-total]	[2,997]	
	[total]	5,072	
	Distributed by W. C. in Travelling	10	
	In hand 19		
	[total]	[5,101]	

Isaiah, 1841 [Ledger, pp. 101-102]			
Date	Item – description (or copies issued)	Numbers distributed	Numbers printed
1841	Number of Copies Printed, of Isaiah		5,000
1841			
Feb. 26	Issued, to Revd. R. Maunsell, copies	12	
April	Issued:		
	Paihia Station	600	
	Kerikeri Station	40	
	Te Puna	30	
	Wangaroa	40	
	Kaitaia	300	
	Waimate	500	
	Revd. R. Borrows	50	
	Mr Clarke	50	
	Turanga	700	
	Kapiti	500	
	Wanganui	400	

	Rotorua, Tauranga, Opotiki	800	
	Thames, Waikato, Manukau	1,000	
	Parent Society?		
	[total]	[5,022?]	

New Testaments, 1841 [Ledger, pp. 103-104]			
Date	Item – description (or copies issued)	Numbers distributed	Numbers printed
1841			[...] ⁵
July 9	Testament to Mr. Davis, Waimate,	1	
July 9	1 Case Testaments to Kapiti and Wanganui, no. 12, containing	480	
	1 Case Testaments to Turanga, containing	492	
	1 Box Testaments to Rotorua, via Maketu, containing	100	
	Issued to Northern Stations:		
	Paihia & Waikare	300	
	Kororareka	60	
	Waimate	300	
	Kerikeri	30	
	Wangaroa	30	
	Te Puna	30	
	Kaitaia	220	
	Press	28	
	[sub-total for northern stations]	998	
Augt. 23	Issued 1 Case Testaments to Tauranga Station For Tauranga, Rotorua, & Opotiki contg.	500	

⁵ The lack of a numbers printed column, the date of the N.T. printing here (1841), and the sizeable numbers distributed suggests this is the set of 1841 New Testaments printed in Ranana/London by the Bible Society.

	Issued 1 Case Testaments to Thames District For Stations there, Otawao, Manukau and Waikato	489	
	Issued 1 Case Testaments to Tauranga District	480	
	Issued 1 Case to Thames District	500	
Novr. 8	Issued 1 Case Tests. To Turanga Dr.	500	
1842 Jany.	Issued 1 Case Test. To Straits Dr.	500	
June	Issued to Bishop of New Zealand	50	
July	Tauranga, Rotorua, and Opotiki	600	
	Waikato, & Thames Districts	800	
	Turanga District	1500	
	Waimate Station	240	
	Kaitaia Station	170	
	Kerikeri Station	30	
	Te Puna Station	30	
	Wangaroa Station	30	
	Paihia & Waikare Station	260	
	Kororareka Station	40	
	[sub-total for northern districts above – Waimate to Kororareka]	800	
Octr. 7	Wanganui Station	500	
	Kapiti Station	500	
Decr.	The Lord Bishop of N. Z.	50	
	[sub-total for Wanganui, Kapiti, Lord Bishop]	1,050	
	[total]	9,840	

Large Prayer Books, 1840-1842 [Ledger, pp. 107-108] [BIM 92]			
Date	Item – description (or copies issued)	Numbers distributed	Numbers printed
1840-2	Number of Copies Printed		6,000
1841			

November	Issued 1 each to Missionaries	46	
	Sent to C.M.S.	4	
1842			
March	Issued to:		
	Turanga	20	
	Paihia	7	
	Waimate	6	
	Kaitaia	4	
	Kapiti	8	
	Wanganui	4	
	James Busby, Esq.	1	
	[sub-total for above]	100	
July	Rev. A. Kissling	1	
	[sub-total]	1	
	Turanga District	200	
	Tauranga, Rotorua and Opotiki	160	
	Waikato & Thames	160	
	Kaitaia Station	40	
	Wanganui Station	90	
	Kapiti Station	110	
	Kerikeri Station	10	
	Waimate Station	60	
	Kororareka Station	15	
	Te Puna Station	10	
	Wangaroa Station	10	
	Paihia Station	70	
	Uawa Station	5	
Nov. 16	Mr. Telford, Printer	1	
	Geo. Clarke, Esq.	4	
	Rev. John Hobbs	6	
	[total]	1,052	

Appendix C (chapter 4): Book of Common Prayer – te reo Māori, selections

Book of Common Prayer (section thereof)	Original English text (Taken from 1662 BCP, 1796 edition, Oxford)	Maori text <u>1840 ed. (BIM 92):</u>
	‘nation’ and ‘people’ (including idea of ‘chosen people’)	
The Psalms/ Ngā Waiata a Rāwiri	All the ends of the world shall remember themselves, and be turned unto the Lord: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him. (Ps. 22:27) (Evening Prayer)	E mahara nga pito katoa o te ao, a ka tahuri atu ki a Ihowa: a ka koropiko nga hapu katoa o te iwi ki tou aroaro.
	We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us: what thou hast done in their time of old; How thou hast driven out the heathen with thy hand, and planted them in: how thou hast destroyed the nations , and cast them out. (Ps. 44: 1-2) (Morning Prayer)	E Te Atua, kua rongō matou ki o matou taringa, na o matou matua i korero mai ki a matou, ki nga mahi i meinga ai e koe i o ratou ra, i nga taima o mua. Tau wiuanga i nga tau iwi ki waho ki tou ringaringa, tau wakatokanga i a ratou; tau wakamatenga i te tangata, me tau panganga hoki i a ratou ki waho.
	Clap your hands together all ye people : O sing unto God with the voice of melody. For the Lord is high, and to be feared: he is the great King upon all the earth. He shall subdue the people under us: and the nations under our feet.	Pakia o koutou ringaringa, e koutou, e nga tangata katoa : kia pa te mangai ki te Atua ki te reo wakatoatoa. Mo te mea hoki ko Ihowa nui rawa e wakamataku ana; <i>ko ia</i> te Kingi nui ki runga ake i te wenua katoa.

	He shall choose out an heritage for us: even the worship of Job, whom he loved. God is gone up with a merry noise: and the Lord with the sound of the trump. O sing praises, sing praises unto our God: O sing praises, sing praises unto our King. For God is the King of all the earth: sing ye praises with understanding. <u>God reigneth over the heathen:</u> God sitteth upon his holy seat. The princes of the people are joined unto the people of the God of Abraham: for God, which is very high exalted, doth defend the earth, as it were with a shield. (Ps. 47) (Evening Prayer)	Mana e tuku te iwi ki raro ki a tatou, me nga tau tangata ki raro ki o tatou waewae. Mana e wiriwiri he nohoanga mo tatou, ko te ataahuatanga o Hakopa i aroha ai ia. Hera. Kua kake atu te Atua me te pakanga mangai ano, ko Ihowa me te tangi o te tetere. Waiatatia nga wakapainga ki te Atua, waiatatia nga wakapainga: waiatatia nga wakapainga ki to tatou Kingi, waiatatia nga wakapainga. Ko te Atua hoki te Kingi o te wenua katoa: waiatatia e koutou nga wakapainga me te matauranga ano. E wakakingi ana te Atua ki runga i nga tau iwi: e noho ana te Atua i runga i te torona o tana tapunga. Kua <u>huihui nga piriniha o te iwi</u> kia <u>kotahi</u>, ko te iwi o te Atua o Aperahama: no te Atua hoki nga kara o te wenua: kua oti ia te tino wakanui.
	I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the people: and I will sing unto thee among the nations. (Ps 57: 10) (Morning Prayer)	E Ihowa, ka wakapaingia koe e ahau, i waenganui o te tini: ka waiata atu a hau ki a koe i waenganui o nga tau iwi.
	All kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall do him service (Ps 72: 11) (Morning Prayer) [see rest of Ps 72 re use of people and ‘thy people’]	[this psalm has a very ‘maori’ sensibility] E te Atua, homai au wakawakanga ki te kingi, me tau tikanga ki te tamaiti a te kingi. (v1) Mana e wakawa tou iwi ki te tikanga, me tou <i>hunga</i> rawa kore ki te wakaaro. (v 2)

		Ma nga maunga e mau mai he maretanga ki te iwi, ko nga pukepuke e ma te tikanga hoki. (v 3) Mana e wakawa te hunga rawakore o te iwi: mana e wakaora nga tamariki a te hunga mate, e wawatiporokere te kai wakamate. (v 4) ... Ae, ko nga kingi katoa e hinga iho ki tona aroaro: e wakapononga nga iwi katoa ki a ia. (v 11)... A e wakapaingia tona ingoa kororia mo ake tonu atu; a kia wakakapia katoatia ano te wenua ki tana kororia; Amine, ae Amine. Ka mutu nga inoinga a Rawiri te tama a Hehe. (vv. 19-20)
	Hear, O my people, and I will assure thee, O Israel: if thou wilt hearken unto me. [and various other re God's relationship with Israel and Jacob, his law, and deliverance from Egypt] (Ps. 81: 9) (Morning Prayer)	Wakarongo, e taku iwi, ka korero atu a hau ki a koe: e Ihairaira, mehemea pea e wakarongo mai ana koe ki a hau; (v. 8)... Aue, te wakarongo taku iwi ki a hau, penei kua haere a Ihairaira I oku ara! (v. 13)
	All nations whom thou hast made, shall come and worship thee, O Lord: and shall glorify thy Name. (Ps. 86: 9) (Morning Prayer)	E Ihowa, ka haere mai nga iwi katoa i hanga ai e koe, a ka koropiko ki a koe; ka wakakororia i tou ingoa. (v. 9)
	... I have made a covenant with my chosen: I have sworn unto David my servant;	... Kua wakakawenata a hau <u>ki taku i wiriwiri ai</u>, kua oati a hau ki a Rawiri taku pononga,

Thy seed will I establish for ever: and set up thy throne from one generation to another. O Lord, the very heavens shall praise thy wondrous works: and thy truth in the congregation of the saints. (Ps. 89: 3-5) Blessed is the people, O Lord, that can rejoice in thee: they shall walk in the light of thy countenance. Their delight shall be daily in thy Name and in thy righteousness shall they make their boast... (v 16-17) For the Lord is our defence: <u>the Holy One of Israel is our King</u>. Thou spakest sometime in visions unto they saints, and saidst: I have laid help upon one that is mighty: I have exalted one chosen out of the people. I have found David my servant: with my holy oil have I anointed him... (v 19-21) I will set his dominion also in the sea: and his right hand in the floods. He shall call me, Thou art my Father: my God, and my strong salvation. And I will make him my firstborn: higher than the kings of the earth. My mercy will I keep for him for evermore and my covenant shall stand fast with him.	Ka wakupumautia e a hau tau uri, ka hanga ake tou torona ki nga wakatupuranga katoa. Hera. Ma nga rangi, e Ihowa, e wakapai au mahi wakamiharo: me tau ponotanga ano hoki ki te wakaminenga o tou hunga tapu. (vv 3-5) Ka wakaharitia te iwi e matau ana ki te tangi wakahari: e haere ratou, e Ihowa, i te maramatanga o tou mata ...

	His seed also will I make to endure for ever: and his throne as the days of heaven. [and more of similar nature] (v 26-30)	
	What time as they went from one nation to another: from one kingdom to another people; (Ps. 105: 13) (Morning Prayer) And he brought forth his people with joy: and his chosen with gladness; And gave them the lands of the heathen: and they took the labours of the people in possession; That they might keep his statutes and observe his laws. (Ps. 105: 42-44) (Morning Prayer) [and see other themes about God's covenant with Israel]	I haere atu ratou i tenei iwi ki tena atu, i tetahi rangatiratanga ki tera iwi tangata ke atu; (v 13) Nana i arahi hari mai tana iwi, me ana i wiriwiri ai me te koakoa ano: I ho atu e ia ki a ratou nga wenua o nga tau iwi: a ka nohoia e ratou nga mahinga a te iwi. (vv. 43-44)
	That I may see the felicity of thy chosen: and rejoice in the gladness of thy people, and give thanks with thine inheritance. (Ps. 106: 5) To cast out their seed among the nations: and to scatter them in the lands. (Ps. 106: 27) (Evening Prayer)	Kia kite ai a hau i te painga o tau i wiriwiri ai, kia hari ai a hau ki te koakoatanga a tau iwi, kia wakakororia tahi ai a hau me <u>tou kainga</u>. (v 5)
	I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the people: I will sing praises unto thee among the nations. (Ps. 108: 3) (Evening Prayer)	E Ihowa, ka wakapai atu a hau ki a koe, i roto i te iwi; ka waiata wakapainga atu a hau ki a koe i waenganui i nga iwi.
	Praise the Lord, all ye <u>heathen</u>: praise him, all ye nations. (Ps. 117: 1) (Morning Prayer)	Wakapaingia a Ihowa, e koutou, e nga iwi katoa: a ia wakapaingia, e koutou, e te iwi katoa.

	All nations compassed me round about: but in the Name of the Lord will I destroy them. (Ps. 118: 10) (Morning Prayer)	I karapotia a hau e nga iwi katoa : otira ka wakamatea ratou e a hau ki te ingoa o Ihowa.
	For why? the Lord hath chosen Jacob unto himself: and Israel for his own possession. (Ps. 135: 4) (Morning Prayer)	Kua wiriwiria e Ihowa a Hokopa ki a ia, me Ihairaira hei tino taonga mona.
	He sheweth his word unto Jacob: his statutes and ordinances unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation : neither have the heathen knowledge of his laws. (Ps. 147: 19-20) (Evening Prayer)	E wakakitea ana e ia tana kupu ki a Hakopa, me ana ture, me ana wakawakanga ki a Ihairaira. Kahore he iwi ke atu i peneitia e ia: a ko ana wakawakanga kihai matauria e ratou.
	'tribe'	
	He refused the tabernacle of Joseph: and chose not the tribe of Ephraim; But chose the tribe of Judah; even the hill of Sion which he loved. And there he built his temple on high: and laid the foundation of it like the ground which he hath made continually. He chose David also his servant: and took him away from the sheep-folds. As he was following the ewes great with young ones, he took him: that he might feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance . So he fed them with a faithful and true heart: and ruled them prudently with all his power. (Ps. 78: 68-69) (Evening Prayer)	I wakakahore ia ki te tapenakara o Hohepa, kihai ia i wiriwiri i te hapu o Eparaima: Kaore ko te hapu o Hura tana i wiriwiri ai, ko maunga Hiona ra i aroha ai ia. A kua hanga e ia tana wahi tapu kia pena me nga ware tiketike, me te wenua hoki i wakapumautia ai e ia ake ake. Nana hoki ra i wiriwiri a Rawiri tana pononga; he mea tango mai ia i nga kainga hipi. I te haerenga atu i muri i nga uwa e <u>hapu ana</u> , nana ra ia i kawe mai hei wangai i a Hakopa tana iwi , me Ihairaira tona nohoanga .

Appendix D (chapter 4): Idea of ‘nation’ or ‘iwi’ in the early Maori dictionaries

In William Williams’ *Dictionary* of 1844 and 1852, two definitions were given for ‘iwi’, as follows:

A bone. Me homai tetahi kakahu hei takai mo nga iwi; Give me a garment as a covering for the bones.

A tribe. He iwi tangata ke; He is of another tribe.

The meaning for ‘tauiwi’, from the root ‘tau’, meaning ‘strange’, was given as: ‘a strange tribe’. Some other usages for ‘tau’ were given as: ‘he tau tangata’, a stranger; and ‘he tau whenua’, a strange land. The word ‘hapu’ was also given as ‘a tribe’ with the example: He hapu ke to tenei tangata, This man’s is a different tribe.

The word ‘Maori’ was given as ‘Native’, with the examples: He wai maori, Native water, or fresh water; and He tangata maori, a native man.

Interestingly, the meaning given for ‘whenua’ is: the earth; soil; the placenta. There is no straightforward or obvious connotation of ‘country’ or ‘nation’.

In the 1852 or second edition of the *Dictionary*, William Williams added an English to Maori section at the end. Thus, the above meanings can be cross-checked, with some interesting results:

Tribe: *Hapu; iwi; ika; poro; pu*

This can be compared with the equivalents given for other English words:

Nation: *Iwi; hapu; pu*

People: *Hunga; tangata*

Country: *Wa* (East Coast dialect)⁶

Land: *Whenua; uta*

Native: *Maori; tupu*

Natural: *Maori*

Perhaps there is not too much significance in the variation, but it is noticeable that ‘iwi’ is given as the first meaning for ‘nation’ but the second meaning for ‘tribe’, while the concept of ‘nation’ does not occur in the Maori to English definitions of either iwi or hapū. What this

⁶ In the Māori to English section, one definition of ‘wa’ is ‘the country’, with example: Kei te wa a Pita e noho ana; Peter is living in the country (East Coast dialect).

could suggest, is that a strong European concept of ‘nation’ bore little resemblance to the Maori concept of iwi or hapū, which in basic terms were simply kin-groups (in the case of ‘hapū’) or wider descent groups (in the case of ‘iwi’). These Maori terms did not, however, as at the 1830s-40s, have a political or geo-political meaning. (It can also be supposed that Williams’ *Dictionary* was intended to capture the original meaning(s) of a term, not changes in meaning that might have been very recent.)

As this thesis argues, these terms began to have these new shades of meaning given them by their new usages in scripture and Prayer Book, and in other European-translated or produced texts, such as *Te Karere*, the first Māori language newspaper, produced by the Government.

Appendix E (chapter 5): the text of Nga Mahi a Pita/ Peter the Great (1845)

BIM 226

Translation by Samuel Carpenter, with assistance from Tipene Chrisp, August 2018. (No contemporary translation of this text was identified, including by Books in Maori.)

[Note that given the age of the text there are no macrons; I have accordingly left it unmacronised in this typescript. Some words like house have been updated by the use of square brackets for the missing 'h', thus 'w[h]are' instead of the original, 'ware'.]

[Title Page] Ko Nga Mahi a Pita a te Kingi o Ruhia

No Purewa: i taia tenei ki te Perehi a te Pihopa.

1845

[First Page] Ko Nga Mahi a Pita

A te Kingi o Ruhia

E hoa ma, e nga tangata maori katoa, he pukapuka tenei na tetahi Pakeha e aroha ana ki a koutou, e hiahia ana kia kake nga tangata maori te mohio, te pai.

Friends, all the native people, this is a book [written] by a Pakeha who has loving concern for you, and desires that the native people ascend [or increase] in knowledge and goodness.

Ko te aha e ngaro i te tangata? Ahakoa kuare ia, ahakoa poauau, ki te wai [whai] ngakau, ina, ka taea ano e ia tena mea, tena mea, tena mea.

