

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Colonial Discourses of Deviance and Desire and the
Bodies of Wāhine Māori

A thesis presented in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy in

Creative Arts

at Massey University, Manawatū, New Zealand.

Elizabeth Anne Allen

2024

Abstract

This research traces how colonial ideologies of race, gender, and sexuality contributed to nineteenth and early twentieth-century representations of wāhine Māori and questions how these repetitive inscriptions might continue to have a negative impact on perceptions of wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori in contemporary culture. As a Mana Wahine study, I demonstrate that fundamental codes of the developing colonial state were affirmed by how Pākehā guarded sexuality, ordered gender, and surveilled race. As a wahine Māori centred project, it examines the colonial dimensions of “domesticity,” the “civilising mission,” and the ‘paternalism of liberalism’ in Aotearoa/New Zealand, specifically, on the assumption that differentiations of race and colonial power were essentially ordered in terms of Western notions of gender. Of particular concern is the management of wāhine Māori sexuality, procreation, child-rearing, and marriage as a mechanism of colonial control of their bodies. Focusing on spaces of perceived proximity and desire as a source from which we can search for newly recognisable forms of social perceptions in relating, it offers an engagement with myriad forms of art across multidisciplinary fields to provide a unique window into a colonial exercise of the imperial project that had a direct impact on the bodies of wāhine Māori. A critical examination of the colonial metaphors around desire and degeneration, of the intimate and affect, attempts to decolonise its representative paradigms by addressing the consequential structural and material histories that, for wāhine Māori, resulted in meting out differential futures based on ‘fabulated’ divisions of worth, prompting the central questions of the dissertation, how are bodies similar or not? How are bodies available or not? How are bodies knowable or not? And to whom?

Acknowledgements

I want to express my eternal gratitude for the tremendous support I have received from many people over this (long) doctoral journey. From lending me their father's books, their mother's precious bone mirror and linen, to providing me a space to work and exhibit, to the koha that has been given, to the sharing of knowledge, understanding, love, and patience. These people are – the Parsons whānau, the Jordan-Wise whānau, the McSherry whānau, the Halligan whānau, the Palmer-Gaiman whānau, the Te Tau-Tuiono whānau, Dr. Alichan (omg we did it!) and Brinkle, Emerita Professor Jan Jordan, Dr. Lisa Waldner, Pirimia Burger, Ann Pendergrast, Shivanii & Adie, Colleen Luxton, Maree & Ruth, Sue Fitchett, Dr. Alison Laurie, Joyce Witten, Nerys & Jason, Helen Aldridge, Bethan and David Davidson, Suebo & Pennoi, Kathy & Char, Dee & Lex, Jill Jackson, Susi Newborn, Tui & B., Gretchen Williamson, Louise Mills, Dr. Karlo Mila, Clucy & Chris, Moana Matangi-Want, J.G.P., The Waiheke Island Historical Society, the Waiheke Community Art Gallery, The Alexander Turnbull Library, in particular Linda Evans (Curator Oral History and Sound), Paul Diamond (Curator Māori), Oliver Stead (Curator Drawings, Paintings and Prints) and Clare Butler (Digitisation Advisor, Māori); who whispered to me in the archival reading room, “*Acts of legislation are called ngā ā niho o te ture...the teeth of the law...our tupuna were koi, they could see what was coming.*” The Royal Collection Trust, the Canterbury Museum, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the Nelson Provincial Museum (NPM), in particular Hamuera Manihera and NPM's Te Taiao Komiti (representation of mana whenua iwi of Te Taihū), Te Wheke a Toi and the Massey University Graduate Research School. Also, to Māori musical instrument specialist Jerome Kavanagh for the use of his beautiful waiata, *Hinemoana*. And to Robyn Kahukiwa for the honour of including her art in this project and the Te Mata Aho Collective. And last but not least, my supervisors, Professors Robert Jahnke, Huia Jahnke, and Huhana Smith, who were (other than my wife and children) the most patient of all! And, of course, Bachan.

He mihi aroha ki a koutou katoa

In memory of my Nanny,
Rongokino Hiroki.

In dedication to my Mum,
Hinemoa Materoa Allen.

In gratitude to my Wife,
Hine Hina Hiroki.

In hope for my Children,
Te Hinemoa Materoa Whaihuarahi Hiroki Tuiono.
Aya Susumu Hine Hina Hiroki.
Miwa Ohinepoutea Mitsu Hiroki.
Chinami i te Moananui a Kiwa Waka Hiroki.

And my Nieces,
Teri Terina Pakuria.
Rakaia Materoa Koha Allen.

“E; ko Tūranga makau rau tēnei.”
“O’ it is quite in order, for this is Tūranga of many darlings.”

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
List of Figures.....	vii
Glossary.....	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review	19
Oranga – Māori Well-being	20
Intergenerational Mamae – Collective Trauma of Wāhine Māori	24
Symbolic Violence in Colonial Representations of Wāhine Māori	31
Chapter 3: Methodology	40
Archival Research	53
Chapter 4: Colonial Ideologies of Race	59
Scientific Racism – Representations of Wāhine Māori in Space and Time	59
Commodity Racism – Colonial, Sexual Visualisations of Wāhine Māori	79

Chapter 5: Mana Wahine State Discourse	110
Flax and Sex: Colonial Control of Wāhine Māori Labour	118
The Embryonic Pākehā on the Colonial Frontier	150
Chapter 6: Mana Wāhine Whānau Discourse	178
The Cultural Construction of Māori Motherhood as Problematic for Colonialism	189
Homes of Humiliation and Interior Frontiers	214
Chapter 7: Conclusion	250
References	258

List of Figures

Figure 1. Merrett, Joseph Jenner, The warrior chieftains of New Zealand, 1846, Alexander Turnbull Library, C-012-019.

Figure 2. Merrett, Joseph Jenner, The warrior chieftains of New Zealand. Harriet, Heki's wife - Heki - Kawiti. Drawn by J. J. Merrett. Drawn on stone by W. Nicholas. Sydney, W[illia]m Ford [1846]. Alexander Turnbull Library, C-010-013.

Figure 3. Merrett, Joseph Jenner, Heke and his wife [1845. London, 1859]. Alexander Turnbull Library, A-092-001.

Figure 4. Merrett, Joseph Jenner, Portraits du chef Heke et sa femme. Dessin de Emile Bayard; d'apres Thomson; grave par Pannemaker, 1865, Le Tour du Monde; nouveau journal des voyages. 1860-1894. 61 volumes, Alexander Turnbull Library, PUBL-0153-1865-293

Figure 5. Te Mata Aho Collective with Maureen Landers Atapō 2020 (installation view), in Toi Tū Toi Ora: Contemporary Māori Art, 2020, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

Figure 6. Te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840, Alexander Turnbull Library, EP-Ethics-Waitangi Day and Treaty of Waitangi-03.

Figure 7. Advertisements Column 1 Observer, V. XIV, Issue 795, 24 March 1894, P. 1.

Figure 8. Hodgkins, William Mathew, My Private Catalogue of the New Zealand and South Seas Art Collection, 1833-1898, Alexander Turnbull Library, E-324-q-3.

Figure 9. Hodgkins, William Mathew, My Private Catalogue of the New Zealand and South Seas Art Collection, 1833-1898, Alexander Turnbull Library, E-324-q-3.

Figure 10. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 11. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 12. Reynolds, James, *The Principal Varieties of Mankind*. May, 30 1850, London. 3 May 1850. Drawn and engraved by John Emslie.

Figure 13. Sarah Pratt's Journal entries, 1842, Alexander Turnbull Library, MSX-3895-3896.

Figure 14. Houhamau Rowera, Circa. 1870, Photograph taken by William Batt. *Maori in Focus*, 1976, Wellington: Millwood Press.

Figure 15. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 16. Riley, Thomas, Colonial and Indian Exhibition certificate, 1886, Alexander Turnbull Library, C-098-013

Figure 17. Private collection. Postcard (not stamped), titled, *The Tourist in Clover*. Trevor Lloyd, nd.

Figure 18. Private collections. Postcard stating, 'Yes "Frank, I can recommend you some real fine girls', nd.

Figure 19. A postcard titled, *Maoriland, A pretty Maori girl,*" circa 1900-1914, of the "Dominion" series art postcards 137677, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-B-POSTCARD-Vol-12-079-1

Figure 20. A W Page [Firm, Auckland]: A W Page's Popular Prices, 1913. Pahe's Stores, Kingsland. Wilson & Horton printers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-A-RETAIL-1913-01

Figure 21. A W Page [Firm, Auckland]: A W Page's Popular Prices, 1913. Pahe's Stores, Kingsland. Wilson & Horton printers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-A-RETAIL-1913-01

Figure 22. Swindell, Joseph, and Sons: silversmith, Handcrafted boxed set of silver teaspoons with Māori motifs in the spoon bowl, circa the 1880s. The box is from Petersons Ltd of Christchurch, Canterbury Museum 2022.28.1

Figure 23. A W Page [Firm, Auckland]: A W Page's Popular Prices, 1913. Pahe's Stores, Kingsland. Wilson & Horton printers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-A-RETAIL-1913-01

Figure 24. Nimmo, Edith Agnes, Photograph album formerly belonging to Edith Agnes Nimmo (nee Fitzgerald) of Wellington. Violet J? Vera?, circa 1860s to circa 1910s. Alexander Turnbull Library, PA1-q-1155.