What is unachievable by man? Although he may be ignorant, he may be confused, if he has heart [ie, passion], he can achieve all things.

Titiro hoki, he iwi poauau i mua a Ingarani; kua kake tenei, kua nui noa atu, te mohio, te pai.

Look at what an ignorant people the English were in the past; they have now risen to become very great in knowledge and goodness [or excellence].

Me te Wiwi hoki, me nga mano iwi o tawahi, he poauau ratou; na, ka tohe o ratou tangata wakaaro, ka tohe, ka tohe, na kua kake ratou.

And the French also, and the many peoples of distant [other] places, they were all ignorant [or unenlightened]; however their knowledgeable [or wise] people persisted [or persevered]; now they have ascended.

A nui noa atu to ratou mohio i to o ratou tupuna. Me Ruhia hoki, he wenua poauau rawa a Ruhia i mua; pera hoki me tenei, me Nui Tireni, a tae noa ki a Pita: he tangata mahi hoki ia i te pai.

Their knowledge now far exceeds that of their ancestors. And Russia also was a very ignorant land, alike also to this land of New Zealand, up until the time of Peter: he was an ardent worker for good.

Tohe tonu ano hoki ia ki nga mea e kake ai tona iwi, tohe tonu, tohe tonu ia; a na, ka rite ratou ki nga Pakeha o Ingarani, te kaha, te pai.

He [Peter] continued to press for the things that would elevate his people, he persisted and persevered; and now, they [the Russian people] can be compared to the people [or Pakeha] of England in strength and goodness [or greatness and excellence].

Ko te [page 2] ingoa o te wenua o taua iwi ko Ruhia; kei tawahi tena wenua, e tata ana hoki ki Ingarani.

The name of the land [country] of that people was Russia; that country is overseas, close to England.

Ehara hoki i te motu, i te pena me Ingarangi me Nui Tirini. He wenua pai hoki ena, mo te rere mai o nga kaipuke ki tenei taha, ki tera taha.

It is not an island, like England and New Zealand. Those are good [or blessed] lands as ships can sail to this coast and that coast.

Kei tetahi taha ia o Ruhia, kei te taha ki te Marangai, he mania nui noa atu; he nui te hukarere o reira.

On one side of Russia, on the North side, it is a great plain there is a lot of snow there.

A kei runga atu o Ruhia, he kingitanga ke. A kei te taha ki te tahatai tetahi taone, a, he kokorutanga pai tona; otiia e ono nga marama e tutakina ana a reira e te huka, a e kore e puta mai nga kaipuke, e kore hoki e puta atu.

There is another realm atop of Russia [that is, it is bordered by another country]. On the side [that is] at the coast is a certain town, on a good bay; on the other hand, for six months [every year] it is closed by snow, with ships being unable to leave or enter.

Ouou rawa nga kaipuke i rere mai i Ingarani, i tetahi atu wenua ranei; i pena me te rerenga mai o nga kaipuke Pakeha ki konei i mua ki te w[h]ai ngohi moana.

There are few ships that visit there from England or from other places; it is like [it was] when the European shipping arrived here [in New Zealand] before to hunt whales.

Kihai hoki nga tangata o Ruhia i ahei te rere atu ki nga wenua ke ki te hokohoko, i te kore kaipuke.

It was not possible for the people of Russia to travel to other lands to trade because they lacked ships.

Heoi ano a ratou kaipuke hei wai [whai] ika ko o ratou nei poti; a he pena me te waka maori, te nui.

However, the ships that they did have were for fishing, and were about the same size as Maori vessels.

I te tuawenua hoki ratou e noho ana. Ko etahi o ratou he rangatira; no nga rangatira anake te wenua; ko etahi, he tangata rawakore.

They also lived inland. Some of them were chiefs [or aristocrats]; to the chiefs alone belonged the land [OR the aristocrats were the only landowners]; others of them were poor [or peasants/serfs].

He maha noa iho nga tangata e mahi kai tonu ana ma nga rangatira, a tau atu, tau atu.

A great many people worked constantly in the fields for the chiefs/aristocrats, from year to year [or from season to season?].

Ko nga rangatira ratou ko te Kingi i noho ki tetahi taone nui; he tini te wa[page 3]re papai o reira.

The chiefs/aristocrats and the King lived in a large town [or city]; it had many beautiful houses.

He wahi hokohoko to reira mo nga tangata ke, i haere mai i tawiti ki te hoko. A ka hokona e nga rangatira te kakaku pai, te aha, te aha i mate-nuitia e ratou.

The city had a marketplace for the many foreigners who came from distant places to trade. The chiefs/aristocrats traded [hoki is both buy and sell] beautiful garments and whatever else was greatly desired by them.

Ko nga tangata rawakore ia, kihai i taea e ratou te hoko i te kore moni; koia ratou i pouri ai.

The poor or destitute people were not able to trade due to their lack of money; they were indeed a sorry lot.

Kahore ano hoki tetahi tangata o ratou i mohio ki te hanga i nga kakahu, i nga hu, ki te watu [whatu] i te rinena i te kariko ranei.

Not one person of them knew how to make clothing, or shoes, or how to weave linen or calico.

He kuare kau hoki ratou ki aua mahi. Me pewea [pewhea/pehea] e mahi ai, i te kore tangata hei tohutohu?

They were quite ignorant of those trades [or artisanal skills]. How could they learn them without people to teach them?

A mau tonu iho to ratou ahua kino; heoi ano o ratou kakahu he peha hipi, i tihorea atu i te tinana o te hipi.

And so they preserved their slovenly appearance; indeed their clothing was sheep skin, stripped from the body of the sheep.

Ka anuanu te Maori ki te tangata he pena tona kakahu. He mea kino wakaharahara hoki te paru o te kakahu.

Maori are offended at people who dress this way. The clothes were exceptionally filthy.

I pena hoki to ratou mahunga te paru; he pahau roroa hoki, he tukaka.

Their heads were similarly dirty, and their long beards and [tukaka?]

I kuare to ratou ngakau, i kino tonu: a rite tahi nga rangatira ki o ratou tangata te ahua kino.

Their hearts were ignorant, and continued bad: the chiefs [aristocrats] were just like their people in their bad [offensive? untidy?] appearance.

He kai kau ta ratou mahi; he inu; a kino noa iho ratou ki te hunga i mea kia kake ratou ki te mohio i nga tikanga, ki te pai.

They [the aristocrats] spent all their time eating and drinking [kau is a synonym for noa in this instance] they treated very badly the people who said they should progress [ascend] in knowledge of right ways and goodness.

E hoa ma, kei mea koutou “kahore hei minita hei wakaako i a ratou!” He minita ano, he tini noa iho te minita no mua iho ano, a tae noa ki tenei ra. Otiia kahore o ratou wakaaro ki te wakaako.

O friends, let it not be said “they had no ministers to teach them!”. There are indeed ministers, [in fact] many ministers from times past up to the present day. Nevertheless, their thoughts [ie, the Ministers] were not towards teaching.

Kua [page 4] rite hoki ratou ki to ratou iwi te kuare, te ngakau kino. No reira ratou i mea ai ki te iwi, me waki [whaki] nga hara ki a ratou, ki nga minita; a e taea ano e ratou te mahi merekara.

They [the Ministers] were as ignorant and evil-hearted as their people. Therefore they said to the people, you should confess your sins to them, to the ministers; and they will be able to do miracles.

A ka huihui mai nga tangata ki roto ki nga ware [whare] karakia, na, he tini kanera e ka tonu ana ki te aroaro o etahi ahua o nga apotoro ranei, o nga poropiti ranei, he mea pani aua ahua.

And so, the people assembled in the churches, and many candles blazed continually before the icons of apostles or prophets, those icons were painted.

A ka mea atu nga minita, me koropiko koutou, me tuku iho te turi ki enei ahua.

And the ministers declared, you should all bow and bend the knee to these idols/icons [suspect this refers to the Russian Orthodox practices]

No reira te iwi i tino he ai, i inoi ai ki ena mea; ko te tikanga ia kia inoi ki te Atua anake: mana te ngakau hou, te ngakau pai e homai.

Therefore the people were greatly in error to pray to these things; the correct thing is to pray to the one God: he will bestow hearts both new and good.

Na, ki taku wakaaro [whakaaro], nui atu to enei tangata pouri i to koutou. Kahore hoki o ratou minita pai hei wakaako [whakaako], kahore a ratou kura, kaore a ratou pukapuka.

Now, according to my thinking, the peoples' sad condition was greater than yours [presumably, the Maori]. They had no good ministers to teach them, and no schools and no books.

He penei nga tangata o Ruhia i te w[h]anautanga o Pita, o te tangata nana nga mahi e korerotia nei.

This was the condition of the people of Russia at the birth of Peter, of the man whose work is being discussed.

He tamaiti tenei tangata a Pita na te kingi. A he nui te tohe a tona matua ki nga mea e kake ai tona iwi. Otiia, kihai ratou i rongo ki a ia; i kino hoki nga rangatira ki nga mea pai; koia ratou i akoako ai ki a Pita kia penei me ratou, te kino.

This man Peter was a son of the king. His father strove greatly concerning the things that would improve the condition of his people. But they could not hear him. The chiefs also rejected improving things; indeed they encouraged Peter to be like them in wickedness.

I mea ano ratou, Na, ka meatia a Pita hei kingi; poto katoa ana wakaaro [whakaaro] ki nga tini hiahia o tona ngakau; e kore hoki ia e whakaaro [whakaaro] ki tona iwi, kia kake, kia pai.

They believed when Peter was made king; he would think only of his own heart's many desires; he would not consider his people or how to uplift them or improve them.

Otiia i pai te Atua kaha rawa kia puritia te ngakau o Pita, kei tahuri ki te kino.

Nevertheless, it pleased God the Almighty to preserve the heart of Peter, lest he turn towards evil.

He taitamariki hoki ia, he rite tonu ki te kararehe maka, he kuare hoki. Kihai ia i tino mohio ki te korero pukapuka, ki te tuhituhi: otiia he ngakau tona ki te mahi, ki te ako hoki i tetahi mea hou.

In his youth he was just like the ignorant branded animals. He knew little of reading books or writing: but his heart was for work and for learning new things.

A ka mate tona papa, na ka meatia a Pita raua ko tona tuakana hei kingi. A muri tata iho ka mate ano tona tuakana, a ka riro mai i a Pita nga tikanga.

When his father died, Peter and his older brother became kings. Shortly thereafter, his brother died, and Peter assumed the authority.

E rua tekau ma w[h]a ona tau i tona meatanga hei kingi; a ka tirohia e ia tona iwi, na ka mea ia, "Ka tae te kino o te iwi nei!" Me pew[h]ea ka kake ai rātou? Me w[h]akaako ratou ki te hanga kaipuke.

He [Peter] was 24 years old when he became king; he looked at his people and exclaimed "This people has attained an appalling state!" How shall they be uplifted [OR saved, improved, civilized]? They should be taught to build ships.

A ka w[h]ai kaipuke ratou, ka rere atu ki taw[h]iti ki tenei iwi, ki tenei iwi: a ka kite ratou i te pai o aua tangata: na ka w[h]akama ratou mo te ratou kuaretanga, mo to ratou rawakoretanga.

So they obtained ships and sailed abroad to many different peoples; and they saw the quality of those people: and they grew ashamed at their own ignorance and their poverty.

Otiia ma te aha e oti ai tetahi kaipuke ma ratou? He ngakau maro nei hoki to tenei iwi, he mangere hoki.

On the other hand, by what means would a ship be constructed for them to use? This people were hard of heart and lazy.

Na ka mea ake ano ia, “mehemea ka tokomaha nga hoia, ma ratou te iwi nei e whakawehi kei tutu ratou ki aku kupu.” Na ka tae mai ki Ruhia etahi hoia mohio tokorua; no Ingarangi tetahi, he Wiwi tetahi.

Now he [Peter] declared, “if there are many soldiers [if the army is great in number?], perhaps this people will listen and not disobey [or flaunt] my words [or instructions]”. Now there arrived in Russia two soldiers of considerable experience; one was from England, the other was a Frenchman.

He ngakau pai to enei tangata, he pera ano me to Pita. A ka kite raua i tona hiahia kia kake tona iwi; na, ka aroha raua ki a ia, a pai tonu iho kia noho ki a ia.

These men had good hearts, just like Peter. They could see his desire to improve his people; and so, they had great regard for him and agreed to live with Peter [to lend their support?]

Na, ka huihuia e Pita etahi o ona tangata hei hoia; a ka w[h]akaakona ratou e aua tangata tokorua ki nga mahi hoia.

Now, Peter gathered together some of his people to become [train as] soldiers; and they were trained by those two soldiers in the work of soldiery.

Otiia me pew[h]ea te w[h]akaako a te kingi i tona iwi ki te hanga kaupuke?

However, how would the king teach his people to build ships/boats?

Kahore ano hoki te kingi i ako noa ki tena mea. Na, i tona tamarikitanga i tohe tonu ia ki te hanga poti, a ka kaumatua, na, ka timata ia ki te mahi nui, ki te hanga kaupuke.

Indeed the king had not learnt that skill. Now, in his youth he had striven to build boats, and now he had grown up, he began the great endeavour, to build ships [sailing ships].

Na, kihai i taro, kua oti nga kune [kune/schooner] e ono, he kune pai, a ka w[h]akatereterea e ia enei kune i tetahi roto nui.

Now, it wasn't long before six schooners were completed; they were quality boats and he tested them on a large lake.

Otiia kahore ano a Pita i rere noa i te moana, no te mea, he mea noho tuawhenua nga tangata o Ruhia. Na, ka hohoro ia te haere ki Arakanahera, ki te wahapu pai hei turanga pai mo nga kaupuke.

But Peter had not sailed at all on the sea, because the people of Russia lived inland. And so, he was quick in travelling to Archangel [Arakanahera], for a suitable harbour and location [or anchorage?] for his shipping.

A ka hokona e ia tetahi kaupuke iti i tetahi tangata ke, i rere mai ki reira ki te hokohoko.

And so he bought a small ship from a foreigner, who had sailed there to trade.

Na ko te ekenka o Pita ki runga ki te kaupuke hei rangatira: na ka puta mai he hau kino, a he nui te ngaru, he nui te maeke.

When Pita boarded the ship as the helmsman/captain a contrary wind blew up, the waves were great, and the temperature extremely cold.

Hei ahatanga mana?

What would he do?

Heoi ano tana i w[h]akaro ai, ko tetahi mea pai e kake ai tona iwi. A ka hoki mai a Pita, ka mea ia ki a ia ano, ehara tenei i te mea pai kia waiho ahau hei rangatira kaupuke; he nohinohi hoki tou mohiotanga ki te mahi kaupuke.

However he had a thought, something that would help his people. Peter returned and said to himself, [‘] it would not be good for me to remain a ship’s captain, as you have little knowledge about sailing ships[‘].

Engari me tino ako ahau ki enei mea, kia pai ai tau w[h]akaako i oku tangata.

But I should certainly learn these skills, so that I can teach my people.

I te rerenga tuarua, na, ka riro a Pita hei kai mahi kaupuke: kei te horoi ia i nga papa, kei te takai i nga ra, me te mahi ano i nga mahi i w[h]akahaua mai e te rangatira o te kaupuke.

On the second journey, Peter served as a ship’s hand: he washed the decks, folded and unfurled the sails, and undertook all the other tasks directed by the captain of the ship.

He koroheke pai taua rangatira no tetahi wenua ke, no Horana. A ka akona e ia a Pita ki nga mea katoa o te kaupuke.

It was an experienced ship’s captain from another country, from the Netherlands. He taught Peter all the various aspects of the ship.

E hara hoki i te rawakore i tohe ai a Pita ki enei mahi. He ware [whare] pai hoki tona – he tokomaha hoki ona kai mahi – he tini noa iho ona kakahu papai.

It was not as if Peter was poor that he needed to persevere at these tasks. [ie, he didn’t need to humble himself in this way to learn about seamanship] He had a good house and many servants [workers] also. He had many beautiful clothes.

Me i pai ia, e taea ano e ia te noho mangere i waenganui o ona taonga, o ona mea papai; ko te ritenga tenei hoki o ona tupuna i mua. Heoti, pai noa iho a Pita kia w[h]akarerea enei mea katoa kia kake ai tona iwi.

And if he so desired, he could idle among his treasures and possessions; just like his ancestors did in times past. However, Peter was prepared to abandon all these things to uplift his people.

Ka hoki mai ia ki tona kainga, na, ka riri nga rangatira nui ki a ia, ka mea, E kore rawa e mutu te w[h]akamahi i a tātou, engari me w[h]akamate ia, kia mutu ai.

He returned to his home, and the great chiefs/aristocrats were angry with him and said [“] [he] will never cease in employing us [to his ends] so we should kill him, and end this [“]

Me nga tutua ano hoki i arohatia e to ratou kingi, i amuamu hoki ratou ki a ia.

As for the serfs who were beloved by their king, they complained to him.

A, pouri noa iho tona ngakau; otiia kihai i whakarerea tana mahi; tohe tonu ano ia.

And he was exceedingly sad; nevertheless he did not slacken in his endeavours, but pressed onwards.

Na ka w[h]akakakahuria e ia ona hoia ki te kakahu Pakeha, he kakahu roroa hoki o ratou i mua, he pahau hoki puta noa ki te kopu, a ka meatia nga tamariki o nga rangatira hei hoia.

He dressed his soldiers in European clothing, in earlier times they wore long robes, with their beards stretching to the belly, and the sons of the chiefs/aristocrats were appointed as soldiers.

Ehara i te rangatira hoia, engari hei hoia kau. A kia nui ra ano to ratou mohio, kia pai ra ano ta ratou hanga, ka rangatira ai.

Not as military commanders, but as plain soldiers. The purpose being to increase their knowledge and perfect their stature, so that they became true leaders [note: this probably refers to Peter professionalising his army and not simply appointing aristocrats as officers, but selecting the best soldiers].

He tauira a Pita ki ona tangata; ka wakaakona ia ki te mahi hoia e aua Pakeha, i korerotia nei.

Peter was an example to his people; he was taught the skills of soldiery by those Europeans, whom we have been talking about.

A kotahi mano nga hoia i tino whakaakona. Kei mea, he aha te pai o enei hoia tokomaha?

One thousand soldiers were trained with precision. Lest it be said, what good will come of these many soldiers?

Kahore he kai w[h]akarite w[h]akawa hei w[h]akamate i nga tangata hara?

Is there is no adjudicator or judge to put to death those people who have transgressed [the law]?

Kihai nga tangata i pai ki rongo ki te kai w[h]akarite; he taringa kuri hoki to ratou, he ngakau kuri.

The people did not like to listen to the judges; they had dog's ears and dog's hearts [this is a pretty serious insult].

Hono tonu ta ratou ki w[h]akamate mona. No reira a Pita i w[h]akatokomaha ai i nga hoia, kia kaha ai ia i a ratou.

They continually sought to bring death for him. Therefore, Peter increased the numbers of his army and strengthened them [increased their military strength].

Katahi ka tuhituhi a Pita ki nga w[h]enua, ki Uropu, ka mea, “E nga pakeha mohio katoa, haere mai ki te w[h]akaako i toku iwi ki te hanga i nga kakahu pai, i nga hu, i nga tepera, ki te mahi karaihe, ki te mahi rino, aha, aha.”

Then Peter wrote to the various lands of Europe and said, “To all knowledgeable people [Europeans], come to teach my people/nation to make good clothing and shoes and stables about tending animals, about working with iron, and many other things [OR etcetera]”

A he tokomaha ana tangata i ngarengarea e ia ki nga w[h]enua i raro mai o Ruhia, (i taea hoki te haere i uta, he tuaw[h]enua hoki,) ki te ako i nga ritenga o te pākeha.

And many people were sent by him [Peter] to the many lands [countries] to the south of Russia, (both coastal and inland regions) to learn the practices [skills/trades] of the Europeans [Pakeha].

Na, ka haere ano a Pita ko ia anake ki Horana; a ka mahi tahi ki reira ki nga kai mahi i te wahi i hanga ai a ratou kaipuke.

Now Peter also went by himself to the Netherlands; and there worked together with the workers [builders/craftsmen] at the places where their ships were built.

Ka ako hoki ki te hanga i nga taura, i nga ra, ki te mahi rino, ki te hanga i nga puna, i nga w[h]ao, i te aha, i te aha. Ka titiro tonu atu hoki ki nga ritenga pakeha.

He also learned about how to make rope and sails, about how to work iron, about how to make anchors and nails and many other things. He studied continually the trade skills of the Europeans.

A ka mutu tana mahi, ka haere ia ki roto ki nga w[h]are turoro, ka korero ki nga rata, ka w[h]akaakona ki te takai, ki te rongoa i nga mate, ki te oka i nga ringaringa kia puta mai ai te toto ranei, te pirau ranei.

And he finished his work, and then he went to explore the sanatoriums [hospitals], and talked with the doctors, and learned about bandages and medicines for the sick, about how to pierce the arm to release the blood or infections.

A muri iho i tona hokinga ki Ruhia, he tokomaha nga turoro i rongoaia e to ratou kingi. A ka tino mōhio ia ki nga ritenga o Horana.

After his return to Russia, many were the sick people who were treated by their king. He became knowledgeable [expert] in the [medical] practices of the Netherlands.

Na ka kaere ia ki Ingarani: e ono ona marama i noho ai ia ki reira; kihai ia i noho tahi ki to matou kingi i roto i te w[h]are kingi; kihai ia i haereere ki te matakitaki, ki te kororeroro, ki te porahurahu kau: huaki kau ake te ata, kei te hanga kaipuke ia, a, ahiahi noa.

And then he travelled to England: he resided there for six months; he did not stay with our king in the palace; he did not wander about watching [sight-seeing], talking [conversing] and feeling awkward; rather when the morning came he would be at the dock yards [at the ships' construction] until long into the evening.

A ka tino mohio ia ki nga ritenga o Ingarani, na, ka hoki ia ki Ruhia: a e rima nga rau o nga tangata o Ingarani i kawea atu e ia ki reira.

He became expert in the trade skills of England, and then he returned to Russia, taking with him 500 Englishmen.

He mohio enei tangata ki te hanga kaipuke, ki te mahi rino, ki te aha, ki te aha.

These people were knowledgeable in building boats, working iron, and many other trades.

Na ka tino mohio a Pita, a ka timata ia te w[h]akaako i tona iwi: kihai hoki ia i haere ki tenei kainga, ki tenei kainga, matakitaki ai; huatu i w[h]akaaro tonu ia ki te ako ki etahi mahi, ki te mohiotanga, kia mohio ai hoki ona tangata.

Now Peter possessed great knowledge, and he began to teach his people: he did not go to this and that village to watch them [supervise?]; he continued to think [plan] how to teach these skills and knowledge, so that his people would attain them.

Ko tana pai hoki, ko te tohutohu i a ratou ki nga mea pai, otiia ko te mea tuatahi tēnei kia w[h]akarerea e ratou nga ritenga kino o mua: i w[h]akaaro hoki, ki te kāhore e w[h]akarerea, e kore rawa rātou e kake.

His genius was instructing them in the improving arts, but the first thing was for them to cast aside the old practices: for he considered that if they did not leave them behind, they would never be uplifted [or civilized].

Koia a Pita i mea ai kia kati nga tangata te w[h]akatipu i nga pahau rora, i nga mahunga roroa. Me pew[h]ea hoki e ma ai i te paru?

Indeed Pita declared that the people should stop growing long beards and long hair. But how to cleanse the dirtiness?

I mua i nga ra o Pita kahore nga wahine i noho tahi me nga tane i roto i te ruma kotahi, kahore i kitea e etahi tane ke atu i o ratou hoa. He ritenga tēnei na o rātou tupuna no mua iho.

In the days before Peter, women did not sit together with the men in a single room, some men never saw their companions [ie., women] This was the custom of their ancestors from ancient times.

Ka mea a Pita, ka tae te poauau o tenei ritenga! Na te Atua nga wahine i hanga hei hoa mo nga tane, kia rite ai nga tane me nga wahine te mahaki, te atawai.

Peter said, what a silly custom this is! God made women as companions for men, so that men and women may be gentle and temperate.

A ka taka e Pita te hakari, ka karangatia ngatahitia nga wahine me nga tane ki te hakari. Na, ka mea atu ia ki nga rangatira, me penei hoki ta koutou w[h]akaaro me taku.

Now when Pita had laid on a feast, the men and women were called together at the feast. And he said to the chiefs/aristocrats, your thoughts should be like mine.

He maha nga w[h]are kura i hanga e Pita, he iwi poauau hoki tona. He tini noa iho te pukapuka reo ke i w[h]akamaoritia ki te reo o Ruhia; ko etahi i hoatu noa atu ki nga tangata rawakore; ko etahi i hokona atu mo etahi moni iti nei ma nga tangata w[h]ai tonga [taonga – sic].

Peter built many schools as his people were ignorant still. Many books were translated into the language of Russia; some were given to the impoverished people; some were sold at a small price to [for] people with the means [to pay].

Na ka mea atu a Pita ki ona tangata, E hoa ma, me hokohoko koutou ki nga iwi ke, tuaina nga rakau, w[h]akapaia te muka, hoatu hoki ki nga Pakeha.

Now Peter declared to his people, Friends, you should trade with the foreign peoples/nations, fell trees, prepare flax to give to [trade with] the Europeans.

A ma ratou e homai te rino, te rinena, te paranene, nga mea katoa e mate-nuitia e koutou. Na, ka penei ratou.

And they will give you iron, linen, [paranene?], and all things that you want. And so, they [his people] acted accordingly.

Ko ta Pita i w[h]akaaroaro tonu ai ko te mea e mohio ai, e pai ai tona iwi. Na, he hanga kaipuke tonu ta ratou mahi. A, he pai rawa i o mua nga kaipuke i hanga e ratou.

Peter continued to pursue the things that would make his people knowledgeable and successful. They continued to build sailing ships. And the ships they built now greatly excelled the ones they used to build.

Ko te kai tohutohu ko Pita, kua nui nei hoki tona mohio ki enei mea. He tokomaha hoki nga tamariki a nga rangatira i tonoa e ia ki te moana ako ai.

Peter was the principal advisor, as his knowledge and expertise had become great. He sent many children of chiefs to the sea [or ocean] to learn.

Ko nga mea ia i noho i o ratou kainga, i tohutohungia etahi e ia ki te w[h]akato w[h]iti, ki te parau, ki te harou i te w[h]enua.

It was the same for the people who remained at their homes, some were instructed by him how to plant wheat seeds, how to plough, how to harrow the soil.

Ko etahi i tohutohungia e aua Pakeha i kawea mai i Inganani, i Horana, ki te hanga rinena, kariko, rino, karaihe, te aha, te aha, ki te hanga i nga nohoanga, i nga tepera, i nga w[h]ariki pākeha.

Some were instructed by those Europeans brought from England and Holland to make linen, calico, iron, glass and other things besides, and to build dwellings and [tables?] and [floor coverings/carpets?]

Kahore a Pita i wareware ki nga turoro. I hanga ano e ia nga w[h]are turoro, rite tonu ki aua w[h]are i kitea e ia ki Horana.

Peter did not forget about the sick. He built hospitals just like those he had seen in the Netherlands/ Holland.

I w[h]akaakona hoki etahi rangatira ki te rongoa i nga turoro.

Some chiefs/leaders were also taught to treat the sick.

Otiia ki ta Pita w[h]akaaro ko te tino mea tenei, kia tokomaha nga minita pai hei w[h]akaako i te iwi ki te wehi ki te Atua, ki te w[h]akarere i te kino, ki te aroha ki nga tangata katoa, ki te w[h]akaaro ki a Ihu Karaiti. He nui tona hiahia ki tenei mea. Ko nga minita kino, kihai i tukua kia kauw[h]au.

Nevertheless, the paramount thing in Peter's thinking was to increase the number of good ministers to teach the people to fear God, to reject evil, and to love all people, according to the thinking of Jesus Christ. Great was his desire for this. The evil ministers/priests were not allowed to preach.

A, ka mea a Pita, kia hanga he taone nui mo tatou ki te taha o te moana. Heoi ano to ratou taone i te moana, ko Arakanahere i korerotia nei i mua.

Peter directed that a town should be built for everyone on the coast. Indeed this town by the sea was called Archangel [Arakanahere] that has been talked about previously.

A ouou tahi nga kaipuke i tu i reira. Na, ka haere a Pita ki te titiro w[h]enua.

Few sailing ships were moored there. Peter went to explore the land.

A ka w[h]iriw[h]iria tetahi wahi i te kongutu-awa; otiia ehara tenei i te wahi pai mo te hanga i tetahi tāone nui; he repo hoki.

A site was chosen at the mouth of a river; however this was not a suitable place for establishing a great town as it was a swamp.

Ka mea a Pita, He ahakoa ko te tino wahi pai tenei hei turanga kaipuke; tatou ki te mahi. E kore e roa, ka maroke.

Peter said, 'No matter, this is a great location for mooring shipping; let's get to work.' Before long, the swamp was dry.

Na, ka huihuia ona tangata, a ka timata te mahi. Kahore he rakau he kow[h]atu, he oneone e tata ana; he repo kau, he raupo.

Now, his people were gathered together, and began the work. There were no trees, or rocks, or soil close by; it was only swamp and reeds [raupo].

Kahore hoki a ratou mea hei kerī ma ratou i te timatanga o ta ratou mahi. I pew[h]ea ratou? I opeopehia mai e ratou te oneone i nga wahi w[h]ai oneone ki roto ki o ratou kakahu, a ka

hariharia ki taua repo, a w[h]akamatea ana taua repo e ratou. Na, ka waiho te repo hei tuaw[h]enua.

They had no implements to dig with at the start of their work. What were they to do? Using their clothing, they carried soil from places with good soil, and carried it to the swamp, until the swamp had perished [ie had been converted into dry land]. And so, the swamp became mainland.

Ko to Pita w[h]are he w[h]are iti. E rua ona ruma: kotahi ruma kainga, kotahi mo te karakia; (kahore ano hoki i mahue i a Pita te inoi ki te Atua kia homai he ngakau pai e ia.)

Peter's house was small. It had two rooms, one living room and the other for prayer; (Peter had not stopped praying to God to give him a good heart.)

I waho ia i te roa o te ra, e mahi tonu ana; kahore hoki he tangata rawakore i Ruhia i rite ki a ia te uaua ki te mahi.

He was outside all day long working continually; there was not one poor person [ie, peasant] in Russia who worked as hard as Peter did.

A kotahi ano tau, na ka oti te tāone. He tini te w[h]are o reira, e toru tekau mano: he w[h]are pai hoki te w[h]are karakia.

After one year, the town was finished. It had many houses, 30,000 [in number]; and the church [or cathedral] was impressive.

I huaina te taone ko Pitapaka, ko te taone hoki o Pita. Katahi ka w[h]akaotia e Pita ona kaupuke, e w[h]a tekau nga kaupuke nui, kotahi tekau ma rima mano nga tangata i runga, me nga kaupuke ririki tona tini.

The town/city was named 'Pitapaka' [St Petersburg], the city of Peter. Then Peter completed his shipping fleet of 40 large ships, with 15,000 people on board, and a few small boats.

Ko te tangata tenei kahore nei ona kaupuke i mua; heoi ano ko nga poti nui. Kahore ona taone pai, kotahi anake tona taone kei te tuawenua noa atu. Kihai i rua tekau nga tau kua oti enei mea te hanga.

This is the man who had no boats before; however [now he had] many large boats. He had had no good towns, and only one town a long way inland. It had taken not more than twenty years to complete these works.

A he ngakau ano to Pita kia haere kia kite ano i ona hoa pakeha o nga w[h]enua ke.

Now Peter desired to travel and see his European friends of other countries.

A ka rere i runga i tetahi o ona kaipuke pai ki Horana, ki te tino wahi i ako ai ia ki te hanga kaipuke i mua.

And he went on board one of his great ships to Holland, to the very place where he learnt to build ships in the past.

A ka tae ki reira, ka meatia ia e nga Pakeha o Ingarani, o Horana hoki, hei tino rangatira mo nga kaipuke katoa o reira, he tohu aroha hoki no ratou ki a ia.

And when he arrived there, the inhabitants of England and Holland appointed him a great captain [honorary commander?] of all the ships there, as a sign of their great regard for him.

Na, ka haere ia ki Perani, kahore ano taua w[h]enua i kitea noatia e ia.

Now he went to [Brittany/ France? Or Belgium maybe?], a country he had never seen before.

A ka hokona e ia nga mea katoa e pai ana mo tona iwi. Ka utaina atu hoki etahi atu Pakeha tokomaha ki Ruhia; nga kamura, nga parakemeti, nga kai mahi rino.

He purchased many things that would benefit his people. He also took back to Russia many other Europeans: carpenters, blacksmiths and metal workers.

Na, ka hoki ia ki tona kainga, a, kotahi tekau ona tau i ata noho ai ia i tona kainga.

And when he returned home, he dwelt there contentedly for ten years.

A ka kite tona iwi i te pai, ka mahue to ratou ritenga tawhito; koa noa iho tona ngakau. A ka w[h]akaritea e ia tetahi ra e huihui katoa ai nga tangata o Ruhia ki roto ki nga w[h]are karakia ki te w[h]akapai ki te Atua mo tana aroha ki a ratou.

And his people saw the good path, they left behind their old customs, and his heart was very happy. And he arranged a day when all the people of Russia gathered together in the church to give thanks to God for his guidance to them.

A i taua ra, ka haere mai nga rangatira katoa, ratou ko nga Pihopa, ko nga minita o te Atua, ka ki mai ki a ia, E Pita, e to matou kingi, ki te mea ka pai koe ki tenei mea, me waiho hei ingoa mou a mua, “Ko te kingi mohio, ko te matua o tona iwi; he tohu hoki mo to matou aroha ki a koe.”

On that day, all the chiefs/artistocrats/leaders came together with the Bishops and the ministers of God, and they said to Peter, ['] our king, if this pleases you, let this be a name for you forever, “A knowledgeable king, the father of his people; a symbol also of our love for you.”

A ka mutu ta ratou riri ki a ia, ka mea hoki ratou, He tangata mohio a Pita, ko tatou ia he kuare, he kino kau. A ka ki to Pita ngakau i te aroha ki te Atua, ki tona iwi hoki. A ka taka nga tau e rua, na, ka mate ia.

And so ended their anger towards him, when they said, ['] Peter is a knowledgeable man, it is us who are ignorant and evil.['] And Peter's heart was full with love for God and for his people. Two more years went by, and Peter passed away.

E hoa ma, kua rongo nei koutou ki te kuaretanga ki te kino o nga tangata o Ruhia i mua i a Pita.

Friends, you have now heard of the ignorance and evil of the people of Russia before the times of Peter.

Na, kua nui haere te taone hou o Pita, a e rererere ana nga tangata o Ingarani o Perani ki reira inaianei i runga i o ratou kaipuke ki te hoko.

Now, Peter's new city has grown, and the people of England and Germany/Brittany-France/Belgium[?] sail there in their ships to trade.

A kua rite te mohio o nga tangata o Ruhia ki to matou. He tini hoki nga w[h]are nui a nga rangatira hei nohoanga mo nga tangata e mahi ana i te rino, i te karaihe, i te rinena, i te aha, i te aha; a e kore ratou e haere ki taw[h]iti hoko ai.

The knowledge of the people of Russia now compares to our own. There are many great [industrial] complexes owned by the chiefs that house the people who are working on the iron, glass, linen and other things; they [the Russians] do not travel to distant places to purchase these items.

A ka hokona ano e ratou ki nga tangata ke he muka, he kauri hei utanga mo runga i o ratou kaipuke. He nui hoki te taone; he maha nga Pakeha o Ingarani e haere ana ki reira, e haere ana i runga i te hoiho ki te nuku o te w[h]enua.

They sell to foreigners flax fibre, spar timber [kauri?] to carry on their ships. The city is great; many Europeans from England travel there, and travel on their horses overland.

He tini noa iho nga kura hei w[h]akaako i nga tamariki. A e rererere ana nga kaipuke o Ruhia ki taw[h]iti noa atu, ki nga w[h]enua katoa i tenei tau, i tenei tau.

There were many schools to teach the children. And the shipping of Russia travels every year to distant lands in many places.

Kua meatia hoki etahi tangata hei kai w[h]akariterite, hei w[h]akarongo ki nga korero w[h]akawa a tenei tangata, a tenei tangata, hei w[h]akarite utu i nga tangata hara, hei w[h]akarite i nga mea e ngangare ai nga tangata o reira.

Some men were appointed judges to listen to the appeals/submissions [?] of this and that person, and to hand down judgments for criminals, and to arrange or settle matters in dispute between the people of that place.

E rite ana hoki te kingi o naianei ki a Pita te mohio: e w[h]akaaroaro tonu ana ki nga mea e pai ai tona iwi.

The king of the present time is similar to Peter: [for] he continually seeks out the matters that would benefit his people.