Figure 25. Maori Woman from Hawkes Bay District, circa 1880-1890, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/4-022228-G.

Figure 26. A pencil drawing by George French Angas, 1844, Alexander Turnbull Library, A-020-034-2-2.

Figure 27. Manet, Édouard Manet, Olympia, 1832 - 1883.

Figure 28. Lindauer, Gottfried, Terewai Grace Horomona, 1886, The Royal Collection, London.

Figure 29. Crystal Palace Theatre, Maggie Papakura, the Arawa Warriors and Maori Maidens Programme, 1911, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-D-MAORI-CONCERTS-1911-01.

Figure 30. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 31. Darwin, Charles, Letter to Lady Caroline Denison, 14 Jan 1874, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0972.

Figure 32. Smirke, Robert, The Cession of the District of Matavai in the Island of Otaheite to Captain James Wilson for the use of the Missionaries Sent Thither by that Society in the Ship Duff, engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi, 1803, Alexander Turnbull, D-016-005.

Figure 33. John P. Blackhouse, circa 1860, Māori Woman and Child, Alexander Turnbull Library, E-053-0178.

Figure 34. A Children of the Empire Series postcard, circa 1900, Canterbury Museum Collection, id562. 2004.39.18090

Figure 35. George Cruikshank, Probable Effects of over Female Emigration, or Importing the Fair Sex from the Savage Islands in Consequence of Exporting All Our Own to Australia, 1820. Alexander Turnbull Library, B- 021- 047.

Figure 36. Lloyd, Trevor. Is That you Lovey, The Wrong Number, circa 1911-1916, Auckland, Frank Duncan & Co., Alexander Turnbull Library, A-279-029.

Figure 37. New Zealand Company: Emigration. The Court of Directors, New Zealand Company are prepared to assist in immigrating to their settlements in New Zealand agricultural mechanics, farm labourers, domestic servants... Ajax appointed to sail from the London Docks on Monday, the 4th September next, 14 July 1848, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-C-IMMIGRATION-1848-01.

Figure 38. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 39. Garbett, E., A Church Missionary Society advertisement, 1862, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-A-LECTURE-1862-01.

Figure 40. Cartoonist unknown, Colonial Servant-Galism, 1868, Alexander Turnbull Library. J-065-001.

Figure 41. Punch: Here and there; or, Emigration a Remedy, 8 July 1848, London. Alexander Turnbull Library, PUBL-0043-1848-15.

Figure 42. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Found, 1854-81 (unfinished), Delaware Art Museum.

Figure 43. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 44. Oliver, Richard Aldworth, Fanny Weller, a Half-caste Girl, Otago, circa 1850, Alexander Turnbull Library, C-001-012.

Figure 45. Oliver Richard Aldworth, Half-castes of Pomare's pah, Bay of Islands, Capt Oliver del. Dickinson & Co. lith., London, 1852, Alexander Turnbull Library, PUBL-0032-6.

Figure 46. "Oliver, Richard Aldworth, Half castes at Pomare's Pah, Bay of Islands, 1851, Alexander Turnbull Library, C-054-021.

Figure 47. Joseph Jenner Merrett, Woman, and Child, circa 1842. Alexander Turnbull Library, A-275-002.

Figure 48. Southland Times, April 3, 1877.

Figure 49. Lloyd, Trevor, Māori life. At Home in the Smart Set, Harding and Billing's Post Cards, 1910-1920s, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-F-POSTCARD-Vol-1-11-1.

Figure 50. Warren, S. *The Wife's Guide & friend: Being Plain and Practical advice to women on birth control and the management of themselves during pregnancy and confinement, and other matters of importance that should be known to every wife and mother - Improved Pro Race Pessary*, circa 1900, A. Saunders & Co. Pty. Ltd., Melbourne Australia. Retrieved from: <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2203160258/view?partId=nla.obj-2203160314#page/n0/mode/1up>

Figure 51. Cartoonist unknown :*The Royal Road to Wealth*. *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies Journal*, 31 August 1901. Alexander Turnbull Library, A-313-5-022.

Figure 52. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 53. Advertisements Column 8 *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 11395, 12 April 1899, Page 8.

Figure 54. *Flashes*. *Colonist*. Volume XLVI, Issue 10987, 29 March, 1904. Page 4.

Figure 55. Advertisements Column 1. *Wanganui Herald*, Volume XXX, Issue 8754, 21 January 1896, Page 3.

Figure 56. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 57. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 58. Unnamed. Photo collection reference number 320474. Nelson Provincial Museum. William Davis; 1837; 30 Aug 1875. Maker biography William Henry Davis. Nelson Provincial Museum, Davis Collection: 97. <https://collection.nelsonmuseum.co.nz/objects/736/barnett-mr>

Figure 59. Hema Ruka. Nelson Provincial Museum, Ref: 6285.

Figure 60. An advertisement celebrating and promoting fair, white skin. Column 5. Otago Daily Times, Issue 9489, 26 July 1892, Page 2.

Figure 61. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 62. Advertisements Column 5. Wairarapa Daily Times. Volume LXII. Issue 9706, 10 November 1909, Page 2.

Figure 63. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 64. Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Figure 65. Begg, Samuel, 1845-1919 : Sketches in New Zealand; Maori Civilisation, Oct 2 1886, The Illustrated London News.

Glossary

Āhua - aura; attributes, characteristics and talents.

Alsatia – a district in London, England that was known as a sanctuary for criminals.

Ariki - high chief.

Ea – satisfaction.

Fait accomplis - a thing accomplished and presumably irreversible.

Fin de siècle - in reference to the end of a century, particularly the nineteenth.

Hākari - large feast.

Hapū - sub-tribe; pregnant.

Harakeke - not flax but a leaf fibre of the genus Phormium.

Hau - vitality of human life, vital essence of the land.

Hau kāinga – home.

Hine-ahu-one – an ātua who was formed by Tāne to become the first wahine..

Hine-nui-te-pō – an ātua ; goddess of death.

Hine-Tītama – daughter of Hine-ahu-one. who would become the ātua of the dead, Hine-nui-te-pō, after discovering her partner, Tāne, was also her father.

Hui – gather/ing.

Hukahuka - tassels/thrums

Kaha - to be strong, able, capable, courageous, intense, energetic.

Kāinga – home, village, settlement.

Kaikāraŋa – the woman (or women) who make the ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae.

Kāraŋa – formal call, ceremonial welcome call.

Kaumātua – elders.

Kaupapa – topic.

Kāuta - cooking shed.

Kete - kit, basket.

Koro – grandfather.

Māramatanga – enlightenment.

Kahu Huruŋu - cloak adorned with bird feathers.

Kahu Ngore - garment featuring hukahuka with ngore used for decoration.

Kaitiaki Taonga Māori - Māori Taonga Collections Manager.

Korowai kārure - korowai that features hukahuka and has tassels that are loosely rolled.

Mamae - pain, wound.

Mana - prestige, authority.

Mātauranga – knowledge, wisdom.

Mokopuna - grandchild/ren.

Ngore - pompoms.

Pakitara – wall, side wall (of a house).

Piupiu - a common garment that resembles a waistcoat or a skirt, often made with harakeke, feathers and lace bark.

Pōwhiri - welcome ceremony.

Rangatira - high ranking, chiefly, noble, esteemed.

Tairāwhiti - Gisborne district.

Takatāpui – a Māori person who is lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender.

Tamariki – children.

Tā moko - the art and practice of applying traditional tattoo using an instrument (uhi) that was unique to the Māori of Aotearoa, using implements that were narrower, without teeth, than the tools used in other Pacific regions.

Taonga – treasure, valuable.

Tautau - Tahitian ‘tattoo’.

Tihe Mauri Ora – sneeze to call, call to claim the right to speak.

Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa - The Great Ocean of Kiwa/The Pacific Ocean.

Terra Australis Incognita - Latin for the ‘Unknown Southern Land’ a term that was applied to the hypothetical continent first proposed in antiquity.

Tewhatewha - a long-handled club weapon shaped like an axe.

Tikanga - customary practices or behaviours.

Tino rangatiratanga - self-determination, sovereignty

Toetoe - plumed tussock.

Toi – art, knowledge.

Tūranganui-a-Kiwa - Poverty Bay region.

Tūrangawaewae - place for the feet to stand, home.

Upoko Tuhituhi – preserved Māori “marked heads.”

Utu-ea - compensation - state of balance.

Waka Hourua - double-hulled Māori seacraft.

Whakamā - ashamed, shy, bashful, embarrassed.

Whakapapa - ‘the process of laying one thing upon another. If you visualise the foundation ancestors as the first generation, the next and succeeding ancestors are placed on them in ordered layers’.¹

Whānaunga - relative, kin.

Whāngai - to feed or nurture.

Whenua – land, placenta, country.

¹ Apirana Ngata, *Rauru-nui-ā-Toi Lectures and Ngāti Kahungunu Origin* (Wellington: Victoria University, 1972), 6.

Introduction

“My cousin now has to live with the word undesirable.”²



(Figure. 1) Merrett, Joseph Jenner, *The warrior chieftains of New Zealand*, 1846, Alexander Turnbull Library, C-012-019. (Figure. 2) Merrett, Joseph Jenner, *The warrior chieftains of New Zealand. Harriet, Heki's wife - Heki - Kawiti*. Drawn by J. J. Merrett. Drawn on stone by W. Nicholas. Sydney, W[illia]m Ford (1846). Alexander Turnbull Library, C-010-013. (Figure. 3) Merrett, Joseph Jenner, *Heke and his wife*, 1859, Alexander Turnbull Library, A-092-001. (Figure. 4) Merrett, Joseph Jenner, *Portraits du chef Heke et sa femme*. Dessin de Emile Bayard; d'après Thomson; grave par Pannemaker, 1865, *Le Tour du Monde; nouveau journal des voyages*. 1860-1894. 61 volumes, Alexander Turnbull Library, PUBL-0153-1865-293

I begin with the four images (Figures. 1-4) as they inform the central concern of my doctoral project, that is, to demonstrate the multiple and layered ways in which symbolic violence towards wāhine Māori occurs through colonial constructions of art, images, and advertising. My research highlights the colonial ideologies that were essential to the Pākehā's sexual visualisations of wāhine Māori and how commodity and scientific racism creates spaces for these forms of violence. The four images demonstrate the progression of colonial representations of wāhine Māori (by European men for European men), over time and in mediums, as sexual commodities and as being submissive to Māori men. The progression of assimilating wāhine Māori into the colonialist view of 'proper' gender roles and as sexualised racialised beings is strikingly evident in these nineteenth-century images. In his research of colonial constructs in European images of Māori,

² Ireland Hendry-Tennent, “Māori Teenager Devastated after Tauranga Farmers Employee calls her 'Undesirable', asks her to Leave Store,” *Newshub*, (2021), <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2021/12/m-ori-teenager-devastated-after-tauranga-farmers-employee-calls-her-undesirable-asks-her-to-leave-store.html>

Pākehā art historian Leonard Bell found that the majority of colonial European representations of Māori served to objectify Māori. Bell writes, “Māori were symbolically possessed, subjected to the ‘superior’ or dominating gaze of European artists, viewers, buyers – factors which some Māori, both then and now, have been acutely conscious of.”³

The first image is the original watercolour portrait of Ngā Puhi Rangatira Hōne Heke, his wife, Rongo Hongi (later named Harriet at her Christian baptism), and Ngā Puhi Rangatira, Te Ruki Kawiti, painted by Joseph Jenner Merrett, a colonial artist who worked in Auckland in the 1840s, under the patronage of George Grey. The Alexander Turnbull archives record the second, third, and fourth images as reproductions of the original watercolour; the second is a two-tone lithograph by W. Nicholas in 1846. The third image is an engraving copied from the lithograph illustrated in A. S. Thomson’s *The Story of New Zealand*, published in 1859. The fourth image is also an engraving and was re-engraved from A.S Thomson’s publication in 1865. These images demonstrate how the message an artist intends to communicate can be shifted dramatically simply through emphasis or negation. In this instance, with the elimination of Kawiti in the third and fourth images, the dominant portrayal is altered from one of ‘The Warrior Chieftains’ to one of romance, a love story between Heke and his wife, promoting the colonial, patriarchal notions of heterosexual monogamy. Through the reproductions of these images, Harriet’s transformations are quite striking. Her form becomes more sexualised through the exposure of her breast and increasingly seductive doe eyes, submissive posture relative to Heke in the tilt of her head, and open hand gesture. By focusing on subtle aspects such as these, my research investigates how the intersections of race, gender, and sexuality influenced portrayals of desire pertaining to wāhine Māori and their bodies. Bodies, I argue, that have been, and continue to be, the subject of colonial concern, scrutiny, anxiety, and surveillance.

From the vantage point of the colonised, the purpose of my research is to trace how colonial ideologies of race, gender, and sexuality contributed to nineteenth-century textual and visual representations of wāhine Māori and how these repetitive inscriptions might continue to have a

³ Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori, 1840-1914*. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1992), 257.

negative impact on perceptions of wāhine Māori in contemporary culture. In my reading of the visual images, I examine the colonial optics at play, as outlined by Māori scholar, Michelle Erai in her book, *Girl of New Zealand: Colonial Optics in Aotearoa*, to highlight how optics have been utilised in the colonisation of Aotearoa.⁴ Erai effectively argues that the space between a mode of apprehension (the retina) and an object of apprehension is packed with political ideologies that can affect a “metamorphosis in the viewer.”⁵ Furthermore, Erai argues, violence is inherent in the construction of colonial images of Māori to affirm hierarchies of oppression that were relied upon in order to influence the viewer’s behaviour. In my research, I have employed a wāhine Māori visual analysis based on Ngā Pou Ariā (the pillars of Mana Wahine theory) to consider what Erai refers to as refusing the ‘innocent eye’⁶ and to “actively training a ‘knowing eye’”⁷ in order to read the images, not as images of wāhine Māori but, as Erai suggests, “of colonial optics at work in support of colonial ideologies.”⁸ The goal of my Māori woman visual analysis is to vigilantly expose the profoundly hegemonic impact of colonial heteropatriarchal capitalist ideologies on the well-being of wāhine Māori with the endeavour to uplift the mana of wāhine Māori.

My research questions how colonial representations of wāhine Māori in the archives might continue to inform popular opinion of wāhine Māori today. Thus, my research provides an examination of a selection of colonial scripts from the early nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries that encoded wāhine Māori in and out of the possibility of desirability, animating the codes of social and political value assigned to their bodies of who was worthy of being desirable and who was not. I trace how such measures of worth were applied to wāhine Māori bodies through the colonial sentiments of desire and deviance to understand the convoluted metrics of inequality and the politics of degradation that, I argue, continue to plague the lives of wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori. As Stoler claims: “Colonialisms stamp themselves into bodies, into minds, in the creases of the skin, in the pores of flesh.”⁹

⁴ Michelle Erai, *Girl of New Zealand Colonial Optics in Aotearoa*. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2020), 119.

⁵ Erai, *Girl*, 119.

⁶ Erai, *Girl*, 119.

⁷ Erai, *Girl*, 126.

⁸ Erai, *Girl*, 126.

⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails of Inequality* (New York: Oxford Academic, 2022). xiii. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190076375.002.0006>

A central tenet of this research is that ideas and knowledge are intrinsically connected to power and that when the research in Aotearoa that legitimates knowledge is inextricably linked to European imperialism and its expression of colonialism, wāhine Māori pursuits of knowledge remain a site of struggle. My research, therefore, is positioned within the ongoing struggle of wāhine Māori artists, activists, and academics, seeking spaces alternative to the relegated margins to reclaim a central voice. I provide a wāhine Māori voice that challenges the underlying colonial assumptions about wāhine Māori that effectively positioned us as ‘Other,’ coded into the Pākehā knowledge system as sexually deviant and of low intelligence. These ‘inherent traits’ are understood to have positioned wāhine Māori as both alluring and as a threat. The ideological constructions involved in the representations of wāhine Māori I examine provide an insight into the historical, cultural, and social conditions of nineteenth-century New Zealand that needed to exist in order to produce the representations themselves.

As a Mana Wahine study, I discuss how the fundamental codes of the developing colonial state were affirmed by how Pākehā guarded sexuality, ordered gender, and surveilled race. Thus, with wāhine Māori at the centre, I examine the colonial dimensions of ‘domesticity,’ the ‘civilising mission,’ and the ‘paternalism of liberalism’ in Aotearoa, specifically, on the assumption that differentiations of race and colonial power were essentially ordered in terms of Western notions of gender. Of particular concern is the management of wāhine Māori sexuality, procreation, child-rearing, and marriage as a mechanism of colonial control of their bodies.