Hono tonu tana tuhituhi pukapuka ki to tatou Kuini, hono tonu hoki a te Kuini tuhituhi ki a ia. He hoa aroha hoki a te Kuini ki a ia.

He still writes letters to our Queen, and our Queen writes in return. The Queen is a close friend of his [the present king].

Kua nui hoki tona kingitanga. Nawai i w[h]iw[h]i ai nga tangata o Ruhia ki enei mea pai? Na Pita i tohutohu. Heoi ano taku korero ki a Pita.

His kingdom is indeed great. Who was it that enabled the people of Russia to achieve these great things? Peter was their teacher and guide. And so here concludes my account of Peter.

[story ends, p. 15]

[Additional korero]

E hoa ma, e nga rangatira maori katoa, ka mutu ta koutou korero i tenei pukapuka; kei wareware, he kupu enei ki a koutou, kia rite ai ta koutou hanga ki ta Pita, kia rite ai koutou ki a ia te w[h]akaw[h]iw[h]i i to koutou iwi ki te mohiotanga, ki te pai.

Friends, all the native chiefs/leaders, you have finished your reading of this book; do not forget that these are words to you, that you should do as Peter did, that you should be like him in obtaining for your people enlightenment and good things.

Kei mea mai koutou, [‘] Me pew[h]lea matou e rite ai ki enei tangata? He tangata w[h]ai taonga a Pita, he kingi hoki: tena ko tenei he tangata rawakore matou, he rangatira no te iwi kotahi.

And lest you say, ['] How should we become like these people? Peter was a rich man, and a king: whereas we are a poor [resourceless] people, he was a leader [ruler] of a single people [OR unified nation].[']

E hoa ma, kahore ahau i mea kia oti i a koutou nga mea katoa i oti nei i a Pita. Otiia kia tino w[h]aia e koutou nga mea pai katoa e taea e koutou te mahi.

Friends, I do not say that you should accomplish all the things that Pita did. However, when you steadfastly pursue all these good things, then you will accomplish them.

Kia mahara koutou ki tenei kupu: ouou tahi nga mea pai a Pita i te timatanga o tana mahi: ko koutou ia he nui a koutou mea pai inaianei.

You should remember this saying: at the beginning of his work, Peter had few good things: you presently have many good things.

Kua tae mai hoki te Kawana me nga ritenga o te Kuini, a ka w[h]akawakia nga tangata hara.

The Governor and the customs [practices/ laws] of the Queen have arrived, and wrongdoers [criminals] will be judged.

Kua mohio ano hoki koutou ki te korero pukapuka, ki te tuhituhi; he tokomaha hoki nga minita pai hei w[h]akaako i a koutou ki nga korero a te Atua, ki nga ritenga pai.

You understand how to read and write; there are many good ministers to teach you about the words of God and the good ways [customs/ practices/ rituals/ laws].

Na, ko te tino mea tenei e w[h]iw[h]i ai ki nga mea pai, ko te uaua ki te mahi. Kua rongo ahau ki etahi tangata maori e mea ana, “E kore ahau e mahi, he ahua taurekareka tenei, te mahi tonu”.

Now the most important thing that will enable you to obtain these good things is hard work. I have heard some native people saying, “I will not work, this is a form of slavery, always working.”

Ka tae te poauau o tenei kupu! Me i pēnei a Pita, kua he tona iwi a tae noa ki tenei ra. Aua koutou e noho mangere, e mea ki o koutou tangata, “Haere koutou ki te mahi.”

This saying is the height of foolishness! If Peter had been like this, his people would have been corrupt unto this day. Do not be lazy, say to your people(s), “Go you to work[!]”

Engari me mahi koutou, e nga rangatira, hei tauira ki a ratou kia nui ai ta ratou mahi.

However you chiefs should work, and be an example to them so that their work may be great.

Ka mea mai pea koutou ki a au, He aha ra te mea e mahi ai matou? He mahi muka, he ngaki w[h]iti, he w[h]angai kau, he w[h]angai hipi ma koutou.

Should you say to me, What is the thing [are the things?] we should do? [I would respond:] You should work flax, cultivate wheat, rear cattle, rear sheep for your own use.

Na te mahi muka nga tangata o Ruhia i w[h]ai taonga ai. Kia penei hoki koutou kia timataia ngatahitia tenei mahi e nga iwi maori katoa, e nga tangata o Waikato, ratou ko Ngapuhi, ko Ngatipaoa, ko Ngatiw[h]akaue;

The people of Russia became rich due to the working of flax. You should follow this example, with all the native people(s) beginning this work together, [that is] the people of Waikato, those of Ngapuhi, of Ngati Paoa, of Ngati Whakaue.

a ka taka te tau, kia kite matou ko tew[h]ea te iwi uaua ki te mahi. Kia haere hoki etahi tangata ki tetahi kamura, kia ako ai ratou ki te hanga i nga w[h]are papa, i nga w[h]atitoka, i nga matapihi, i nga poti hoki.

And when the year [or season] ends, we should all see which iwi [tribe/people] has worked the hardest [?] Some people should become carpenters, that they might learn to build weatherboard houses, gateways, windows, and boats.

He aha koutou te ako ai ki te hanga poti, kune hoki? He aha koutou te penei ai me nga tangata o Ruhia?

How will you learn to construct boats and schooners? How will you become like the people of Russia?

He rakau ano a koutou, he ringaringa hoki. Mehemea ka noho noa koutou i te roa o te ra, a ko te kai paipa te mahi nui ma koutou, e kore koutou e mohio.

You have trees and you have hands. However if you just sit around all day, and make pipe smoking your only [important] work, you will not learn anything.

E hoa ma, kia mahara koutou ki te kupu a Paora, “Ki te mea e kore e pai tetahi tangata ki te mahi, kei kai ia.[”] Kua tae mai ki a matou tetahi rongu, ko etahi tangata maori e timata ana te hanga i nga [Page 18] w[h]are pai. A ka koa o matou ngakau i tena korero.

Friends, you should remember the words of [the Apostle] Paul, “If anyone does not agree to work, he shall not eat.” Some news has reached us that some native people have begun to construct quality houses. Our hearts were much pleased at that news.

Na, ka oti aua w[h]are, waiho tenei hei ritenga mo a mua. Ko nga tangata e kakahu ana i te paraikete, e kai paipa ana, kaua ratou e tomo mai ki roto ki aua w[h]are.

Now, when those houses were finished, let this remain as a [new] practice for ever. The people clothed with blankets and smoking, do not let them enter those houses.

Ki te mea kahore koutou, e nga rangatira, e kai paipa, e kakahu i te paraikete, e kore e roa ka w[h]akama o koutou tangata i te paru, i o ratou kakahu o mua.

O chiefs [leaders], if you do not smoke or dress in blankets, it will not be long before your people are embarrassed at the dirtiness and apparel of past times.

Ka mea mai pea koutou, “E hoa, kahore a matou moni hei hoko i te kakahu pai, i te aha, i te aha. Ha! Me mahi muka koutou, me ngaki w[h]iti, me w[h]angai kau, me hanga poti, me ako koutou ki nga mea e tohutohungia ana ki a koutou e te Pakeha, a ka w[h]ai moni wawe koutou.

Perhaps you will say, “Friend, we have no money to buy good clothing, or anything else.”] Indeed! Well then, work flax, cultivate wheat, rear cattle, make boats, study the things that the Pakeha have instructed you in, and you shall rapidly acquire wealth.

E hoa ma, kia rongo mai koutou, ko nga wahine e kai paipa ana, kia riria ratou e koutou. Kia mahara koutou ki tenei kupu, “Ka kino to nga w[h]aea ritenga ka kino hoki to nga tamariki; rite tahi hoki nga tamariki ki o ratou w[h]aea.”

Friends, listen, the women who are smoking, be angry with them. Remember this saying, “If the mothers’ habits are bad, so also will be the childrens’; the children will be just like their mother.”

Aua hoki nga wahine e tukua ki te tari wahie, ki te waha i nga kete riwai, i nga toimaha. Me i penei nga wahine o Ruhia, kua w[h]akama a Pita. He mahi ano ta te tane, he mahi ano ta te wahine.

Do not allow the women to carry firewood on their backs with the potato sacks, because it is very heavy. If the women of Russia had been like this, it would have caused embarrassment to Peter. Indeed, there is work proper for men and work proper for women.

Ma te wahine e tui, e horoi; mana te w[h]are, nga tamariki, e tiaki kei kino; a, i nga wahi noho kau, mana e haro ki te muka.

The woman should sew and wash; she should look after the house and the children lest they become spoilt; at the seasonal settlements they should scrape (or prepare) flax. [?]

Ma te tane [Page 19] ia e tari te wahie, e waha nga riwai, e ngaki te w[h]enua.

The man should carry the firewood, and on his back the potatoes, and should cultivate the ground.

E hoa ma, he rahi to matou aroha ki a koutou. Puritia enei kupu ki roto ki o koutou ngakau.

Friends, great is our regard for you all. Hold tightly to these words in your hearts.

Tirohia atu te haerenga mai o nga pakeha ki tenei motu; ka nui haere ratou, a ka tini; ki te mea ka tino w[h]ai koutou ki te mohio ka arohatia koutou e ratou.

Study closely the journey of the Europeans to this island; they are now great and many in number; if you pursue knowledge and enlightenment, they will have great regard for you [OR will respect you].

A ki te kahore koutou e w[h]akaaro ki te pai, ka mea ratou, he iwi kuare! Aw[h]ea mutu ai te kino?

And if you do not attend to what is good, they will say, [']an ignorant people! When will the evil/badness be at an end?[']

Kei te w[h]akato nga pakeha i te riwai, i te kaanga, i te paukena, a e kore e roa, ka nui nga kai o a ratou ngakinga hei oranga mo ratou: e kore ratou e pai ki te hoko i a koutou riwai.

The Europeans are planting potatoes, corn, pumpkins, and it won't be long before they have an abundance of food in their gardens to supply their needs: they will no longer agree to purchase your potatoes.

A ki te mea ko te w[h]akato riwai anake ta koutou e mohio ai, me pewhea koutou e whiwhi ai ki te taonga ki nga mea pai?

If all you know how to do is plant potatoes, how will you acquire expensive items and other goods?

Na, kia mohio koutou ki etahi mahi pai: kia ako koutou, e nga rangatira, ki aua mahi i korerotia nei, kia wakaako ai koutou i a koutou tangata ki aua mahi, a ka whai taonga wawe koutou.

And so, you need to understand about other profitable work [or trades/industries]: chiefs/leaders, learn those other trades/industries that have been discussed here, so that you can teach your people those trades, and they may quickly obtain riches.

E hoa ma, whakarongo mai, kia tino w[h]ai koutou ki nga mea e taea e koutou te mahi, kei a matou te wakaaro mo nga minita, mo nga kura, mo nga pukapuka ma koutou.

Friends, listen here, you should pursue the things that are possible for you to accomplish. We have the consideration for ministers, schools and books you require [this means perhaps that the Church will meet the costs]

Kia hanga tetahi ware pai i roto i o koutou kainga, i tera kainga, i tera kainga, hei whare kura mo nga tamariki: a kia huihuia mai ratou ki roto ki taua whare;

Let quality buildings be constructed in your villages, throughout the various villages, as schools for the children: gather them together in that [those] building[s];

a ki te kahore ratou e [page 20] rongo, whiua ratou kia rongo ai; kia pera me ta Horomana i korero ai, “E piri tonu ana te kuare ki roto ki te ngakau o te tamaiti; ma te whiu ka rongo ai.”

And if they do not listen, chastise [or punish] them so that they listen; let it be like that of Solomon who said, “Ignorance is bound up in the heart of the child, but the rod of discipline will cause him to obey”.

E hoa ma, whakaaroa e koutou enei kupu. I a koutou e ara ana i te moe, w[h]akaroa e koutou, me pew[h]ea ranei, me pew[h]ea ranei e kake ai te tangata maori ki te pai?

Friends, consider well you these words. When you awaken, consider well you how infact the native people can be uplifted to the good.

A, inoi atu ki te Atua, kia w[h]akakahangia ki te mahi. Kia mahara koutou ki te kupu a te Karaiti ki te pononga pai i riro mai nei i a ia nga atu taranata e rima, ki te pononga mangere hoki i tanumia nei e ia tona taranata ki te whenua.

Now, pray to God, that [you may be] strengthened for the work. May you recall the word of Christ about the good servant who obtained five (5) talents, compared with the lazy servant who buried his talent in the ground.

E hoa ma, ki te mea ka mangere koutou, a, e kore e tohe tonu ki te pai, ka rite to koutou matenga ki to tenei pononga kino.

Friends, if you are lazy, and, if you do not persevere in obtaining good, your [death?] will be like this bad servant.

He rangatira koutou no nga tangata maori, hei tamariki ratou ki a koutou. E tika ana kia aroha koutou ki a koutou tamariki.

You are leaders of the native people, they are your children. It is right that you should have especial concern for your children.

A, a te taenga mai o te ra e hemo ai koutou, ka koa o koutou ngakau i a ratou e kake ana.

And, when the day of your passing arrives, your hearts shall be happy because of their ascending [or progress in civilization].

Ko reira ratou korero ai ki te rangatira pai, “E to matou rangatira, e to matou matua, nau ano matou i w[h]iw[h]i ai ki nga w[h]are pai, ki nga kakahu pai, ki nga mea pai katoa. He rahi to matou aroha ki a koe.”

There they shall speak to the great leader, “Our chief, our parent, you have obtained for us great houses, beautiful clothes, and all things good. Great is our love for you.”

Ka tawai pea etahi o o koutou tangata ki a koutou, ka tutu; e kore ratou e rongu ki a koutou. I penei nga tangata o Ruhia i mua, ka penei ano hoki etahi tangata maori aianei.

Then perhaps some of your people will ridicule you, and will rebel; they will not listen to you. As it was with the people of Russia in times past, so it will be with some of the native people now.

Otiia kei pouri o koutou ngakau, kei mea, E kore rawa enei tangata e kake ki te pai. Engari, me inoi ki te Atua mana koutou e w[h]akakaha ki ta koutou mahi, mana ratou e w[h]akaw[h]iw[h]i ki te pai.

Nevertheless, let not your hearts be downcast, do not say, [“]these people will never be uplifted to good things[”]. Instead, pray to God that he will give you strength in your endeavours, that he will uplift them [or enable them to attain what is good]

Kia mahara hoki koutou ki a Ihu Karaiti i haereere nei ki te mahi pai, i ataw[h]ai hoki ki te hunga aroha kore, ki te hunga kino.

May you remember Jesus Christ who went about to do good, to care for those without love and for the sinners [the evil people].

E nga hoa aroha, ki te mea kua penei te aroha mai o te Atua ki a tatou, e tika ana hoki kia aroha tatou tetahi ki tetahi.

Loving friends, if God so loved us all, it is only right that we should all love each other.

Heoi ano.

That is all

[Ends]

Appendix F (chapter 5): Other Texts Printed by the Bishop's Press, c. 1843-1856.

Pukapuka Whakaako ki te reo Pākehā (1843, 1847, 1850, 1851, 1855)⁷

Bishop Selwyn, Judge Martin and their associations viewed the schooling of Māori in the English language as vital to their advancement. Various English language primers were printed by the Bishop's Press during the 1840s and 50s. Judge Martin is suspected as the author of some or all of these. All editions had around 200-300 copies printed. The distribution list for the 1850 edition included copies to the Native Adults' School (25, 2, 12 – various dates), Mrs Kissling (36), Mr [William] Martin (6), Mrs Selwyn (3), C. J. Abraham (6), B. Y. Ashwell (12), The Bishop (1), Wellington School Committee (20) – bearing some resemblance to the distribution list for *Ngā Tūpuna*.⁸

Reading Lessons in Biography, History and Geography (1853)

This was the title of a text published by the St. John's College Press in 1853, which outlined in 16 chapters New Zealand, American, English and ancient history. Although it was published in English, it is mentioned here to underscore how this subject-matter was seen as central to the syllabus. This text is also analysed in chapter 7.

He Korero mo Nga Whenua Katoa o Te Ao Nei/ Geography for the Use of Children in New Zealand (1856)⁹

This was a book of lessons on geography for Maori students. It had been published the year prior in the Government newspaper, *Te Karere Maori*.¹⁰ The text provides a brief synopsis of all the principal continents and countries and their peoples and climates. Obviously, the Bishop's Press saw it as important enough to re-publish in book form, in separate Māori and English language versions. This text is analysed in full in chapter 7.

Rules of the Clothing Club (1844, 1849)¹¹

If the English language was to be added to the competencies of the Māori, native clothing was to be replaced with European clothing. St John's College devised a means whereby

⁷ [A book to teach the English language]. Printed at Te Waimate 1843 (BIM 149); new or revised editions printed at Pūrewa, Auckland, 1847 (BIM 335); 1850 (BIM 397); 1851 (BIM 431); 1855 (BIM 460).

⁸ St. John's College, Book Depository Ledgers, vol. 2 (1850-51) [photocopy], Alexander Turnbull Library, fMS-Papers-7821-2, 99.

⁹ BIM 466.

¹⁰ See *Te Karere Maori/ The Maori Messenger*, March-November 1855.

¹¹ 1844 (BIM 207); 1849 (BIM 376)

clothes could be obtained through savings or the payment of subscriptions. The administrators of this scheme were none other than Mrs [Lady] Martin, Mrs Kissling, and Mrs Selwyn – another illustration of the close involvement of the Martins with St John’s College.¹²

A clothing scheme was important because adopting European habits, including clothing, was part of the structure of the St John’s rules for Māori teachers (or Māori clergy in training). Selwyn’s chaplain, William Cotton, recorded these rules in his journal:

1. No teacher will be admitted into the first class, who will not pledge himself to adopt English habits, to divide his house into rooms, to abstain from smoking, to take care of his wife and children, and attend to their improvement, to wear English clothes constantly; and above all to be regular in his attendance at Church and School.
2. The Second Class will be composed of those who are candidates for admission into the first.
3. The Third Class will be composed of those who wish to learn English, but have not yet made up their minds to give up native habits.¹³

‘God Save the Queen’

Inculcating respect for and loyalty to the British monarchy was another thread to Maori schooling at this period; as were songs and singing. The teaching and singing of the anthem ‘God Save the Queen’ combined both. Parkinson notes that this text of 9 songs entitled *Te Ngaro Mahi Honi* – of which God Save the Queen was one – was often bound with Lady Martin’s *He Pukapuka Whakaako mo te Kura* (‘An Instructional Book for Schools’).¹⁴

¹² *Ko Te Tikanga Mo Te Kohikohinga Moni Hei Hoko Kakahu* (Bishop’s Press, 1849), BIM 376.