As an Indigenous research project, I provide a counternarrative to colonial conceptions of space and time, race, family, and the binaries of sexuality and gender as they run through popular culture, political culture, and the beginnings of the social sciences in the nineteenth century. I have attempted to blur the boundaries, lines, and perceived balance that inform these dominant ideologies via an examination of the two nineteenth-century colonial fetishes, as identified by feminist scholar Anne McClintock of *White Linen* (pure/imperial) and *Soap* (civilise/cleanse).¹⁰

¹⁰ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather- Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, (New York: Routledge, 1995), 184. McClintock views fetishes as “the displacement onto an object (or person) of contradictions that the individual cannot resolve at a personal level.” Here, she argues, the “fetish stands at the crossroads of psychoanalysis and social history, inhabiting the threshold of both personal and historical memory.”

These domestic items are understood and examined as powerful ‘fetishist’ iconographies that persisted during the latter Victorian period in popular culture and novel commodities of colonised and coloniser, pure and contaminated, primitive and modern, sinners and righteous, heathen and civilised. Each fetish, in turn, is analysed through the Mana Wahine discourses of State/Linen and Whānau/Soap, and these discourses provide the platforms from which I attempt to decolonise its representative paradigms by addressing their structural and material histories. In a sense, I hope to stir one’s awareness of the cultural, affective, and aesthetic undercurrents that continue to both hinder and support the unfinished process of decolonisation. As revered Māori lawyer Moana Jackson asserts, colonisation of this country “subjected Māori people to hardship, to violence, to suffering which we are still struggling to recover from.”¹¹

In acknowledging our whakapapa not only to this whenua but also to Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, this project belongs to a bigger movement of Pacific Islands women artists.¹² The hypothesis is that by entering this dialogue, our voices complicate the representations’ meanings and contextual fabrics and disrupt inherited historiographic legacies. Thus paving the way for expressions of wāhine Māori as sources of empowerment that enrich our lives and promote ‘oranga’ - well-being. A well-being that, I contend, is under constant threat when our very worth is questioned in society if not measured.

Ultimately, the overarching concern of this research is the high levels of violence experienced by wāhine Māori, who, like other Indigenous women around the world, continue to experience colonial, patriarchal forms of psychological, sexual, and physical violence at disproportionate rates.¹³ This research recognises that to end this violence, from the baseline of living in a country with a culture built on the violence of colonialism that harbours subtle forms of violence so mild they are barely audible nor deemed worthy of recognition to the violence of being denied the right

¹¹ Moana Jackson, “Imagining Decolonisation with Moana Jackson,” *BWB Talks*, (YouTube video: 2021). Bridget Williams Books. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7RZOd1P74pI>.

¹² Ocean Mercier, “What is Decolonisation?” in *Imagining Decolonisation*, ed. Anne Hodge (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020), 46. Ocean Mercier describes thinking in whakapapa mode as a way of working that acknowledges intertwined identities and histories.

¹³ Leigh-Marama McLachlan, “Every day I was beaten - Māori women three times more likely to be killed by partner.” *RNZ*, (2020). <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/410738/every-day-i-was-beaten-maori-women-three-times-more-likely-to-be-killed-by-partner>.

to occupy space or even to exist.¹⁴ I argue that we must address in some depth the objectification of our bodies and the resulting trauma and that the patriarchal and colonial structures that uphold them must be abandoned. This research also recognises that when wāhine Māori experience violence, it is often felt at a whānau level. Pihama et al., in their 2016 article, “Māori Cultural Definitions of Sexual Violence: in Sexual Abuse in Australia and New Zealand,” define violence towards whānau as:

“Being all forms of abuse that occur against Māori whānau, including the violence of colonisation, institutional racism and interpersonal violence, giving rise to intergenerational trauma. The causes of violence towards individual or collective whānau members are acknowledged as a complex mix of both historical and contemporary factors. Because violence is the product of a complex set of factors, the solution does not lie in treating violence as a single issue or incident, in isolation from inter-related issues.”¹⁵

Indeed, for Indigenous Peoples, trauma is felt not just at an individual level but as a collective.¹⁶ Furthermore, Indigenous Peoples “have a historical and intergenerational perspective of trauma,”¹⁷ that I will discuss in more detail in the methodology chapter, as it is a form of trauma that continues to impact the well-being of Indigenous Peoples daily.¹⁸ Healing from intergenerational trauma becomes paramount for Māori who seek to reach the state of ‘oranga.’ As Pihama and Smith write, healing is as critical to our self-determination as decolonisation, mobilisation, and transformation.¹⁹

This research is particularly interested in the subtleties of social line-drawing, the social bias determining who belongs in any given situation and who does not, and the distinctions they rely upon. I am interested in dissecting the complex, ineffable sensibilities and intuitions that inform

¹⁴ Joint Venture, “Prevention of Family and Sexual Violence – Briefing to the Incoming Minister,” (Youtube video: 2020), <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/sites/default/files/202012/Prevention%20of%20Family%20and%20Sexual%20Violence.pdf>. In a Prevention of Family and Sexual Violence, Briefing to the Incoming Minister, the Joint Venture of the Social Wellbeing Board found that family violence and sexual violence have profound intergenerational effects on almost every aspect of life and, tragically, too often result in loss of life.

¹⁵ Joint Venture.

¹⁶ Leonie Pihama and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, ed. *Ora: Healing Ourselves – Indigenous Knowledge Healing and Wellbeing*, (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2023), 16-17.

¹⁷ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 6.

¹⁸ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 15.

¹⁹ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 15.

hierarchies of desire, deviance, taste, place, fear, and temporal order in an attempt to fracture the binarism upon which sexist colonial practices depend. The following anecdote provides a searing indictment of such social line-drawing, representing a site that registers “the lower frequency of denigration.”²⁰

In late December 2021, a Māori teenager, Aiomai Nuku-Tarawhiti, entered the mid-level department store Farmers with her adult cousin, Shae Brown, to buy her mother a perfume bottle as a Christmas gift. The Tauriko store, located in the harbourside city of Tauranga, New Zealand, is one of fifty-eight stores throughout the country, privately owned by retail group James Pascoe Limited, one of New Zealand’s largest businesses and employers.²¹ After completing her high school exams for the year, Aiomai was in high spirits, having arranged a memorable weekend trip with her cousin, with a line-up of ‘really fun’ activities, including going to the movies. Aiomai relays entering the department store: “ We checked in and everything – signed in, double vaxxed, passports and stuff.”²²

After following the Government’s COVID protocols to enter, the cousins proceeded to browse the perfume aisle of the beauty department as Aiomai tried to remember the type of perfume she had hoped to find for her mother. Staff members approached the cousins, asking if they required assistance, to which they politely replied, “No, thank you.”²³ Finally, after fifteen minutes in the store, the cousins were approached again by staff, an older Pākehā woman, who enquired whether they were browsing. On repeating that they were browsing, Aiomai shares the interaction in an Aukaha News interview, sitting outside under the sun with her cousin, Shae, by her side: “And she

²⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xii.

²¹ “Whitcoulls - the next chapter.” (*NZ Herald*, accessed 8 May 2023), https://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/whitcoulls-the-next-chapter/Z4WVJAAYH2NHCSMRHORIIIF5PDI/?c_id=3&objectid=10735501.

²² Andrew Warner, “Aiomai Nuku-Tarawhiti called ‘undesirable’ by Farmers staff member ,” (Youtube video: 2021), YouTube video, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/video/aiomai-nuku-tarawhiti-called-undesirable-by-farmers-staff-member/OHI62LPIQIJYI3EO2TAT4OGLBI/>

²³ Warner, “Aiomai.”

was like, oh, I got alerted on the cameras that it looked like you're not going to buy anything, so I would like to ask you to leave."²⁴

Aiomai and her cousin were shocked at being asked to leave. In a *NZ Herald* interview, Aiomai recalls: "And then me and my cousin were like – What? What? Stupid. Really weird."²⁵ The cousins were then left further astounded by what the staff member said. Aiomai continues: "Yeah, I got alerted by security that on the cameras ... it just looks like you're going to, like, steal something. And I was like, what? Why? It didn't make any sense."²⁶ At this point in the interview, Aiomai apologises as she drops her head, burying her face into her hands, and cries. The camera phases out, returning to Aiomai in view; distressed, she wipes her tears and resumes: "My cousin tried to explain that we were only browsing because I didn't take a photo of the perfume and that I was only going by memory."²⁷ Aiomai states that the staff member responded: "Oh yeah, that's fine, I can help you. It's just that I have to stick with you. Like, walk around with you. And we were like, that's kind of unnecessary."²⁸ Aiomai continues: "And then she looked at me."²⁹ Aiomai again buries her face into her hands and cries. The camera phases out. Aiomai returns to view, face in hands; she wipes her tears and bravely continues: "And she looked at me [pointing at Aiomai] and said, 'Oh, you look undesirable.'"³⁰

Aiomai is in tears again, apologising again. Before concluding:

"And you know, as a fifteen-year-old girl, who [was] the only Māori person in there, and, like, fully dressed in black because it's mainly my closet, I was really, like, confused (she speaks through tears) and I don't know why she said it. But it just really hurt me, but ... sorry."³¹

²⁴ Aukaha News. "#culture I want @farmersnz to admit what they've done to us. The staff member reprimanded all staff to be retrained in customer service," (Facebook video, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/watch/?ref=search&v=251495000405838&external_log_id=0308d353-abe3-4177-8ebc-1ae3291d667f&q=aukaha%20news

²⁵ Warner, "Aiomai."