¹³ Cotton, Journals, vol. 7, 144 (quoted in Davidson, *Selwyn’s Legacy*, 35).

¹⁴ Mrs Martin, *He Pukapuka Whakaako mo te Kura* (Bishop’s Press, 1851), BIM 411; [T. H. Smith?] *Te Ngaro Mahi Honi* (Bishop’s Press, 1851?), BIM 412; refer Parkinson, *Books in Maori*, 208-209.

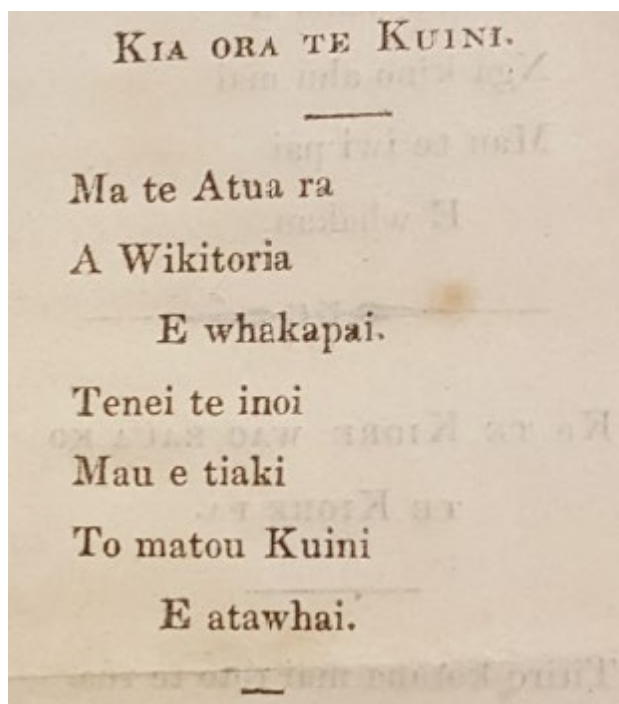


Figure 1. Text of 'God Save the Queen' (Bishop's Press, [1851?])

Cotton's *Ngā Pī*

William Cotton, Selwyn's chaplain, was an avid apiarist – he was known as 'Bee Cotton' as a result.¹⁵ In 1850, the Bishop's Press printed 546 copies of his work *Ngā Pī* ('The Bee').¹⁶ Interestingly, the first distributions were made to a number of mission stations, including Kaitaia, Waimate, Kaikohe, Paihia and Whangaroa. This distribution pattern differs from that seen for *Ngā Tūpuna*; it is more like the older distributions of Bibles and Prayer Books.

The Maori Almanacs (Calendars or 'Maramataka')

Calendars following the European monthly scheme and noting the Church of England holy days were printed from an early date. An 1840 version was published 'with trifling variations' until 1845. It also noted New Testament lessons and printed scripture verses at the foot of each month. The new senses of time conveyed by such ubiquitous works are not a subject of this thesis, but were part of a new mentality introduced into the indigenous world of linear and progressive time and history.¹⁷

¹⁵ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 20.

¹⁶ Book Depository Ledgers (1850-51), 71.

¹⁷ See H. W. Williams, *Bibliography*, no. 50 (see also, nos. 67, 86, 101, 102, 120 covering period 1840-1845).

Appendix G (chapter 6): Tāmihana's Texts and Contexts of the 1840s

In May 1840, Te Rauparaha, his son Katu Te Rauparaha (soon to be Tāmihana), and Te Whiwhi (soon to be Mātene) signed te Tiriti o Waitangi, along with others of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. They signed the treaty sheet – now known as the Kāpiti treaty sheet – brought through the area by Henry Williams.¹⁸ The fact that they signed their names – ‘Katu’ and ‘Te Whiwhi’ – in cursive indicates the alacrity with which these young men had embraced the literacy phenomenon. This was barely six months after Henry Williams had brought Octavius Hadfield to the Kāpiti Coast as its new resident missionary, which followed the prior visit of Katu and Te Whiwhi to the Bay of Islands, where they requested a missionary for their settlements. A Christian presence was already quite evident in the Kāpiti region on Hadfield's arrival; this was largely due to the ministrations of Matahau (or Ripahau), who had been freed from captivity in the north in the late 1830s. Christianity quickly took root in the area.¹⁹

On 21 March 1841, Katu Te Rauparaha was baptised by Octavius Hadfield at Ōtaki, and took the name ‘Tāmihana’ (Thompson).²⁰ Those baptised in this period often received a name from the family of the missionary baptising them, or from some other prominent person in the Christian tradition. On the same day, Hadfield baptised Tāmihana's relative Te Whiwhi, who took the name ‘Henare Matene’ – after Henry Martyn, an important missionary to India.²¹ The person ‘Thompson’ from whom this name was derived is not known for certain, however there are some clues. David Williams makes an astute observation that in 1839, Alfred Brown baptised Tarapīpipi, the son of Te Waharoa, with the name Wiremu Tāmeahana (William Thompson), and that the name Thompson might have been adopted by Hadfield and Katu Te Rauparaha from this significant baptismal event in the life of the native church.²² This still does not answer who this ‘Thompson’ was; however various inscriptions in books in the Alfred Brown library at the Te Papa mission site in Tauranga (‘the Elms’) suggest that a William Thompson was a friend or mentor for Alfred Brown during his formative years in England. Almost certainly, this William Thompson was the namesake of

¹⁸ Mīria Simpson, *Ngā Tohu o Te Tiriti: Making a Mark* (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand, 1990); see also W. H. Oliver, ‘Te Whiwhi, Henare Matene’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t89/te-whiwhi-henare-matene> (accessed 21 November 2018).

¹⁹ See, for example, evidence of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Himatangi case (1868) 1C Otaki MB 165 (cited by Boast, ‘Ngāti Toa Lands Research Project. Report One: 1800-1870’, 272); and evidence of Heni Te Whiwhi, Royal Commission, *AJHR* 1905, G-5.

²⁰ ‘Register of Baptisms – Kāpiti parish’, 6, Micro 2794, ANZ.

²¹ ‘Register of Baptisms – Kāpiti parish’, 6, Micro 2794, ANZ.

²² David V. Williams, *A Simple Nullity?: The Wi Parata Case in New Zealand Law and History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2011), 17-21.

the baptised Wiremu Tāmehana; and so, by David Williams’ reasoning, of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha also.²³

Along with his slightly earlier signing of te Tiriti as Katu, the adoption of the name Thompson can be understood as among the first ‘texts’ authored by the son of Te Rauparaha that appears in the historical record. Given his rangatira lineage, Katu must have had some say in the name he acquired on baptism. Generally speaking, baptismal names adopted by other Maori of status in the period appear to be frequently at their behest. One thinks of ‘Te Ruki’ (the Duke) Kawiti, Wiremu Hopihana Tahua (after William Hobson), Kāwana Pitiroi Paipai (after Governor FitzRoy), and so on.²⁴ Whether it was the name of a ‘secular’ person of status or a church figure of prominence, it was surely the case that rangatira had some choice in the matter. If, then, my surmise above is correct, Katu Te Rauparaha adopted the name of a somewhat obscure member of the English clergy (or laity); but if David Williams’ surmise has some measure of truth in it, then this name was given status by its adoption by the son of Te Waharoa a couple of years earlier. This suggestion also has resonance due to the fact that Tāmihana’s people – Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa – were part of the wider Waikato-Tainui peoples, as was Wiremu Tāmehana’s Ngati Hauā.

On 11 September 1843, Tāmihana married Ruta (Ruth) Te Kapu (daughter of Tawhiri of Ngati Raukawa), at Ōtaki, with Hadfield presiding.²⁵ In the same ceremony, Mātene Te Whiwhi was married to Pipi Te Ihurape.²⁶ There were many other marriages solemnized by Hadfield in the Kāpiti parish in 1843 (as in other years). Most of those married in 1843 could sign their names clearly in the marriage register. This indicates how quickly basic literacy and writing had advanced under the tutelage of the Hadfield mission schools. By getting married in a church, and committing himself by implication to monogamy, Tāmihana entered more fully into the cultural and theological forms of the Christian tradition (as practised in Europe and Britain).

In 1843, as is well known, Tāmihana and Mātene Te Whiwhi travelled to Te Waipounamu (the South Island) to bring the Christian message to Kai Tahu, some of Te Rauparaha’s

²³ See brief discussion of the relevant books given by ‘Wm. Thompson’ of ‘St Barnabas’ in chapter 4. Based on the books, this Thompson was almost certainly a clergyman, with St Barnabas almost certainly being the name of a parish church; A. N. Brown’s biographer, Noeline Hall, does not attempt to trace the derivation of the name William Thompson that was given to Tarapīpipi on his baptism: see Noeline Hall, *“I have planted...” A Biography of Alfred Nesbit Brown* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1981), 99.

²⁴ See Williams, *A Simple Nullity?*, 20.

²⁵ Steven Oliver, ‘Te Rauparaha, Tāmihana’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1175/te-rauparaha-tāmihana> (accessed 12 October 2018).

²⁶ ‘Register of Marriages – Kāpiti parish’, 14, Micro 2794, ANZ.

former enemies.²⁷ Tāmihana recounted this in his ‘Life of Te Rauparaha’, which he wrote *circa* 1845. Arini Loader argues persuasively that this account was authored by Tāmihana, in his ‘voice’, rather than being dictated by his father.²⁸ I highlight here statements that Tāmihana recorded himself as saying; hence, it is another text of Tāmihana’s that speaks to his own experience and thought-processes (and changing *mentalité*).

Ko te ui kau mai a nga rangatira o Ngai-Tahu ki a au, “E kore ranei to matua e haere mai ki te patu i a matou, ki te tango hoki i to matou whenua?” Ka ki atu au, “Kaore; e kore rawha [rawa] ia e haere mai, kua tae mai nei hoki au ki a koutou **whakamutu ai i te whawhai, kia mau ai hoki te rongo taketake i runga i te korero o te Rongo-pai o te Atua.**” Koia ano, whakapono katoa mai nga rangatira o Ngai-Tahu ki taku korero.²⁹ [emphasis added]

*The chieftains of Ngai-Tahu would always keep asking me, “Will not perhaps your father come hither to kill us and take our lands?” I told them, “No! He indeed will not come: for I have indeed come hither to you **to bring an end to war-fare, and to bind firmly peace by virtue of the words of the Gospel of the Lord.**” So therefore all the chiefs of Ngai-Tahu believed my words.*³⁰ [emphasis added]

Tāmihana’s account of Te Rauparaha’s words to him while in Grey’s captivity aboard the *Calliope* are a striking use of scripture and language. Te Rauparaha implored Tāmihana and Mātene to return to the tribe and counsel peace – ‘repay only with goodness’ – rather than seek recompense for Grey’s treatment of him. Te Rauparaha said he did not ‘abide in grief’, rather:

... ki toku whakaaro e noho rangatira ana ahau, he whare rangatira taku e noho atu nei; ina hoki tetahi kupu hei whakamarama i aku korero; e korero atu, ko Paora te Apotoro o te Karaiti i makea ki te whare herehere; heoi, i koa ai i taua ra, i whaiata ia i roto i taua whare, i **ki hoki a Paora he whare rangatira te whare herehere, he whare kingi**; mehemea he hara tona, katahi ka kiia he whare kino te whare herehere.³¹ [emphasis added]

²⁷ Some accounts suggest their preaching created rifts in communities already influenced by Wesleyan missions; see Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, 174-75.

²⁸ Loader, ‘Tau Mai e Kapiti’, 98-100.

²⁹ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, ‘He Pukapuka Tataku Tenei i Nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui’, transcription George Graham, fMS-220, 103, ATL.

³⁰ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, ‘He Pukapuka Tataku Tenei i Nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui’, translation George Graham, [‘Life and Times of Te Rauparaha by his son’], fMS-221, 121, ATL.

³¹ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, ‘Nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui’, fMS-220, 111, ATL.

*... In my mind I am abiding here as a chief – and my abode is as the abode of a chief, wherein I dwell. Here is a word to explain the words which I have spoken: Paul the Apostle of Christ was cast into a prison, but he rejoiced on that day and sang within his abode; **Paul declared that his prison house was a Royal dwelling** – for only if he had fault could it be said that his prison was an evil abode.³² [emphasis added]*

While there is little doubt that Te Rauparaha was familiar with the story of the Apostle Paul's imprisonment, the intimacy with New Testament scripture displayed here suggests the strong overlay of Tāmihana's authorial voice.³³

Tāmihana then mentions the construction of Rangīātea and the town of Ōtaki, carried out at the direction of Te Rauparaha himself, without whom the work would not have been done. Te Rauparaha died believing the Gospel, says Tāmihana.³⁴ These last few pages of the narrative seem to claim Te Rauparaha for the new era of Christian civilization, even though he did not want Hadfield called to his bedside at death. A letter from Te Rauparaha to Hadfield in 1848 does however suggest that Te Rauparaha himself wished his people to embrace the building of town and church. (This letter is discussed below.)

There are a number of extant letters from Tāmihana to Selwyn in the Selwyn collection of Maori letters.³⁵ These begin in 1844, and I recount the gist of these below. On 28 February 1844, from Wairere, Tāmihana wrote to Selwyn at Te Waimate (Northland).³⁶ He expressed his great affection ('aroa') for Selwyn several times in the letter, together with Mrs Selwyn at one point; he asked Selwyn to write to him so that 'I can see your words/thoughts in order that my heart may be enlightened'; he addressed Selwyn as 'Hori Nuitireni' – which is clearly a rendering of the Bishop's own shorthand sign-off 'George New Zealand' or 'G.A. New Zealand' (viz., George Augustus, Bishop of New Zealand); and in a common language of

³² Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, 'Nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui', ['Life and Times of Te Rauparaha by his son'], fMS-221, 124, ATL.

³³ As Arini Loader suggests for the text generally, see Loader, 'Tau Mai e Kapiti', 100; other evidence reveals Tāmihana's close knowledge of scripture and his transformed mindset, including the account by Richard Taylor in *Te Ika a Maui* (1855) of an occasion when Tāmihana rescues an elderly Pakeha man from the Kāpiti seashore and nurses him to health back at Ōtaki, quoting the Good Samaritan as inspiration (*Te Ika a Maui*, 373)

³⁴ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, 'Nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui', ['Life and Times of Te Rauparaha by his son'], fMS-221, 125, ATL.

³⁵ Kinder Library, St John's College, Auckland, ANG 90/4 (the originals are held in Waikato University Library, ref. BX5199.S45A4 2010).

³⁶ Kinder Library, ANG 90/4/14. 'Wairere' could be a place near Paraparaumu; although it could also be a form of 'Waitarere', near Hokio or Levin.

address, referred to Selwyn at the beginning of the letter as ‘Koro’ or parent/elder,³⁷ and himself, at the end of the letter, as ‘tou tamaiti aroha’ or ‘your loving son’, although he also referred to Selwyn as ‘taku hoa aroha’ or ‘my loving friend’ – language more suggestive of equality. Another interesting feature of the letter is the language ‘ko toku tinana anake tenei, ko toku wairua kei a koe’, which might be rendered ‘my body only is here, as my spirit is with you’.

Tāmihana, or possibly Tāmihana on behalf of his father, wrote from Ōtaki on 5 February 1845 to Selwyn, whose location was this time noted as Waitemata (Auckland).³⁸ The letter is very short, simply expressing the author’s desire to see the Bishop. The fact that Tāmihana (or Te Rauparaha) knew that Selwyn had shifted from Te Waimate in Northland to Waitemata, Auckland, is an indication of missionary-Maori information networks. Selwyn had only arrived in Auckland in August 1844, and had begun re-establishing St. John’s College there by September 1844.³⁹

Tāmihana wrote to Taraea, ‘my son’, from Ponake (Wellington) on 14 May 1845. He greeted Taraea, his parents, elders and children. He described his letter as one of ‘lament’ in his immense compassion for the recipients. At this point the letter is expressed to be ‘from Te Rauparaha’, which almost sounds as if Tāmihana is adopting the title of his father. The letter is signed-off in the same way – ‘na Te Rauparaha’ and it may be that Tāmihana is writing the letter on behalf of Te Rauparaha.⁴⁰ The letter continued, exhorting Taraea to ‘be noble’ (kia rangatira tou ngakau), and expressed the wish that he be ‘a chief of New Zealand’ (kia waiho koe hei rangatira o Nui Tireni). He wrote that he had now ‘turned to the faith’; whereas formally his deeds of war were known, he now followed the gospel. He reminded Taraea that his elder, W[h]atanui, ‘died in the faith’ (ka mate nei hoki to matua a Watanui ki runga ki te whakaponu), imploring him not to follow the evil ways of his elder, Tuterangianihi, and not to join with Te Heuheu in battle if invited. The context of these exhortations to peace and

³⁷ The translation with the Kinder Library copy of the letter has ‘My lord Bishop’ for ‘E Koro e te Pihopa’, but is doubtful that ‘Koro’ should be rendered in this way.

³⁸ ANG 90/4/18. The letter is signed ‘Te Rauparaha’, whereas the other letter of 5 February is signed ‘Tāmihana Katu’. There are other examples of this below.

³⁹ Davidson, *Selwyn’s Legacy*, 45,49. Selwyn was in fact absent from St John’s, ‘Purewa’ (Tamaki) over the 1844-45 summer when it was re-settled, leaving William Cotton in charge; he was on his ‘third visitation’ (see Davidson, 49, 51); see also ANG 90/4/19, a letter to Selwyn also of 5 Feb. 1845, which appears to refer to Tāmihana providing pigs and potatoes for Selwyn, which could have been before his departure from Port Nicholson - Selwyn had arrived there from Nelson on 29 Jan., and arrived in Auckland on 9 Feb. 1845 (http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/selwyn/blain_acta.pdf); see also William Cotton’s Journal, State Library, NSW, (Cotton was based at St John’s Auckland from late Nov. 1844 to early Aug. 1845: see <https://search.slnsw.gov.au/permalink/f/1ocrdr/ADLIB110363430>).