²⁶ Warner, "Aiomai."

²⁷ Warner, "Aiomai."

²⁸ Warner, "Aiomai."

²⁹ Warner, "Aiomai."

³⁰ Warner, "Aiomai."

³¹ Warner, "Aiomai."

Aiomai cries, the camera fades out, and the interview with Aiomai is closed, leaving the audience with the raw account and its affective weight. When pointed at and told she was undesirable, Aiomai was suddenly made aware that she was the “only Māori in the store,” suddenly aware that her whakapapa as tangata whenua seemed to be an issue, and she was confused by this. She asks herself, what was it about herself that is undesirable? Was it her clothing? Because they were all black? She is left asking, even well after the event, why? The interview then shifts to her grandfather, Rotorua kaumatua, Hone Tarawhiti, who laments the treatment of his granddaughter. He then succinctly poses the questions central to this thesis: “What I find difficult to really absolve was being called undesirable. What does it mean? How do we define undesirable? What context was it used in? What was the intent?”³²

The intent here delves deeper into the dynamics of power and privilege at play, skimming along the lines of the divisions drawn by the shop assistant, defining the contours of who belonged and who did not. The store employee’s contempt was laid bare the moment she uttered the word ‘undesirable,’ and Aiomai was told to leave the store.³³ Her body was effectively to be removed from the space in which she had occupied. Still, upon questioning the situation’s logic, Aiomai was then given the option to remain if she would agree to be followed by the staff member, who had not only humiliated her by calling her undesirable but was acting on the pretense that Aiomai was deviant. The Farmers’ employee deemed this ‘undesirable’ Māori child such a threat that camera surveillance of her was not enough.³⁴ Instead, her body needed to be policed at a closer proximity. This employee took it upon herself to be the self-appointed guardian, ready to maintain the subtle code of belonging in which Shae was acceptable but Aiomai was not.

The actions of the staff member who inflicted this abuse on Aiomai are evidently backed by several New Zealanders, as illustrated in an online discussion forum named *New Zealand Issues*.³⁵ This

³² Warner, “Aiomai.”

³³ MacAlester Bell, “A Woman’s Scorn: Toward a Feminist Defence of Contempt as a Moral Emotion.” *Hypatia* 20, no. 4. (2005), 84. Bell summarises that contempt for someone comprises of negative and comparative regard for them that relates to a perception of that person as not reaching an interpersonal standard that the person judging them so deems as important. Such a position involves a “psychological withdrawal from the object of contempt.”

³⁴ Warner, “Aiomai.”

³⁵ Marshall Ney, “Farmers were just Protecting their Stock,” *NZ Issues Community Thread*, (2021), <https://nzissues.com/Community/threads/farmers-were-just-protecting-their-stock-maramama.24979/>

forum was created by ‘a retired Kiwi guy’ in 2020 who claims that the forum is supported by the ‘Food and Wine Festival.’ He states that it was established to allow “our members to speak freely about the day’s pressing issues. No matter how contentious those issues and subsequent opinions may be.”³⁶ The forum’s guidelines state explicitly, “Don’t lump a group of people together in a derogatory manner, e.g. (‘Māori are violent,’ ‘Australians are criminals’ or ‘Republicans are Nazis’).”³⁷ However, one of its forums, titled “Farmers Were Just Protecting their Stock, Maramama,” - specifically addressing what happened to Aiomai, proceeds to do through its very title where, firstly, it intentionally misspelled the name of a Māori Minister of Parliament, Marama Davidson. Davidson attracted this attention as she spoke out in the media against the racism experienced by Aiomai and her disgust at Farmers’ response to the incident. Secondly, in its defence of the staff member’s actions (i.e., she was protecting Farmers’ stock from Aiomai). The contributors’ comments include:

“Good on them, don’t back down. Marama Davidson and the Human Rights Commission need to back off and accept that it was not racist. But If [*sic*] I owned a store, I’d be watching maori [*sic*] people more than other people, as they commit far more crime pro rata, and maybe even in total. Its [*sic*] up to maori [*sic*] themselves to stop stealing and behaving like ferals [*sic*] so that the stats will change, and they won’t need to be racially profiled. Eg [*sic*] every time there is a rumble and the police are called in my street/suburb, its [*sic*] not to a European.”³⁸

“I’m sure we all remember the words to ‘eenie meenie miney moe’ [*sic*].³⁹ I feel it is about time for them to stop the squealing and for us to start treating them as the 2nd class people that they keep insisting that they are. Now that would give them something to squeal about.”⁴⁰

“If the comments the shop lady made are going to damage them for life, then they are in for a troubled life either way.”⁴¹

³⁶ Ney, “Farmers.”

³⁷ Ney, “Farmers.”

³⁸ Ney, “Farmers.”

³⁹ Alexander Abad-Santos, “The Racist Children's Songs you might not have known were Racist,” *Vox*, 21 (2014), <https://www.vox.com/2014/5/21/5732258/the-racist-childrens-songs-you-might-not-have-known-were-racist>. A playground song common in New Zealand schools in the twentieth century. A popular version of the song had the racist line, Eenie, meenie, miney, mo, catch a n-word by the toe.”

⁴⁰ Ney, “Farmers.”

⁴¹ Ney, “Farmers.”

The above statements expose some of the underlying racist rhetoric used to justify some common assumptions about Māori that are familiar to many New Zealanders. According to scholars in psychology Sylvia Pack, Keith Tuffin, and Antonia Lyons, in their work titled “Accounts of Blatant Racism Against Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand,” racism presents as “modern, subtle, symbolic and understated, yet also powerfully prevalent and functional in maintaining Pākehā societal structures.”⁴² They note that “racism against Māori in the twenty-first century is motivated by the hegemonic need to maintain a colonial hierarchy which privileges the majority culture.”⁴³ Moreover, hidden in institutions lies the language of racism, promoted by media, yet crucially, in ways that are “implicit, sinuous, permeable, and frequently arranged in universal terms”⁴⁴ without any explicit reference to race or ethnicity. Racism, Stoler argues, is a permanent part of the social fabric as opposed to a response to crises in which racialised others are blamed for social problems.⁴⁵ For Māori well-being, it is critical that we resist racism and assert our rangatiratanga (self-determination, sovereignty) and mana Motuhake.⁴⁶

The whānau support and response, including Aiomai’s cousin, Shae, and her koro Hone, was swift, firm, and outspoken. Starting with Shae, who shared with media outlet NewsHub that when Aiomai was given the ultimatum, she had replied: “No, that’s okay, we are going to leave. This is racism,”⁴⁷ noting that the shop assistant denied it. After leaving the store with Aiomai, Shae said: “... once we got back to the car, we were obviously upset – bawling our eyes out. My cousin was beside herself crying and shaking.”⁴⁸ The trauma of the event was embodied by both Māori females, although the violence was directed solely at the fifteen-year-old, not her fairer-skinned cousin. Hierarchies of colour and status had saturated the scene. Of their distress, Shae shares:

⁴² Sylvia Pack et al., “Accounts of Blatant Racism Against Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.” *Sites: New Series* 13, no. 2 (2016), 85. Pack et al. examine overt racism as experienced by nineteen Māori participants where “phenotypical identity markers, negative stereotypes, public racism, and the significant emotional impacts involved in being a target of racism” were the key themes highlighted in the participant’s accounts. This research concluded that the prominent view that offensive overt racism is outdated in New Zealand is incorrect.

⁴³ Pack et al., “Accounts of Blatant Racism,” 85.

⁴⁴ Pack et al., “Accounts of Blatant Racism,” 85.

⁴⁵ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power – Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, (California: University of California Press, 2002).

⁴⁶ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 37.

⁴⁷ Ireland Hendry-Tennent, “Māori teenager devastated after Tauranga Farmers employee calls her 'undesirable', asks her to leave store,” *Newshub*, (2021), <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2021/12/m-ori-teenager-devastated-after-tauranga-farmers-employee-calls-her-undesirable-asks-her-to-leave-store.html>

⁴⁸ Hendry-Tennent, “Māori teenager devastated.”

“I don’t even know if Aiomai is going to recover from that. We are just so upset we feel traumatised, we feel embarrassed. There’s no other word to describe it. I wish it was me that the woman spoke to because now my cousin has to live with that for the rest of her life. My cousin now has to live with the word undesirable.”⁴⁹

Not only did Shae speak out when it occurred, but she decided, after sitting with her cousin for a while in the car, that she would return to the store to make a complaint with the store manager. Shae reports that the store manager then: “got the staff member who said it didn’t happen but ‘sincerely apologised.’”⁵⁰ And that she was sorry that they: “took it that way.”⁵¹ The recognisable, ambiguous, and subtle retractable racist rhetoric is at once at play. Well, had it not just happened a moment ago? How could the employee’s apology be sincere if the event, according to her, never happened? Furthermore, why was she sorry that they ‘took it that way?’ It begs one to ask, in what way/s should they have taken it?