⁴⁰ Other letters below indicate that when letters are signed ‘Te Rauparaha’ it is a deliberate reference to the real author, in which case Tāmihana was the scribe.

nobility seems to be the earlier Wairau conflict of mid-1843, as the letter ends with the statement: 'I have come to Port Nicholson to placate the Europeans and Maori for my misdeeds at Wairau'. The letter, following this last statement, is then signed by a number of other leaders, and a wider group including four men and four women, whose location is given as Waikawa.⁴¹

Several features of this letter are of note, besides the adoption of Te Rauparaha's voice as author (perhaps because he was, on this occasion, dictating to his son). One is the clear expression of alignment with the new peaceful ways of the Christian faith, and the reference, in this context, to the recipient's 'matua' (parent or elder) as having 'died in the faith', which phrase is reminiscent of New Testament language, especially St. Paul's letters. (This is one reason to think that, even if ghost-written by Tāmihana for his father, Tāmihana still exerted an editorial authority). The reference to the authority and example of the elder, and famed chief and Christian 'convert' of Ngati Raukawa, Te Whatanui,⁴² also here seems to reflect an indigenous way of encouraging certain actions. A second, quite subtle, though possibly profound statement, reflecting an alteration in geo-political consciousness, is the exhortation to be noble and act as 'a chief of New Zealand'. There are several sub-parts to this statement, all of some significance. Quoted in full, it reads:

E tama, **kia rangatira tou ngakau** no te mea kua nui haere te ingoa, koia ahau ka tuhituhi atu nei i tenei pukapuka ki a koe, kia waiho koe **hei rangatira o Nui Tireni**.

*Son, be noble in your heart for your name has become great, it is because of this that I write this letter to you, that you shall be a chief of New Zealand.*⁴³

The expression 'kia rangatira tou ngakau' ('be noble in your heart') would appear to adopt an original conception of the word rangatira – given variously in *Williams Dictionary* as 'chief; master or mistress; person of good breeding; well born, noble'; interestingly the only definition of 'rangatiratanga' given in Williams, even in the 1971 seventh edition, is 'evidence of breeding and greatness'.⁴⁴ The letter then urges that this nobility of action would be

⁴¹ ANG 90/4/27. Waikawa could be a settlement near Picton. This might suggest the letter was prepared and signed in the South Island, and then brought to Poneke/Wellington by Tāmihana (or by Te Rauparaha himself).

⁴² Angela Ballara. 'Te Whatanui', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t86/te-whatanui> (accessed 30 October 2018).

⁴³ Nb., this is the translation given in the Kinder Library copy of the Selwyn Maori letters. (It is usually not clear who this translation was prepared by.) In this case, the translation seems to capture the sense of the reo Maori.

⁴⁴ Williams, *Dictionary*, 7th ed., 323.

expressed by Taraea being ‘a chief of New Zealand’ – not of Ngāti Raukawa or Ngāti Toa or another hapū or grouping, or even of Kāpiti/Ōtaki or any other place, but rather ‘hei rangatira o Nui Tireni’. The concept of chief (or chiefliness) is now imagined as encompassing the leadership of, or at least status within, a political society with the appellation ‘New Zealand’. It might be, perhaps, that New Zealand is only imagined as a designated territorial area, but the conjoining with chieftainship suggests that the term New Zealand has a political connotation. This indeed reflects Tāmihana’s recognition that Bishop Selwyn was Bishop of New Zealand in earlier letters. Since Selwyn quite clearly had authority of some kind, at least over ‘the church’ of New Zealand, this suggests that New Zealand is not merely an area of land. Regardless of exactly how New Zealand was conceived, the concept that a tribal chief would be a chief of this pan-tribal area or entity reflects a new political consciousness. In fact, the expression emphatically adopts ‘Nui Tireni’ as the relevant unit of collective, even geo-political, identification.⁴⁵

In addition, the concept that chiefly greatness should now be measured in terms of nobility of action with reference to this new political sphere of New Zealand, suggests both a new moral frame of reference and a new audience. For how would Taraea now be great? Not for deeds of war but rather of peacemaking and peaceful living. And in whose eyes would Taraea now be great? It seems not only in the eyes of the native peoples or tribes. There is a clear implication that the European or Pakeha settler or at least Pakeha Christian community is now part of the audience who will measure the greatness of native deeds. The letter’s author is himself wanting to be considered a noble chief of peaceable intentions, as seen in the concept that he is taking responsibility for ‘misdeeds at Wairau’. (Te Rauparaha took a leading role at Wairau although not directly in the killing of the Pakeha prisoners. It does not appear that Tāmihana was at Wairau.)

On 11 September 1845, Mātene Te Whiwhi and his wife, Pipi, wrote to Bishop Selwyn expressing their greetings to their child, who was in Selwyn’s care. They mentioned Te Rauparaha’s illness. Like the letters of Tāmihana and others, this letter is replete with personal or affectionate sentiments, as in the interesting phrase, ‘... te maramatanga o toku ngakau ko koe no te mea kua kite matou **nga maori** i te nui o to atawai’, which has been translated as, ‘... you are the comfort for my heart, because we, **the maori people** have

⁴⁵ Cf. Head, PhD thesis (2006): Head argues that before interactions with Europeans, Māori did not have a clear conception of territory or country; the adoption from early decades of the nineteenth century of the European term Niu Tireni – with its connotations of a bounded, national territory – places Māori as ‘political moderns’ (at 43-47). This interpretation certainly seems to have merit, and supports similar material and interpretations in this thesis.

witnessed the extent of your benevolence'. [emphasis added]⁴⁶ Mātene uses the phrase 'nga maori' to refer to the native people(s). This is a linguistic indication that leaders are beginning to identify as 'natives' in relating to the British. There is no necessary connotation of a single native people as the syntax is still pluralised – 'nga maori'. Still, a native population is imagined, rather than Ngati Raukawa or Waikato or 'nga hapu maori' or some other appellation. Once again, Selwyn's formal status as 'Te Pihopa o Nui Tireni' – to whom the letter is addressed – probably helped the identification of a single native population within the Bishop's domain of care or 'atawhai'.

On 1 October 1845, there is a letter from 'Te Rauparaha' to Selwyn from Ōtaki; and on 2 October 1845, there is a letter from Tāmihana Te Rauparaha to Selwyn from Poneke (Wellington). The letters are both in Tāmihana's hand-writing. The content of the letters are similar, but are also expressed differently, and the one signed as Tāmihana refers to 'Te Rauparaha is happy to see me'. On this evidence, the difference in apparent author seems intentional, and indicates that Tāmihana was writing for his father in the one case and for himself in the other (as with a couple of letters outlined above). Earlier in the year, both father and son had attempted to resolve land issues in the Hutt Valley or 'Heretaunga' between Maori hapu and the Crown and settlers. The letter from Te Rauparaha refers to this, stating 'Nothing much is happening in Heretaunga. The people there were afraid of me and so have gone to Wanganui'.⁴⁷ (One of their objectives was to ensure that Maori left the land that was in dispute with settlers.)⁴⁸

In 1845-46, Tāmihana was a student at St. John's College, 'Purewa' (Auckland). In fact, he is recorded as the only student in the 'Native Teachers' school in 1845, although he was apparently joined by 23 other aspiring Maori clergy in 1846.⁴⁹ In 1846, he and other Ngati Toa chiefs sold the Wairau plains in Te Tau Ihu (top of South Island) to the Government, while Te Rauparaha was in Grey's custody. Governor Grey had arrived in the country in mid-November 1845. George Clarke recorded that 'Thompson, Rauparaha's nephew' – which can only be a reference to Tāmihana – 'remonstrated against the [sale] proceedings but by threats to retain Rauparaha withdrew his remonstrance'.⁵⁰ This interpretation of what

⁴⁶ ANG 90/4/31. This is the translation on file, although the translation capitalises the m in 'maori'; I have left it uncapitalized, as in Matene's original.

⁴⁷ A reference, probably, to a group of Ngati Rangatahi; rather than the Ngati Tama under Taringakuri.

⁴⁸ Oliver, 'Te Rauparaha, Tāmihana'.

⁴⁹ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 51, 66 (and see brief account of the St John's native schools in chapter 5).

⁵⁰ Cited in Robyn Anderson and Keith Pickens, 'Wellington District', *Rangahaua Whanui* series (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996), 46.

transpired is directly supported by a letter from Tāmihana himself in 1847, which is reviewed below.

In April 1847, a letter was addressed to Bishop Selwyn from ‘nga kaumatua’ (the elders) at Ōtaki. The scribe was one Hakaraia – almost certainly Hakaraia Kiharoa, one of Hadfield and William’s native teachers at Ōtaki.⁵¹ The letter stated that ‘the main theme of Ngati Toa is to get the governor to return Te Rauparaha to shore’. They asked, or rather stated: ‘the maori people say, how can the land be settled, Te [Rau]Paraha is the only one who can achieve this. Matene [Te Whiwhi] and Tamihana [Te Rauparaha] have advised the governor to return Te Rauparaha to shore...’. They expressed the view that it was the Europeans that should be ‘dealt with’ – impliedly, for the false dealings at Wairau. They were concerned that if Te Rauparaha was simply ‘pardoned’, he could still be ‘seized’ for his ‘wrongdoings’ relating to Wairau.⁵² It is not clear from the letter who the kaumatua of Ōtaki included. Once again, the concept of ‘the maori people(s)’ – this time ‘nga tangata maori’ – was made to stand for the views of one or two particular hapu in a certain location. This usage seems like a basic identification as ‘native people’ (or ‘natives’) rather than any strong sense of an imagined single community of native people; but it is still suggestive of the latter.

Two days after the letter above, a letter was written from Ōtaki to ‘my beloved father, the bishop’. The extant letter (or copy) does not retain the signing page; the Kinder Library index does not identify the author, although suggests it might be Hakaraia. However, the content of the letter and the cursive means it was almost certainly authored by Tāmihana. He referred to the completion of his new house at Ōtaki, and that the ‘old fortified village at Te Onepu has been abandoned’. He said the letter was to convey his love to my father, ‘who has long been aboard ship’ (in context, this appears to be a reference to Te Rauparaha, rather than Selwyn). He referred to sailing in his canoe from Ōtaki to Kāpiti to carry kumara to his father and the ship’s captain. On board he was able to see Te Rauparaha and remarked: ‘He has taken on the appearance of a European. He has a felt hat on his head, nice trousers, and a nice coat, and a nice shirt too. So I was quite amused to see him living like a European on board the ship’. He recounted that ‘the chiefs of all the [hapu] have decided that if Te Paraha is returned to shore it will show the mark of a benevolent governor’.⁵³ They have ‘persist[ed] in urging’ his return but the Governor replied he would do so only if Porirua and Wairau were given up. They did not want this, but the Governor insisted, saying if they held on to the land, he would ‘decide to send Te Paraha to England’. The last line of the extant letter follows

⁵¹ See Arini Loader, ‘Early Māori Literature: The Writing of Hakaraia Kiharoa’, in *A History of New Zealand Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 31-43.

⁵² 11 Apr. 1847, ANG 90/4/50.

⁵³ The translation on the Kinder Library file at this point has ‘sub-tribes’, however the original reads ‘hapu’; see ANG 90/4/51, 13 Apr. 1847.

on ‘so, we have decided that we have no choice[,] we had better hand over Wairau and Porirua’.⁵⁴ Tāmihana referred to very recent history: on 18 March he had executed the Wairau deed with only two other Ngati Toa signatories (being Mātene te Whiwhi and Rawiri Puaha), and on 1 April he had signed the deed for Porirua, along with a number of other Ngati Toa signatories.⁵⁵ Given this clear evidence of coercion by Grey in the Wairau sale, it is a wonder that Tāmihana retained faith in the new British dispensation, and even in Grey himself.⁵⁶

About two months later, in June 1847, Tāmihana wrote again to Selwyn, this time from Poneke (Wellington). The letter was addressed this time ‘To the Bishop of New Zealand, At the College’. Tāmihana reported ‘the news of the governor concerning the restoration of Te Rauparaha to land’, that his father had gone to Auckland. He asked Selwyn to look after him on his arrival, and ‘remind him of the gospel so that his spirit may be sustained’. He was planning to go to Auckland with Mātene and return after seeing Te Rauparaha. He concluded with greetings from his wife Ruta and himself to Mrs Selwyn, and signed-off, ‘your loving friend’.⁵⁷

In January 1848, Tāmihana wrote to the Bishop from Ōtaki.⁵⁸ This is a short letter but an important one, as it indicates Tāmihana’s aspirations at the time in several respects: first, he asked for Selwyn’s decision regarding the establishment of a school, and he recommended for this purpose his land at Porirua. Eventually the Whitireia block was given to the Anglican Church for a school. David Williams has recounted the narrative of this gift in detail.⁵⁹ The school was never built but, as Williams writes, the gift represented Tāmihana and Mātene Te Whiwhi’s desire to establish a college like the St John’s they had attended a couple of years previously.⁶⁰ In this letter, Tāmihana also mentioned arrangements having been made for ‘our mill’ at Ōtaki, and also referred to ‘seeking a home for ourselves’. This could be a reference to Tāmihana’s plans to build a European style house at Ōtaki. One was certainly

⁵⁴ ANG 90/4/51.

⁵⁵ See Boast, ‘Ngati Toa Lands Research Project. Report One: 1800-1870’, 336.

⁵⁶ Boast’s account of this misses this Selwyn correspondence, while querying the official record from Grey and others that made it sound like giving up the Wairau was the idea of the young Ngati Toa Christian chiefs as a way of providing ‘utu’ for the previous Wairau deaths: see Boast, ‘Ngati Toa Lands Research Project. Report One: 1800-1870’, 244-51.

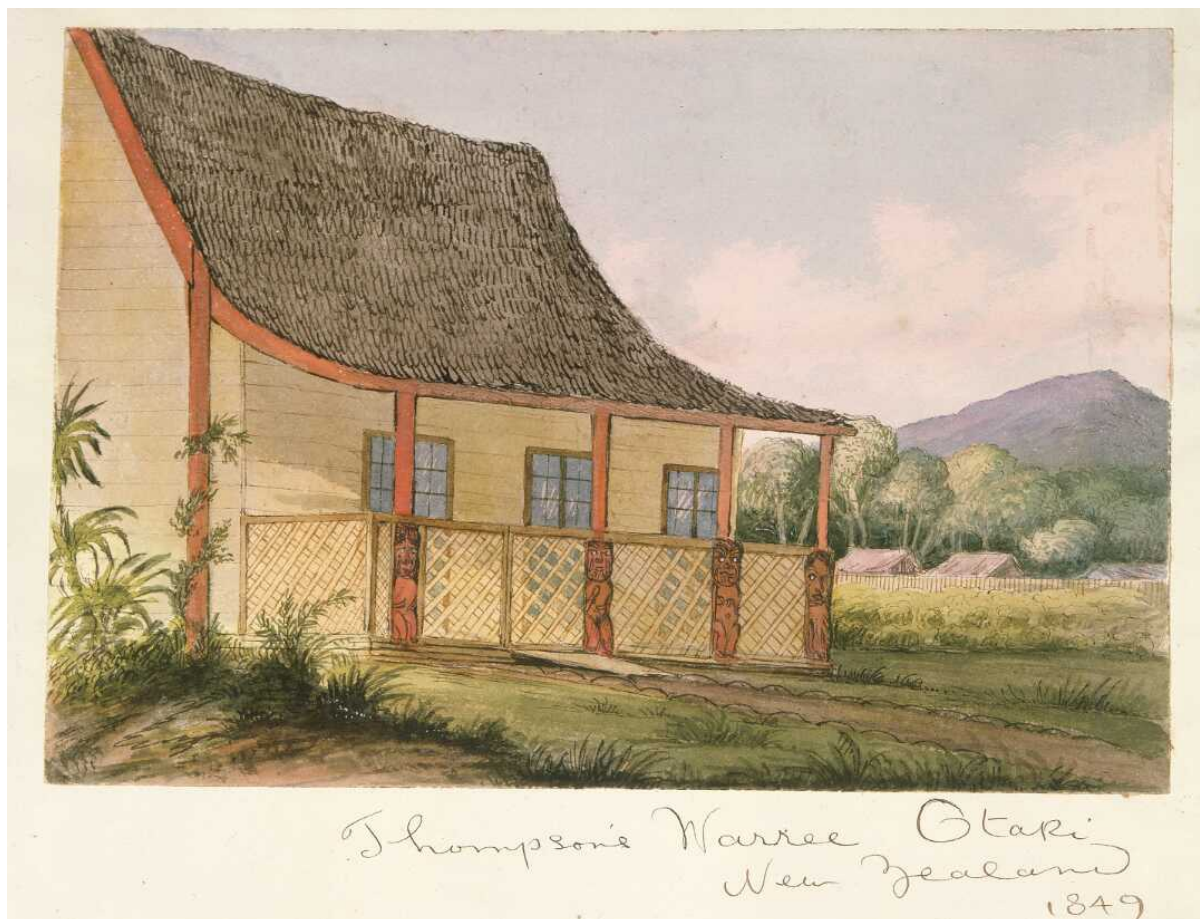
⁵⁷ 8 June 1847, ANG 90/4/52.

⁵⁸ 21 Jan. 1848, ANG 90/4/82.

⁵⁹ Williams, *A Simple Nullity?*, 43-66. Williams traces the origin of the Whitireia college discussion to correspondence between Hadfield and Tāmihana in Aug. 1847, followed by Hadfield and Selwyn in Sep. 1847 (see Williams, *A Simple Nullity?*, 52-53). He does not cite this letter direct from Tāmihana to Selwyn of Jan 1848, as far as I can see, but it tends to confirm Williams’ narrative that the College was the idea or vision of Tāmihana and co. in the first instance.

⁶⁰ Williams, *A Simple Nullity?*, 27, 50-51.

completed by 1849, and various Europeans visited it and sketched or painted it. (The chronology or reference here is somewhat unclear, as the letter above from April 1847 that I have attributed to Tāmihana refers to a house already constructed at Ōtaki; Tāmihana's house was indeed already partially completed by November 1845.⁶¹) Although in European style, the house had carvings on the veranda posts and tukutuku work on the interior. The clearest representation may be that of Charles Gold, dated 1849 (below).



[Gold, Charles Emilius] 1809-1871: Thompson's warree Otaki, New Zealand 1849. B-103-028, ATL]

In September 1848, Tāmihana wrote to Selwyn, apparently from 'the room of the chiefs (or captain)' on a 'man-of-war' at Poneke ('Manuao ... te ruma o te rangatira i tuhituhia ai').⁶² (Te Rauparaha was released in January 1848, so the reference to man-of-war cannot relate to his release.) In the letter, Tāmihana stated that 'the Governor and the chiefs of the man-of-

⁶¹ William Williams, journal, 7 Nov. 1845 (*Turanga Journals*, 355): '... Walked out to see the house of Rauparaha's son who is a consistent christian native of great promise. His house is neat with 4 glass windows and is intended to be divided into four rooms'.