Aiomai’s grandfather also acted quickly, calling the store immediately after finding out what had happened to speak to the staff member who had caused such harm to his mokopuna. He was determined that the shop worker explain why she spoke to Aiomai the way she did and apologise. He recounts the conversation: “When I spoke on the phone, she said to me, ‘Who is this?’ I just said, my name is Hone; I am the grandfather of the fifteen-year-old you labelled as undesirable.”⁵² She then hung up on him.⁵³ Not to be deterred, Tarawhiti also complained to the Race Relations Conciliator, Meng Foon, and the Children’s Commissioner.

Farmers’ response to the event consisted of an email to Aiomai’s family, claiming that they did not consider that there was likely to be any basis for the allegations of racism.⁵⁴ And that Farmers were open to discussing the findings with the family, with mediation via the Human Rights

⁴⁹ Hendry-Tennent, “Māori teenager devastated.”

⁵⁰ Hendry-Tennent, “Māori teenager devastated.”

⁵¹ Hendry-Tennent, “Māori teenager devastated.”

⁵² Hendry-Tennent, “Māori teenager devastated.”

⁵³ Warner, “Aiomai.”

⁵⁴ NewsHub, “Farmers Tells Family of Māori Teen Called ‘Undersirable’ it Doesn’t Think the Incident was Racist.” <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2021/12/farmers-tells-family-of-m-ori-teen-called-undesirable-it-doesn-t-think-the-incident-was-racist.html>

Commission to help “Enable us to understand each other’s point of view and bring matters to a conclusion.”⁵⁵ How is it that the department store staff were secure in their belief that what had occurred was not racially motivated? Stoler questions, “How did they think they knew what they also knew they did not?”⁵⁶ Furthermore, in the email, the Farmers’ representative complained of harassment that a Farmers employee had apparently received. Farmers then accused the family of somehow influencing those harassers, writing that they seemed “to emanate from your supporters” before requesting that the family take responsibility for the said people by taking “steps to encourage this behaviour to stop.” Hone Nuku-Tarawhiti described Farmers’ email as “upsetting” and “very disappointing.”⁵⁷

This anecdote may seem unconnected to the conflicting nineteenth-century colonial representations of Māori females as un/desirable; however, I contend that they are not. French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault strongly asserted in his *Genealogy Essays*, “Every sentiment has a history.” Emotions, here, are recognised as structured as well as shared, historical, and social, and they are used at points when the complex connections between the public and the subjective are either decidedly invoked or, as is most often the case, obscured.⁵⁸ Hence, I argue that this event highlights exactly the kind of inter-generational ‘daily indignities’⁵⁹ that repeatedly threaten to inscribe and haunt our future generations – our daughters, granddaughters, and theirs. Acts of psychological and/or physical, racially charged violence that are often referred to by people as microaggressions but, as Stoler claims, consist of an affective charge that has nothing micro about it at all. Instead, she states:

“Being hard to see does not diminish how they operate, nor reduce to a diminutive form, nor to a lesser consequential scale – they fragment the body and fix on its parts – flesh, size, sound, emissions, smell, skin – what is rendered noise – dissonant tone – speech mumbled, too loud or too soft, inappropriate volume, always.”⁶⁰

⁵⁵ NewsHub, “Farmers Tells Family of Māori.”

⁵⁶ Ann Laura Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xii.

⁵⁷ NewsHub, “Farmers Tells Family of Māori.”

⁵⁸ June Howard, (2020), *Sentiment: Keywords for American Cultural Studies, 3rd edition*, ed. Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler <https://keywords.nyupress.org/american-cultural-studies/essay/sentiment/>

⁵⁹ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xiii.

⁶⁰ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays, on the Entrails*, 39.

In my research, the links erased by the occluded colonial histories of empire that bare the evidence of such ‘daily indignities’ are collected in their archival fragments and intentionally amplified, with the political endeavour to build narratives that empower a future free of this violence. As Tarawhiti outlined in his response to the violence inflicted on his mokopuna, what does it mean when a fifteen-year-old girl goes to buy her mother a Christmas gift, is denied the right to do so, based on her suspected deviance and perceived undesirability? What does it mean to be termed ‘undesirable’ in this context? According to the *Merriam-Webster* dictionary, ‘desirability’ is the quality of being sexually attractive/of being worth having. ‘Undesirable’ is defined as being not wanted, approved of, or popular.⁶¹ The sexualised adultification of Aiomai, in this instance, is also a shared experience of Black girls in the United States.⁶² Gender-based violence preventionist Tonjie Reese writes,

“There is a right of passage Black women go through before reaching adulthood – we realise that people may treat us like we’re twice our ages... we’re aware that we have to be more responsible than other kids. There will be times where we have to prove our innocence... This over-sexualisation can create distorted images of self and others. By simply existing and growing, there is a chance that Black girls will be considered ‘fast’ or promiscuous.”⁶³

The research aims to understand the colonial history behind the sentiments at hand that enabled the staff member to feel justified in believing this child to be undesirable and, therefore, entitled to act as she did. It leaves me to ponder the nature of her contemptible behaviour. Stoler might suggest that Aiomai was in contempt of a racial order, herself representative of the very infraction of the racial law. I contend that the potency of her contempt has a deep colonial, racial history that reflects not just that of a mere misunderstanding at a department store but rather what Stoler might describe as, at once, an emotional stance and a cultivated sentiment.⁶⁴ A sentiment that does not dissipate over time and distance and exceeds definitional limits and delineations.

⁶¹ Merriam-Webster, “undesirable (*n.*), “accessed May 8, 2023, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/undesirable>

⁶² Tonjie Reese, “The War Against Black Girls: Addressing the Adultification Bias,” May 27, 2021, <https://www.cpedv.org/post/war-against-black-girls-addressing-adultification-bias>

⁶³ Reese, “The War Against Black Girls.”

⁶⁴ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, 43.

An affective scene such as this opens the possibility of a ‘politicality,’ that perhaps lies within you, the reader, emotions stirred by the account, at whatever intensity and in whatever direction, or maybe it lies in Aiomai’s humiliation that appears to unfold a new knowledge of the racial regimes within which she was unaware of being enveloped within. Or is it somewhere else? Stoler utilises the concept of duress to describe such ‘politicality’ as residing “where despair, indignation, rage, and exhaustion meet, on the borderlands where one’s wherewithal is stretched with little room for resolve or repair.”⁶⁵ It is a site where our resistance emerges, time and time again.

The objectification of Aiomai and the attempted silencing of her voice, indeed the complete removal or alternative heavy surveillance of her body, is evidence of the hypervisibility and invisibility that come into focus under the gaze of desirability.⁶⁶ In our society, this gaze necessarily comes with a “patriarchal imprint.”⁶⁷ Despite the violence, in this case, being enacted by a woman on a girl, this gaze remains essentially a male gaze that has become the only gaze.⁶⁸ It is New Zealand’s dominant Pākehā culture and its patriarchal ideas that continue to shape and inform our social structures, as well as our legal and political institutions, in ways that reflect racialised, gendered hierarchies and inequalities. To be deemed undesirable and, because of that, questioned about why you even exist is a dehumanising experience felt by many who do not fit within the parameters of this male gaze.⁶⁹ Such dehumanising experiences reach to not only representations of bodies but also to the ways in which body image is constructed. Indeed, such experiences of dehumanisation also reach those considered by society to be fat, people whom cultural beliefs deem to be categorically undesirable and, therefore, unlikely to be victims of sexual violence.⁷⁰ In *What We Don’t Talk About When We Talk About Fat*, author and activist Aubrey Gordon claims that the position of fat people in American society is one of being unforgivable,

⁶⁵ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, 44.

⁶⁶ Veronica Newton, “Hypervisibility and Invisibility: Black Women’s Experiences with Gendered Racial Microaggressions on a White Campus,” *Sage Journals*, Vol 9. Issue 2 (2023): 22. Blacademic, Dr. Veronica Newton asserts that “the paradox of hyper (in)visibility refers to the condition that makes Black girls simultaneously hypervisible and hyper-invisible.” Moreover, “misogynoir provides the fertile ground for this oxymoronic reality through rendering Black girlhood both excessive and devoid of value.”

⁶⁷ Jordan, *Tackling Rape Culture*, 30. A term coined by Jan Jordan. Jordan states that this “patriarchal imprint remains manifest in our social, legal, and political institutions, providing the DNA which underpins the gender inequalities characterising contemporary societies worldwide.”

⁶⁸ Jordan, *Tackling Rape Culture*, 31.

⁶⁹ Aubrey Gordon, *What We Don’t Talk About When We Talk About Fat* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2021).

⁷⁰ Gordon, *What We Don’t Talk About*.

unlovable failures. Such a position, Gordon asserts, invites disgust, concern, a lack of empathy, and a denial of their humanity.

The arts of governance and the fundamental role of passions, politics, and power are essential philosophical foundations of my research. As Stoler urges, I am calling on the politics of emotion and the senses as sites of potential, where Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza claimed that “a full account of the nature of each passion must bring in the nature of the external object by which the person having the passion is affected.”⁷¹ Thus, I have attempted to focus my historical research on what Stoler describes as “the ‘connective tissue’ that continues to bind human potentials to degraded personhood and the material refuse of imperial projects.”⁷² Here, I have adopted Stoler's concept of ‘imperial formations’ as relations of force rather than ‘empire per se’ as a way to register the ongoing processes defined by the racialised relations of allocations and appropriations in Aotearoa that endure beyond legislative efforts for equal opportunities. Imperial formations are, Stoler explains in her work that follows on from Frantz Fanon’s ‘Tinge of Decay’ and Walter Benjamin’s ‘Petrified Life,’ of ‘racial emporia, stacked with commodities and currencies of inequality’ that consist of an imperial design drawn with measures of cultural capital that are both white defined and white infested—assuring blocked and privileged access.⁷³ Māori academic Rebecca Kiddle states that everyday actions were - and arguably continue to be - on Pākehā terms.⁷⁴ Indeed, as Jackson has also pointed out, colonisation is a process of dispossession and control that adapts and that can perhaps be described as ‘less violent,’ but that can still function to deny Māori the right to be free in their own land. Jackson shared, “Part of the hopeful change for me is that we will no longer confine colonisation to a certain historical period but confront that it is still with us, and we need to deal with its current manifestations.”⁷⁵

⁷¹ Baruch Spinoza, *Ethics, in Spinoza: Complete Works*, trans. Samuel Shirley, ed. Michael L. Morgan (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2002).

⁷² Stoler, *Imperial Debris - On Ruins and Ruination*, ed. (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2013), 8. Stoler writes: ‘Connective tissue’ here refers to the specific relations between colonial policy and ‘postcolonial’ political structures that have often been overlooked and, as a result, ‘blunted’ history, 23.

⁷³ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xiii.

⁷⁴ Rebecca Kiddle, “Colonisation Sucks for Everyone, in *Imagining Decolonisation*, ed. Anne Hodge (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020), 92.

⁷⁵ Jackson, “Imagining Decolonisation with Moana Jackson.”

My research is inspired by anecdotes such as Aiomai Nuku-Tarawhiti's and their connection to the history of violence towards Māori girls and women, deeply embedded in the process of colonisation in Aotearoa. The marginalisation of the mana of wāhine Māori is the critical issue at hand here. As Pere explained, mana is the inherent "psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and required authority, and influence, being influential or binding over others, and that quality of the person that others know she or he has."⁷⁶ Mana is inherent for Māori because, as respected Māori scholar Hirini Moko Mead asserted in 2003, we Māori inherit mana through our atua via a spiritual connection. That we then pass on to our descendants as our ancestors did for us.⁷⁷ As such, I am interested in understanding why racialised gendered aggressions exist with the belief that if we can start to acknowledge them, tracking their colonial genealogy in a Foucauldian sense, we will have hope for a safer future in which wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori thrive in their inherent mana.

Ultimately, this is a project of love for our Māori people, past, present, and future. In the most recent edition (3rd) of her foundational Indigenous text, *Decolonizing Methodologies – Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Smith describes the 'Loving' project as an Indigenous exercise that comes from a place of love.⁷⁸ Indigenous researchers from this position embrace being Indigenous with love for our Indigeneneity - our culture, knowledge, appearance, and language.⁷⁹ Pihama's description of herself as a researcher encapsulates such a position of love: "As a Māori woman, I approach theory and research from a fundamental position that to be Māori is a gift, a blessing, a wonderful way to be born. We are each an embodiment of our ancestor's past and our ancestors yet to come."⁸⁰ Smith acknowledges that loving "our broken selves" can be a difficult task as Indigenous Peoples are repetitively represented in ways that are "racist, hateful and stereotypical...

⁷⁶ Rangimarie Rose Pere, "To Us the Dreamers are Important," in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 14.

⁷⁷ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 163.

⁷⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies – Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 3rd ed., (Otago: Otago University Press, 2021), 189.

⁷⁹ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 189.

⁸⁰ Leonie Pihama. "Māku Anō e Hanga Tōku Nei Whare - I Myself Shall build My House," in *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*, ed. Brendan Hokowhitu, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Linda Tuhiwai-Smith, Chris Anderson, Steve Larkin. London: Routledge, 2020, 163.

that discourage love.”⁸¹ Smith asserts that the place of love is ‘a critically informed place,’ a place in which I frame this project to ensure reflectivity and humility.

In such an endeavour, I draw on the notion of ‘utu-ea.’⁸² Hirini Moko Mead describes the notion of utu as being linked to the analytical framework of the ‘take-utu-ea’ model.⁸³ It is a response to a ‘take’ that once admitted, the aim is to reach a state of ‘ea’ - restoring balance and thereby maintaining whānaungatanga.⁸⁴ I adopt the utu-ea notion not in the spirit of a vengeful settling of scores but rather as a way to restore balance and maintain relationships that recognise that these are occluded histories, “not of victimised pasts, but consequential histories that open to differential futures.”⁸⁵

⁸¹ Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies*, 189.

⁸² Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*. (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2013), 35.

⁸³ Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 35. ‘Utu’ essentially translates to the idea of compensation in the broader sense of receiving an equivalent.

⁸⁴ Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 32. In this sense, ‘ea’ refers to an issue that is settled and satisfied.

‘Whānaungatanga’ is about familial relationships and provides a sense of belonging. ‘Take’ is a Māori word for an ‘issue’ or ‘concern,’ 35.

⁸⁵ Stoler, *Imperial Debris*, 195.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

As a Mana Wahine researcher, my research's critical concern is the well-being of wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori and, therefore, necessarily the well-being of whānau, hapū, and iwi. It is a project of love for Te Ao Māori, the Māori world. It is a critical Indigenous project that Smith asserts involves “loving your own people and loving the broader set of principles about Indigenous Peoples.”⁸⁶ Furthermore, it is vital to our collective well-being as it enables us to love ourselves, our skin, and our very beings as Indigenous Peoples. Loving ourselves is also about recognising and embracing our Māori hearts. Māori scholar and kairāanga, Kahutoi Te Kanawa writes that in a Kaupapa Māori context, the “power and strength of aroha is the spiritual essence of a person’s ngākau, thus outweighs the psyche of negativity which has no place in a conscious mind of aroha.”⁸⁷ Smith and Pihama refer to the notion of ‘Manawa ora,’ which is about having hope or a good heart, writing that it “brings forward the notions of ‘mana’ and ‘wā’ that indicate a place where our mana resides.”⁸⁸ Smith notes that there is compelling literature on the notion of decolonial love that is important to “counter ... colonial violence and hatred of Indigenous Peoples.”⁸⁹ This hatred extends to those Indigenous Peoples who identify as diverse genders and sexualities. Māori academic Kim McBreen refers to this kind of colonial hatred in relation to the Western culture of sexual repression and its impact on having a healthy wairua, stating: “ It forces itself on everyone else. It tries to stamp out difference. I don’t know why it is so obsessed with who sleeps with whom, but it is, to a really bizarre extent.”⁹⁰ Smith emphasises the role of emotions in this framework, writing, “Decolonial love invokes a wider issue of decolonising emotions and the categories used by the West to frame emotions and the emotional self as existing as separate from the cognitive and rational self.”⁹¹ This is an essential point as the Western framing of

⁸⁶ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 189.

⁸⁷ Kahutoi Mere Te Kanawa “Taonga Tuku Iho: Intergenerational Transfer of Raranga and Whatu.” Doctoral dissertation. (University of Waikato, New Zealand, 2022), 92-93.

⁸⁸ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 2.

⁸⁹ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 189.

⁹⁰ Kim McBreen, “It’s About Whānau: Oppression, Sexuality, and Mana.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 141.

⁹¹ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 189.

emotions served and continues to serve to diminish the mana of wāhine Māori in our daily lives. In this literature review, I examine several Mana Wahine works written over the past four decades (dating from the 1980s) to highlight the themes central to this project of Oranga (Māori well-being), Intergenerational Mamae (Collective Trauma of Wāhine Māori), and Symbolic Violence in Colonial Representations of Wāhine Māori. I conclude that addressing the underlying colonial ideologies and expressions of racism directed towards wāhine and kōtiro Māori in their historical construction and representation is critical to contemporary projects concerning our well-being. By recognising colonial violence as intergenerational and shared, we reduce the impact of the mamae and we are able to resist the colonial forces that continue to provide barriers to our rangatiratanga and mana Motuhake.