⁶² This letter is neither transcribed nor translated on file and the original is hard to decipher in places.

war have arrived at Otaki'. He then referred to Ōtaki prospering and the 'ware karakia' to be shortly finished – a reference almost certainly to Rangiātea church.⁶³

⁶³ ANG 90/4/65. Translated by S. Carpenter. The letter was not accompanied with a translation on the Kinder file.

Appendix H (chapter 7): Wiremu Tāmeahana's letter to Gore Browne (from *AJHR* 1865, E-11).

No. 9.

Ko te whakaaro a te Maori mo enei take o te puhaehae e mahia nei i roto i tenei motu. Aue!—
Taukiri e! Tena to hanga e koe e tawai nei, e koe e tuhi mai nei!

He Waiata.

Kaore te ki patu te makere noa i te ngutu.
Te puhoru wai hoe ia Te Rehu i runga.
E manatu ana roto i te hau korero.
Naku i tu oma ki te wakewake ma roto,
Ware noa i au te maru o nga motu,
Ko to tinana ra te waiho atu i te hoa.

Ko to pai waewae ka tuku mai ki ahau,
Kia hua ia atu e aro tau ana mai,
Ka te tiriwa te ripa ki Kinikini,
Kua puawhea te ripa ki Hikurangi,
Ki nga tai omanga i te ipo mokai,
E herengia koia te rakau ka huhua,*
Me ruku ware au te reinga tupapaku.
Me whakamau kau ki Morianuku.
Ki taku tau tupu i awahi ai maua.

Taku waiata mo te hunga ngakau rua, ko nga ngutu ka tukua mai ki tenei taha, ko te ngakau ki te tehi taha, koia tena. Na whakarongo mai, tenei taku mahara ki nga roma o nga awa o te tuawhenua e rere nei ki to ratou hopuatanga, no to ratou matapuna i hamama atu ai tona waha tae atu ana ki to ratou mutunga mai, ka hua ahau e hui ana nga roma o ia awa o ia awa e haere ana ki te waha o Te Parata, kaore a te pawhiriwhiri he wai tai koe, he wai Maori tera, noho atu koe, mo te wai tai anake tana pai, kao mo ratou katoa, waihoki ko nga roma o ia motu o ia motu e rere atu ra ki te waha o Te Parata, waihoki ko nga kingitanga katoa o ia iwi o ia iwi e whakamauru atu ana ki te Atua, ka rite ano ki te waha o Te Parata e okioki nei nga wai ki a ia, ka tae ki tenei mahi ka riria mai, akuanei ka karakia ahau ki te Atua kaore e riria ko te ingoa nui ko te Atua e karangata nei ki a hau he aha ra i noa, ai ko tenei ingoa kingi ka kiia ekore e tika he mea tapu: Heoi ano ra e hoa ma ko te tikanga a te rangatira raua ko te pononga, ahakoa tika te kupu a te taurekareka e kore e tika i te rangatira, koia tenei. E hoa ma tena koa titiro hoki koutou ki a Tiuteronomi xvii. 15. Ana no Roma anake nga Kingi o nga tini motu, ae, kei reira hoki te tehi mo konei, iana pea no Ingarangi a Kuini, no Ruhia ano a Nikorahi, no Wiwi ano a Ponipata, no Tahiti ano a Pomare, no tona iwi ano no tona iwi ano, heaha hoki ahau enei iwi i riria mai ai e koutou, me hui atu tatou ki raro ki a Kuini. He aha te take o Marikena i tukua ai kia wehe atu i a ratou, te tukua mai ai ki roto i te maru o Kuini, ta te mea no roto taua hunga i taua momo kotahi, i te Ingridi. Ko ahau he tangata ke ahau tenei motu, kihai i tata, heoi ano taku tata kia koutou na te Karaiti Epeha ii. 13. Me he mea kei roto katoa nga tini motu i te maru ko tahi i a te Kuini tika rawa kaore he tangata e rere ke ka hui katoa tenei motu, tena wehe ana he iwi wehe ana he iwi, me ahau hoki e tu nei i taku mahara, koia tenei, kia Kingi ano moku.

E hoa ma kei pouri mai koutou waiho au kia whakapuaki ana i aku whakaaro mo tenei mea nui i tupu ai he whakatatau ma tatou, ana no te tiriti i Waitangi ta koutou riri ko, to matou rironga tena i a koutou, e he ana, titiro hoki ki te ahua o nga whare taonga o rua, ko tahi i hokona o aua, whare ko tahi kihai i hokona nga taonga, tena koa i riro katoa ranei nga mea o tetei whare i te hokonga o nga taonga o tetei whare. E mea ana ahau kihai i riro, waihoki ko te whakaaetanga a te tehi rangatira, kihai ta tetei i riro i tana whakaaetanga, ka rite ano ki aua toa taonga e rua. He aha te he o tenei ingoa e riria nei e koutou ko te mea nui kua oti te tuku mai kia matou nga mea tapu o te Atua whakaaetia ana e matou aua mea tapu te iriiranga te Hapa me te Marene hoki; ka mea ahau e aku hoa mo tatou katoa nga mea a te Atua kihai hoki i hanga e te Atua, mo koutou anake te po me te awatea, kao, mo katoa te raumati me te hotoke, te ua me te hau, te kai me te ora, mo tatou katoa, ha ko ena mea fana i hanga ma koutou anake? Ka ki ahau ma katoa, ka pa he kuri etehi, he tangata etehi ka tika te riri ki nga kuri ka he ki nga tangata. E aku hoa mo te aha ra koutou i manawapa ai ki te Kingi, ana he ingoa nui atu i te Atua? E kore e marere mai i te Atua ka tika, e, ia, me mahue tena kaore ona riri mai ko tatou tangata nei hei riri e kore e mahuetia, ana he riri kei puta ke nga ture, a, e pai ana tukua ahau ma te tino kai whakarite whakawa ahau e whakawa, ara, ma te Atua ma te tangata nana nga mahi katoa e mahi nei tatou. Ko tenei e hoa ma, waiho tenei Kingi kia tu ana i tona wahi ake ma to tatou kai hanga te whakaaro kia hinga kia tu ranei. Heoi tenei wahi o aku kupu. He ahakoa te he ai ko Rapatu ki runga.

Na kua mutu ena kupu aku me timata ke ki tetei wahi korero i enei tini e waua nei e tatou.

I te timatanga o tenei whawhai ki Taranaki ka mahara au ki te hohorotanga o te riri a te Kawana kihai i tawhitawhi, kihai i huri tao, kihai i mea iho ki nga tangata Maori, "e hoa ma ka riri au ki Taranaki." Kao! kihai i muna iho, kaore kau ko te take tena i puta ai taku whakaaro ki ta 1 Pita ii., 14. Ka hua ahau e mahara ki taua kupu kia whakapai i te kai mahi pai kia whakakino i te kai mahi kino. Tena koa e hoa ma e te taha pakeha taha Maori hoki titiro ki te kino o te Rangitake ki te pai ranei, he aha koia te kino o te Rangitake ko te purutanga ranei i tona oneone tona kino ko te aha ranei? Ma koutou e titiro, ko te rerenga ranei ki te whiu i te tiini? Na ko te aha te he, titiro hoki. Kua whakamatea koia te tangata i te mea kaore ano te he i kitea noatia? Kua mahuetia ranei te ture i kiia mai "kaua e a te kai whakaatu kotahi i te hara ma nga kupu a nga kai whakaatu tokorua, tokotoru nei e mau ai te tika te he ranei," i tae atu koia te kupu a Kawana kia huihuia mai nga tangata e tata ana ki te whaki atu i nga whenua a Wi Kingi raua ko Te Teira kia mohiotia ai e koutou no te Rangitake te he no te Teira te tika hei reira ka kitea to tetei he ka pa te whiu ki te tangata mahi kino ka tohungia te tangata mahi pai koia taku mahara, he riri tika kia koutou tenei ana he pai te whakaputa hohoro i te riri ki ta koutou whakaaro? ae, e ngari ki a hau e he ana te hohoro o te riri ina hoki te kupu a Paora e ki ana e manawanui ana te aroha e atawhai ana ekore te aroha e hohoro ki te riri ekore e whakaaro ki te kino ka whakangaro marie i nga kino 1 Kori xiii. 4, 5, 6, 7. Na e hoa ma heaha te tika o to tatou hoa o te Kawana e whakaponopono atu na koutou ko te Rangitake ko te mea ata whakaaro ka hengia e koutou ko te Kawana ko te mea hohoro ki te riri ka awhinatia e koutou ka whakamoemiti. No konei aku mahara ka rapu i roto i toku ngakau kua oti te riri mai nga tikanga hohoro ki te riri e Hemi i. 19 kua mea "kia puhoi ki te riri kia hohoro ki te ata whakarongo" ko tenei kaore i rite to Whakatauki xvi. 32. E hoa ma maku, maku te hohoro ki te riri ma te Tamariki kua oti hoki toku whakatauki, he tamariki wahi taha, he tangi kai, ka rua ona whakatauki, tena ma koutou taua tikanga hohoro, e he ana kia hau, engari ko te ata whakahaere ma koutou ta te mea he tauira to koutou ko te kupu a te Atua to koutou kapehu, hei whakatika ko nga ture a te Atua. Tana kapehu ko nga ture kotahi 10, Ekoru xx. 13-27. Ko te kapehu ko te ata

* This line was omitted by W. Thompson.

whakahaere i te whakaaro mo te pani mo te rawa kore ko te kapehu ko te ata huri marie muri iho, ka pa ai te whiu. Heoi tenei, ko te rerenga o Waikato ki Taranaki e tawaiia mai nei e te taha Pakeha, whakarongo mai koutou, maku e korero atu kia koutou, Na Potatau a Wi Kingi i tiki atu ki Kapiti i whakahoki mai ki Waitara ki tona kainga, koia a te Atiawa i hoki mai ai ki Taranaki, koia ahau i titiro ai ki tenei kupu a koutou, e he ana Waikato ki te rere ki Taranaki; ki a hau e tika ana a Waikato ki te rere atu ki Taranaki, ko tena iana kia ata whakaaro mai koutou ko Rauakitua ko Tautara ko Ngatata he huanga tupu enei tangata no Waikato, e hara a Waikato i te pokanoa, i tikina mai ano i tubia mai e Wiremu Kingi e Hapurona ki te pukapuka koia te haerenga o te Wetini Taiporutu ki taua whawhai, engari e mahara atu ana ahau kia tohunga te tangata whakahe mai, kia titiro ki te rerenga o Waikato, kia titiro ki te rerenga o Kawana, ko nga take tenei a Waikato ko te whakahokinga mai a Po he aroha tona kia Wi, tua rua ko ona, ko Rauakitua ko Tautara ko Ngatata, tua toru he mea tuhi ki te pukapuka, tua wha ko te kupu a Po kia whakamutua te hoko whenua, heoi o Waikato take me he mea i ata tiroiro a Kawana kua ata tiroiro hoki Waikato. Tena kua mahi pohehe Kawana, no reira to Waikato rerenga atu ki te awahine ia Wi Kingi, he tangata hoki a Wi kihai i whakawakia kia kitea ai te he, e tika ai kia whiua nuitia, kei te tawai mai koutou kia matou he motu kotahi tenei motu me nga tangata. Taku titiro hoki ko te taha Pakeha i rere porangi mai ki te whawhai kia Wi Kingi mei whakawakia kitea ai te he whakato i ai ki te ture kua tika te rerenga mai, i takahi i te Ture. Tena ko tenei kua he hoki tena taha, ki tau ki e tika ana tena taha, ki taku ki iho e tika ana hoki tenei taha, otira ki taku e he ana tena taha. Heoi ano enei, he kupu ano enei.

Ko te kupu mo to kohuru tau tonu aku whakaaro e hara i te kohuru titiro he kohuru ta Ihaia i a te Waitere i whakainumia ki te waipiro kia mutu te ngakau mohio o te Waitere nohoia mai ana i tahaki na ka mate i a Ihaia he kohuru tino kino tena, titiro ana koutou kua whakahoa kia Ihaia ko ta matou i kite ai he kohuru kua whakakorea e koutou ko tenei e hara nei i te kohuru, ka kiia he kohuru, e he ana kia hau, ta te mea kihai a Kawana i korero mai kia Wi Kingi kia Ngatiruanui kua nga mea pu kore e patua, tetei kihai ia i mea atu kia whakahokia nga pakeha noho noa ki te taone, kia Akarana ki te wahi whawhai kore noho ai, ta te mea kua mohio ia kua takoto he ngakau riri mona kia riri ki Taranaki me ki atu ia ki aua tangata ringa kore kia neke ki tahaki, kaore ia i pena mei puta hoki he kupu pena mana kia Ngatiruanui, "e hoa ma kei patua nga tangata noho noa," penei kua marama iti tetei wahi heoi tena wahi o te kohuru.

Mo nga taonga tenei wahi, ko nga taonga i kiia mai e koutou kia whakahokia atu nga mea e takoto nei, e kore ano e tika ena i ahau kia rongo mai koutou i taku tikanga mo ena, na te Kawana te take o ena ka whawhaitia a Wi Kingi ka oma atu i tona pa ko te pa ka tahuna ki te ahi, ko te whare Karakia ka tahuna, me te pouaka kawenata pau katoa i te ahi nga taonga kakahu paraikete hate tarau kaone pau katoa nga kau, kainga iho e nga hoia, nga hoiho ko tahi 100 maketitia iho e nga hoia, ko te tino mea tenei i manukanukatia e te ngakau o Wi Kingi ko tona hahi i tahuna ki te ahi, mei puta he kupu ma te Kawana kia kua e tahuna tona hahi kia waiho marie ona taonga me ana kararehe kua puta hoki tana whakaaro ki te tohu i nga taonga o nga pakeha koia tenei te take o nga taonga o nga pakeha i ngaro ai, no te nohotahangatanga o Wiremu Kingi i runga i te mahi a te Kawana e ki ana ia na te Kawana katoa te take o enei mahi, nana i timata tera huarahi he haere kau taua i runga. E hoa ma titiro koutou ki tenei, ko 100 hoiho kua oti te makete ko nga taonga kua pau nga kai kua pau nga whare kua tahuna ki te ahi, ko nga kau kua kainga e nga hoia, na wai koia taua mahi? na te Kawana ano, ta te mea hoki nana ano te tinatanga o te mahi raruraru kua korerotia nei i runga o tenei panuitanga, heoi ano ena korero aku korero atu kia koutou o tenei takiwa, a muri ake ka tukua atu ano ctehi o aku korero, ara kia tue mai te utu o aku korero. He oi. Na to koutou hoa aroha.

Na WI TAMIHANA TE WAHAROA.

[TRANSLATION.]

REPLY of W. THOMPSON to His EXCELLENCY'S Declaration.

The thoughts of the Maori with reference to these causes of jealousy which are agitated in this Island. Alas! Lack-a-day! Well, go on, O mocker. O writer, hither.

A Song.

Ere a threat to strike fell from the lips
The paddles of Rehu in the South are flashing:
The heart misgives by reason of the rumour.
I hastened through to Te Wakewake,
I was not mindful of the shade of Nga Motu.
Thy person was with thy friend, thy feet were given to me,
That it might be supposed that thou regardest me.
The barrier of Kini Kini now divides us—
The dazzling height of Hikurangi.

I must plunge unwittingly into the place of departed spirits,
Barely holding on at Morianuku,
With the loved one, fruit of mutual embrace.

[The meaning intended in reciting this song is probably this:—Although Waikato has not threatened, yet the Governor is preparing for war. Thompson went to Taranaki to make peace, but did not reckon upon being implicated in the Taranaki quarrel or being called to account. That the Governor had his own objects in view while professing friendship to Waikato; that a wide space now separates them and prevents friendly intercourse; that nothing is left to him but to prepare for the worst, even sacrificing his life and going to the world of spirits.—F.S.H.]

My song refers to those who are double-hearted; whose lips are given to this side and their heart to the other side. That is it. Harken! This is my thought with reference to the currents of the inland streams which flow into their deep channels from their sources with the mouth open, until they reach the point where they terminate. I thought that the currents of every river flowed together

into the mouth of Te Parata,* where no distinction is made, nor is it said "you are salt water and that is fresh water," "remain you away" from a preference for the salt water only: nay, but it is for them all. In like manner as the currents from the various islands flow into the mouth of "Te Parata," so also all the kingdoms of the different nations rest upon God as the waters rest in the mouth of "Te Parata." When this work is arrived at we are rebuked; now, when I worship God I am not rebuked. This great name of God which is spoken of to me, why is this free to me while of this name of King it is said, it is not right (to mention it): it is a sacred thing. Enough, O friend: it is founded only upon the relation subsisting between the master and his slave; although the word of the slave may be right, the Chief will not admit it to be right. This is it, O friend, look you at Deut. xvii. 15.† If all the Kings of the different islands (countries) where from Rome only, from thence also might come one for here. But is not the Queen a native of England, Nicholas, of Russia, Buonaparte, of France, and Pomare, of Tahiti,—each from his own people? Then why am I, or these tribes, rebuked by you, and told that we and you must unite together under the Queen. How was it that the Americans were permitted to separate themselves: why are not they brought under the protecting shade (sovereignty) of the Queen, for that people are of the same race as the English: whereas I, of this island, am of a different race, not nearly connected. My only connection with you is through Christ (Ephes. ii. 13.)‡ Were all the different islands (countries) under one sovereignty, that of the Queen, it would be quite right, no one would differ; all this island would also be united with the rest. Instead of which, each nation is separate, and I also, standing here in my own thought, which is this—that I must have a King for myself. Friends, do not be offended, leave me to make known my thoughts with respect to this great matter which has furnished us with a cause of dispute. Is it on account of the Treaty of Waitangi that you are angry with us? Was it, then, that we were taken possession of by you? If so, it is wrong. Look! There are two stores of goods (or shops). The good in one store are sold. Those of the other are not sold. Now do you consider because the goods of one store are sold that the goods of the other all went also. I say that they did not go. So with the consent of one Chief; that which belonged to another did not go by such consent being given. It is a similar case to that of the two stores. What harm is there in this name that you are angry about. The great thing has been given to us, even the sacred things of God. We accepted those sacred things—Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Marriage. I say, O my friends, that the things of God are for us all. God did not make night and day for you only. No. Summer and winter are for all; the rain and the wind, food and life, are for us all.

Were those things indeed made for you only? I had supposed that they were for all. If some were dogs and others were men, it would be right to be angry with the dogs and wrong to be so with the men. My friends, do you grudge us a king, as if it were a name greater than that of God. If it were that God did not permit it, then it would be right (to object), and it would be given up; but it is not He who forbids; and while it is only our fellow-men who are angry, it will not be relinquished. If the anger is lest the laws should be different, it is well; let me be judged by the Great Judge—that is, by God, by Him in whom all the works that we are employed in have their origin. And now, O friends leave this king to stand upon his own place, and let it rest with our Maker as to whether he shall stand or fall. This is sufficient of this portion of my words; and although they may be wrong, yet they are openly declared.

Those words of mine are ended. I will now commence upon another subject among the many which we talk about.

At the commencement of this war at Taranaki, I meditated upon the haste of the Governor to be angry (to commence hostilities). There was no delay, no time given: he did not say to the Maoris, "Friends, I intend to fight at Taranaki." No, there was nothing said—not a word. That was why my thought dwelt upon what is said in Peter ii. 14.|| I thought that he would have remembered that word, to praise those that do well, and condemn those that do evil. Come now, O friend of the Pakeha and also of the Maori side. Look at the evil of Te Rangitake, or at his good (conduct): wherein was Te Rangitake bad? Was it in holding his land that he was bad, or what? It is for you to look. Was it in casting away the surveyor's chain? Where was the offence? Look. Is a man put to death before his offence is proved, or has the law been abandoned by which it is said,—condemn not from the word of one witness, but by the words of two or three witnesses shall the right or the wrong be ascertained. Did the Governor send word that the men who lived near should assemble to point out the lands of William King and Te Teira, so that you might know that Te Rangitake was in the wrong and Te Teira in the right; and then when the wrong of one should have been seen, punishment should have been inflicted upon the wrong doer, and the well doer been spared. That is my thought. Do you consider that this was a just war. Is it good in your opinion to give vent quickly to anger (to hasten to go to war. Yes; but according to me hasty anger is wrong. Paul says,§ that "Charity suffereth long and is kind, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, suffereth wrong."

Friends, wherein is our friend the Governor right, whom you believe (justify)? In Te Rangitake, the man of calm thought is misjudged by you; and the Governor, who hastened to anger, is supported and praised by you. Hence my thoughts are perplexed in my heart, for hasty wrath has been condemned by James, who has said, "Be slow to wrath, swift to hear."¶ As it is, the precept in Proverbs has not been carried out.¶¶

* A sea monster, which by swallowing and disgorging the water, causes the tide to ebb and flow.

† "Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee who the Lord thy God shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set King over thee. Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee which is not thy brother."

‡ "But now in Christ Jesus we who sometimes were far off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ."

|| "Unto Governor's as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well."

§ 1 Cor. xiii. 4-7.

¶ James i. 19.

¶¶ Proverbs xvi. 32: "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city."

Friends, let me, let me who am a child, get angry hastily. The proverb is, "A child who breaks calabashes," or "who cries for food," which is another proverb for a child; but for you to adopt that hasty mode of proceeding is, I think, wrong. Rather is it for you to do things deliberately, as you have an example to go by. The Word of God is your compass to guide you—the laws of God; that compass is the Ten Commandments. The compass is for directing the thoughts to consider the orphan and the poor. The compass is carefully considering before inflicting punishment. Enough upon that.

With reference to the going of the Waikatos to Taranaki, for which we are reproached by the Pakehas, hearken and I will tell you. It was Patatau who fetched William King from Kapiti: he was brought back to Waitara, to his place. That was how the Ngatiawa returned to Taranaki. I look therefore at this word of yours, saying that it was wrong of the Waikatos to go to Taranaki. In my opinion it was right for the Waikatos to go to Taranaki. Come, now, think calmly. Rauakitua, Tautara and Ngatata were blood-relations of the Waikatos. It was not a gratuitous interference on the part of Waikato; they were fetched. They were written for by Wiremu Kingi and Hapurona by letter, and that was why Te Wetini Taiporutu went to that war. But I think that the man who condemns should possess judgment; he should look at the going of Waikato (to join in the quarrel), and at the going of the Governor. These were the grounds for Waikato's going—the bringing back of William King by Potatau, out of friendship to William.

In the second place, because of their relations, Rauakitua, Tautara and Ngatata. The third, they were written for. The fourth, Potatau's word that land-selling should be made to cease. These were all the grounds of Waikato's interference. If the Governor had considered carefully, Waikato also would have considered carefully; but the Governor acted foolishly, and that was why the Waikatos went to help William King. For William King was a man who had not been tried, so that his fault might be seen in justification of inflicting severe punishment. You mock us saying that this island is one, and the men in it are one (united). I looked at the Pakehas who madly rushed to fight with Wi King. Had he been tried, his offence proved, and he had then been contumacious to the law, their interference would have been right, as his conduct would have been trampling on the law. As it is, that side (the Pakeha) has also done wrong. According to your word, that side is right; according to mine also, this side is right, but I think that side is wrong. Enough of these words. Here are others.

About the word relative to the murderers. My opinion is decidedly that it was not murder. Look: Ihaia murdered Te Whaitere. He caused him to drink spirits, that the senses of Te Whaitere might leave him; he was waylaid, and died by Ihaia: that was a foul murder. You looked on, and made friends with Ihaia. That which we regard as a murder you have made naught of; and this, which is not a murder, we call one. This, I think, is wrong; for the Governor did not say to William King and the Ngatiruanui, "Do not kill those who are unarmed;" nor did he direct that the settlers living in the town should be removed to Auckland, where there was no fighting, and there stay; for he knew that he had determined to make war at Taranaki, and he should therefore have told his unarmed followers to remove out of the way. He did not do this. Had he even said to the Ngatiruanui, "Friends, do not kill the settlers," it would to some extent have been a little clearer. Enough on the subject of the murder.

This portion is about the property (plunder). With reference to the property, of which you say that we are to restore what remains; that also I do not consider right. Harken to what I purpose with respect to that. The Governor was the cause of that. War was made upon William King, and he fled from his pa. The pa was burnt with fire, the place of worship was burnt, and a box containing Testaments—all were consumed in the fire; goods, clothes, blankets, shirts, trousers, gown—all were consumed. The cattle were eaten by the soldiers, and the horses, one hundred in number, were sold by auction by the soldiers. It was this that disquieted the heart of William King, his church being burnt with fire. Had the Governor given word not to burn his church, and to leave his goods and animals alone, he would have thought also to spare the property of the Pakeha. This was the cause of the Pakehas property being lost (destroyed). When William King was reduced to nakedness through the work of the Governor, he said that the Governor was the cause of all these doings. He first commenced that road, and he (William King) merely followed upon it.

Friends, look you to this. One hundred horses were sold by auction, property and food consumed, houses burnt with fire, and the cattle eaten by the soldiers. Whose work was that? The Governor's own; for he commenced the work of confusion spoken of in this declaration.

This is all I have to say to you at the present time. Hereafter I will send you some more of my talk—that is, when I receive an answer to this. Enough.

From your loving friend,

WI TAMEHANA TE WAHAROA.

Appendix I (chapter 7): Analysis of Text of Tiuteronomi/ Deuteronomy

Kupu (word)	Māori text (1848 ver)	English text (KJV/Authorised)	Ref. and notes
‘Upoko’ (‘chiefs’ and ‘Head’); ‘rangatira’ (captains); ‘kaiwhakahauhau’ (officers)	Na, ka tango ahau i nga upoko o o koutou iwi , i nga mea whakaaro e mohiotia ana, a meatia iho ratou e ahau hei upoko mo koutou, hei rangatira mo nga mano, hei rangatira hoki mo nga rau, hei rangatira mo nga rima tekau, hei rangatira hoki mo nga tekau, hei kaiwhakahauhau hoki mo o koutou iwi.	So I took the chief of your tribes, wise men, and known, and made them heads over you, captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, and captains over fifties, and captains over tens, and officers among your tribes.	<i>Deut. 1:15</i> Nb. Use of ‘iwi’ rather ‘hapu’ for the tribes of Israel
‘Kai whakatikatika’ (Judges) ‘o koutou teina’ (brethren)	A i ki atu ano ahau i taua wa ki o koutou kai whakatikatika , i mea, Whakarangona <i>nga kupu</i> a o koutou teina , a tetahi, a tetahi ...	And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear <i>the causes</i> between your brethren ...	<i>Deut. 1:16</i> Nb. Use of ‘teina’ – younger sibling
‘te whenua’ (the land); ‘Ihowa ... te Atua o ou matua’ (the LORD God of thy fathers)	Nana, ka tukua nei te whenua e Ihowa e to Atua ki tou aroaro: haere ki runga, tangohia, kia rite ai ki ta Ihowa ki ta te Atua o ou matua i ki mai ai ki a koe ...	Behold, the LORD thy God hath set the land before thee: go up <i>and</i> possess <i>it</i> , as the LORD God of thy fathers hath said unto thee ...	<i>Deut. 1:21</i>
‘nga iwi’ (the nations);	Kei tenei ra au timata ai te whakapa i to paweratanga me to wehi, ki nga iwi i raro iho o te rangi , puta noa puta noa, ki nga mea e rongorongo ana ki tou rongorongo, a ka wiri ratou, ka aue hoki i a koe .	This day will I begin to put the dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the nations that are under the whole heaven , who shall hear report of thee, and shall tremble, and be in anguish because of thee.	<i>Deut. 2:25</i> Nb. Use of singular in addressing the nation of Israel – a common construction (see next ref. also)

‘Kingi’/ ‘rangatiratanga’ (king/ kingdom)	A i whakahau ano ahau i a Hohua i taua wa, i mea, Kua kite ou kanohi i nga mea katoa i mea ai a Ihowa to koutou Atua ki enei kingi tokorua: ka penatia e Ihowa nga rangatiratanga katoa ka whiti atu nei koe ki reira.	And I commanded Joshua at that time, saying, Thine eyes have seen all that the LORD your God hath done unto these two kings: so shall the LORD do unto all the kingdoms whither thou passest.	<i>Deut. 3:21</i> Nb. Use of rangatiratanga for ‘kingdom’ – so interchanging concepts of ‘king’ and ‘chief’
	NA, whakarongo mai ra e Iharaira ki nga kianga mai, me nga whakaritenga, e whakaako atu nei ahau ki a koutou kia mahia, kia ora ai koutou, kia tae atu ai, kia noho ai hoki ki te whenua e hoatu nei e Ihowa. e te Atua o o koutou matua, ki a koutou.	Now therefore hearken, O Israel, unto the statutes and unto the judgments, which I teach you, for to do <i>them</i>, that ye may live, and go in and possess the land which the LORD God of your fathers giveth you.	<i>Deut. 4:1</i> Nb. use of Israel singular and ‘you’ plural on this occasion.
‘nga tauwiwi’ (the nations) ‘tenei iwi nui’ (this great nation)	[6] Na, kia mau koutou ki aua mea, mahia hoki: ko ta koutou whakaaro nui hoki ia, me to koutou mohiotanga ki te titiro mai a nga tauwiwi, a nga mea e rongono ana ki enei tikanga katoa, a ka mea ratou, Koia hoki, he hunga mohio, he hunga tupato tenei iwi nui. [7] Ko wai hoki te iwi e rite ana te nui, kua tata mai te Atua ki a ratou, peia hoki me Ihowa me to tatou Atua e tata mai ana i a tatou karangatanga katoatanga	[6] Keep therefore and do them [statutes and judgments]; for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. [7] For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the LORD our God is in all things that we call upon him for? [8] And what nation is there so great, that hath	<i>Deut. 4:6-8</i> Nb. The relationship between greatness of the nation (of Israel) and following God’s law.

	atu ki a ia? [8] Ko wai hoki te iwi e rite ana te nui , i a ia nei nga tikanga, me nga whakariteritenga tika , pera me tenei ture katoa e hoatu nei e ahau ki to koutou aroaro I tenei ra.	statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?	
‘nga tauwiwi’ (the nations/ heathen nations)	A ka whakamarara atu a Ihowa i a koutou ki nga tauwiwi , a he hunga torutoru o koutou e toe iho i roto i nga tauwiwi , e kawea atu ai koutou e Ihowa ki reira.	And the LORD shall scatter you among the nations , and ye shall be left few in number among the heathen , whither the LORD shall lead you.	<i>Deut. 4:27</i> The immediate context of this verse is forgetting God and his law and becoming idolatrous.
‘to ratou oneone hei kainga pumau’ (their land for an inheritance)	Kia peia atu ai nga iwi e nui ana , e kaha ana i a koe i tou aroaro, kia kawea atu ai koe, kia hoatu ai ki a koe to ratou oneone hei kainga pumau ; koia tenei inaiane.	[What God has done for Israel...] To drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou <i>art</i> , to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance , as <i>it is</i> this day.	<i>Deut. 4:38</i> Nb., strong language for possession of land. ‘Oneone’ = earth, soil, dirt ‘Kainga pumau’ = permanent home
‘ture’ (law) ‘nga tamariki a Iharaira’ (the children of Israel)	A, ko te ture tenei i hoatu e Mohi ki te aroaro o nga tamariki a Iharaira .	And this <i>is</i> the law which Moses set before the children of Israel:	<i>Deut. 4:44</i>
		[n.b., The ten commandments are given in Deuteronomy 5: 7-21.]	N.b., Wiremu Tāmeahana quotes ten commandments from Exodus in June 1858. (Stokes: 159)

‘nga atua o nga tauwiwi’ (the gods of the heathen peoples)	Kei whai atu koutou ki nga atua ke, ki etahi o nga atua o nga tauwiwi I tetahi taha o koutou, i tetahi taha	Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the people which are round about you.	<i>Deut. 6: 14</i>
‘Kingi’ (king)	A ka hoatu e ia o ratou kingi ki tou ringa, a ka whakangaromia atu e koe o ratou ingoa i raro iho o te rangi: e kore e tu tetahi tangata ki tou aroaro, kia ngaro ra ano ratou i a koe.	And he shall deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou shalt destroy their name from under heaven: there shall no man be able to stand before thee, until thou have destroyed them.	<i>Deut. 7: 24</i>
iwi kaha/iwi nui (a great and mighty nation)	Tukua atu ahau ki te huna i a ratou, ki te horoi atu hoki i to ratou ingoa i raro iho o te rangi: a maku koe e mea hei iwi kaha, hei iwi nui ake i a ratou.	[God speaking after he gives the stone tables of law to Moses, and the people become idolatrous...] Let me alone, that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven: and I will make of thee a nation mightier and greater than they.	<i>Deut. 9: 14</i>
‘tenei iwi’ (this people/ of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob)	Kia mahara ki o pononga, ki a Aperahama, ki a Ihaka, ki a Hakopa: kaua e titiro mai ki te pakeketanga o tenei iwi , ki ta ratou kino, ki to ratou hara.	Remember thy servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; look not unto the stubbornness of this people, nor to their wickedness, nor to their sin.	<i>Deut. 9: 27</i>
‘he iwi tapu/ hei iwi mona’ (a holy people/ for God)	He iwi tapu hoki koe no Ihowa no tou Atua, a, kua whiriwhiri a Ihowa i a koe hei iwi mona , motuhake rawa i nga iwi katoa i te mata o te whenua.	For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God, and the Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all the nations that are upon the earth.	<i>Deut. 14: 2</i>
‘hei kawana koe mo nga iwi maha’	No te mea ka manaakitia koe e	For the Lord thy God blesseth thee, as he promised thee: and thou	<i>Deut. 15: 6</i>

(reign over/govern many nations)	Ihowa e tou Atua, ka peratia me tana i korero ai ki a koe: a mau e whakatarewa moni atu ki nga iwi maha , ko koe ia e kore e tango i te moni tarewa; a, hei kawana koe mo nga iwi maha , e kore ano hoki ratou e meinga hei kawana mou .	shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt reign over many nations , but they shall not reign over thee.	Nb. Use of 'kawana'/governor for 'reign'
'tetahi kingi moku' (a king for myself); 'ko tetahi o ou tuakana' (from among your kin) 'tona rangatiratanga'/ 'tona kingitanga' (his kingdom)	[14] Ka tae koe ki te whenua e homai ana e Ihowa e tou Atua ki a koe, a ka riro mai a reira i a koe, a ka noho koe ki reira, ka mea hoki, Ka meinga e ahau tetahi kingi moku , ka pera me nga iwi katoa i tetahi taha oku, i tetahi taha; [15] Ko ta Ihowa, ko ta tou Atua e whiriwhiri ai, ko ia anake tau e mea ai hei kingi mou : ko tetahi o ou tuakana tau e mea ai hei kingi mou: e kore e ahei kia meatia e koe hei kingi mou te tangata iwi ke , ehara nei i te tuakana nou. [16] Otiia kaua ia e whakamaha i te hoiho mona,... [17] Kaua ano hoki e whakatokomahatia nga	[14] When thou art come unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me , like as all the nations that <i>are</i> about me; [15] Thou shalt in any wise set <i>him</i> king over thee, whom the LORD thy God shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which <i>is</i> not thy brother. [16] But he shall not multiply horses to himself, ... [17] Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away:	<i>Deut. 17: 14-20</i> Nb. This passage, from which the verse oft-quoted by Tāmihana is drawn, is important as it describes the sort of king that Israel is to choose 'for itself', or rather, one chosen by God from among the Israelites.

	hoa wahine mona, kei riro ke tona ngakau: kua ano hoki e whakanuia rawatia e ia te hiriwa me te koura mona. [18] A ka noho ia ki runga ki te torona o tona rangatiratanga, na, me tuhituhi e ia ki roto ki tetahi pukapuka nga kupu o tenei ture, ena hoki i te aroaro o nga tohunga o nga Riwaiti: [19] A hei a ia taua pukapuka takoto ai, me korero hoki ia ki reira i nga ra katoa e ora ai ia: kia akona ai ia kia wehi i a Ihowa i tona Atua, mo tana whakarite i nga kupu katoa o tenei ture, me enei tikanga, mo tana mahi hoki i aua mea: [20] Kei whakakake tona ngakau ki ona teina, kei peka ke atu hoki ia i te whakahaunga, ki matau ki mau: kia roa ai ona ra i tona kingitanga, ona, me o ana tamariki, i waenganui i a Iharaira.	neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold. [18] And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of <i>that which</i> is before the priests the Levites: [19] And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the LORD his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them: [20] That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, <i>to</i> the right hand, or <i>to</i> the left: to the end that he may prolong <i>his</i> days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.	

tona iwi/ e nga tauwi (his people/ heathen nations)	Kia hari tahi me tona iwi , e nga tauwi : ta te mea hoki ka takitakina e ia te toto o ana pononga, a ka whakahokia mai e ia he utu ki ona hoa riri, ka marie ano hoki ki tona whenua, me tona iwi.	[the end of Moses' narrative-descriptive song to Israel:] Rejoice, O ye nations , with his people : for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, <i>and</i> to his people.	<i>Deut. 32:43</i>