ORANGA – Māori Well-being

In their publication *Ora: Healing Ourselves—Indigenous Knowledge, Healing and Wellbeing*, Smith, and Pihama define the term ‘oranga’ as referring to “well-being, health, and living and encapsulates the essence of ‘ora’: to be well, to be healthy, to be alive, and to have vitality.”⁹² In today’s society, they claim that oranga is becoming ‘increasingly fragile’ due to the lack of “daily opportunity for conscious activation.”⁹³ Smith and Pihama assert that:

“To aspire to live in ora is to aspire to live in well-being in all parts and dimensions of our lives and our world. To live in relationships that are grounded upon ora is to live in relationships that seek balance between all parts of te ao Māori, the Māori world. That requires balance within and across physical, spiritual, emotional, psychological, and environmental contexts.”⁹⁴

Māori well-being is intrinsically linked to the whenua. As Te Kanawa writes, reflecting on her childhood, “The valley sustained our well-being, values, and life experiences.”⁹⁵ Māori scholar Waerete Norman refers to the creation stories of Māori, in which our tīpuna “Celebrated the mana

⁹² Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 2.

⁹³ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 7.

⁹⁴ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 1.

⁹⁵ Te Kanawa, “Taonga Tuku Iho,” 20.

of wāhine Māori and is evidence of the deeply rooted attachment to the land.”⁹⁶ Norman relates this to the whakataukī ‘Ko te whenua te waiū mō ngā uri whakatapu’ to highlight the matrilineal relationship between wāhine Māori and Papatūānuku; she writes, “waiū means milk from the breast, likening sustenance from the land to the milk from a mother’s breast.”⁹⁷ Furthermore, Norman asserts that wāhine Māori and whenua were: “intertwined, part of each providing nourishment and sustenance to iwi,”⁹⁸ where she highlights their critical role as “nurturers and guardians and protectors of the generations.”⁹⁹ These roles existed in “the traditional system [where] there was order, harmony, and balance.”¹⁰⁰ However, the colonisation of Aotearoa impacted heavily not just on the well-being of Māori people but on the well-being of our whenua. Māori academic and photographer Natalie Robertson draws our attention to the term ‘māuiui whenua’ as a way to describe the illness of the land. Robertson writes that:

“In his WAI 272 affidavit, Tame Te Maro attributed this malaise to oppressive Crown policies: Māuiui Whenua was the notion that our lands were suffering as a result of oppressive Crown policies that were in breach of the Treaty and which were causing the land to suffer . . . Up to that point, we had dealt with sick people every day, but we had never thought that our land could be sick.”¹⁰¹

Kahutoi shares a similar sentiment in relation to the confiscation of Māori whenua, stating: “Our tūpuna knew how to survive the onslaught of European colonial invasion, but could not counter the alienation of land and laws that dispossessed our people of our land and reduced us to very little land ownership and in some cases outright confiscation, for public works and farming and forestry development.”¹⁰² The sickness of Papatūānuku is particularly damaging to Māori well-being; as Mana Wahine writer Aroha Yates-Smith states, Papatūānuku is “to whom we .. turn for sanctuary and nurturing, particularly when we need healing or quietude.”¹⁰³ For many whānau,

⁹⁶ Norman, “He Aha te Mea Nui?” 18.

⁹⁷ Norman, “He Aha te Mea Nui?” 18.

⁹⁸ Norman, “He Aha te Mea Nui,” 18.

⁹⁹ Norman, “He Aha te Mea Nui?” 17.

¹⁰⁰ Norman, “He Aha te Mea Nui?” 17.

¹⁰¹ Natalie Robertson, “Tātari e Maru Ana: Renewing Ancestral Connections with the Sacred Rain Cape of Waiapu Kōkā Hūhua.” Doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland, New Zealand, 2021, 62.

¹⁰² Te Kanawa, “Taonga Tuku Iho,” 30.

¹⁰³ Aroha Yates-Smith, “Reclaiming the Ancient Feminine in Māori Society: Kei Wareware i a Tatou Te Ukaipō!” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joellee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel ed. (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 76.

their whenua provided “māra kai, hua rākau, hunting and gathering skills that were passed down”¹⁰⁴ through the generations – “knowledge systems our tūpuna practiced, to understand the nature of mātauranga Māori in natural sciences or te taiao ...[to] create interdependence and reciprocation of communal and individual well-being.”¹⁰⁵ Kahutoi exclaims that:

“The comprehension of making, discovering, trialing, fishing, hunting, gardening, planting, harvesting within your own intelligence of explorative thought is about the agency of function, form, and creative thinking. With these experiences, our whānau were in a position to be able to create our own ideas and sustain our own well-being, because we had a papakāinga, a marae, a home, extended whānau and most the gifts of aroha and whakapono.”¹⁰⁶

Smith and Pihama explain that Māori well-being and identity are grounded in the “Interconnection of all components of ourselves—our whānau, our environment, and our connection to land, seas, rivers and mountains”¹⁰⁷ and bring with them obligations at many levels.

Healing has been identified as a key element of ‘oranga.’ Smith and Pihama explain that healing “includes physical, spiritual, psychological, social, collective and restorative dimensions.”¹⁰⁸ Healing is recognised by Indigenous Peoples as essential to our ability to become self-determining.¹⁰⁹ Smith and Pihama explain that Indigenous healing is: “a wholistic way of connecting and addressing intergenerational trauma, systemic trauma, collective grief and loss for land, place, people, language, knowledge, and material things.”¹¹⁰ In 1999, Smith asserted that healing is as critical to tino rangatiratanga as “decolonisation, mobilization, and transformation.”¹¹¹ Healing reaches beyond having economic or political power. It involves specific processes that are “Contextualized within te ao Māori, examining and critiquing the impact of over two hundred years of colonial trauma.”¹¹² Healing for Māori in this context is

¹⁰⁴ Te Kanawa, “Taonga Tuku Iho,” 29.

¹⁰⁵ Te Kanawa, “Taonga Tuku Iho,” 29.

¹⁰⁶ Te Kanawa, “Taonga Tuku Iho,” 21.

¹⁰⁷ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 21.

¹⁰⁸ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 15.

¹⁰⁹ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*.

¹¹⁰ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 15.

¹¹¹ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 15.

¹¹² Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 15.

significant as it provides ways for whānau to understand the “challenges they are attempting to manage in their lives.”¹¹³

Smith and Pihama also draw our attention to the importance of mana to healing and the significance of Mana Wahine identities as “repositories of wisdom and resources to heal.”¹¹⁴ Yates-Smith notes that among wāhine Māori, there are some known as matakite (seers or psychics) who have “inherited these particular powers from their ancestors; some are healers who use traditional techniques combining karakia, massage, and rongoa (medicine).”¹¹⁵ Indeed, Smith and Pihama refer to Te Wiata and Crocket, who argue that “where there is Mana Wahine, there is healing... Mana wahine and the healing journeys of living entities will always coexist in te ao Māori.”¹¹⁶ Mana wahine identities, they note, are repositories of wisdom and resources to heal. Māori scholar Rangimarie Rose Pere asserts that mana comes in many forms, such as “psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority, and influence, being influential or binding over others, and that quality of the person that others know she or he has.”¹¹⁷ Cheryl Smith et al., in their research the *Whakatika Research Project*, found that mana was understood by those surveyed as a critical component of rangatiratanga. Rangatiratanga, they assert, “assumes the recognition of mana – personal, whānau, hapū, iwi and collective... [and can be] described as mana tangata (individual power), mana whakahaere (self-determination) or as autonomy, agency or self-determination.”¹¹⁸ Respondents in their research noted that rangatiratanga meant “the right of our people to determine their own future,”¹¹⁹ “to simply be Māori and live as Māori,”¹²⁰ and to have “peace of mind.”¹²¹ The respondents also described how rangatiratanga was impacted by colonisation “from its meaning and concepts through to violent and longstanding practices of dispossession at many levels and across generations.”¹²² Like rangatiratanga, the concept of mana

¹¹³ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 15.

¹¹⁴ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 25.

¹¹⁵ Aroha Yates-Smith, “Reclaiming the Ancient Feminine,” 53.

¹¹⁶ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 25.

¹¹⁷ Pere, “To Us the Dreamers are Important,” 14.

¹¹⁸ Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism, Resistance and Wellbeing,” in Leonie Pihama and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, ed. *Ora: Healing Ourselves – Indigenous Knowledge Healing and Wellbeing*. (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2023), 199.

¹¹⁹ Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism,” 202.

¹²⁰ Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism,” 198.

¹²¹ Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism,” 204.

¹²² Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism,” 204.

Motuhake relates to autonomy and independence and, as Kahutoi claims refers to “our rights and positions collectively as Māori.”¹²³ Both mana Motuhake and tino rangatiratanga are essential if oranga is to be achieved.¹²⁴

Oranga is intrinsically related to the well-being of whānau, hapū, and iwi and depends on meaningful relationships between them.¹²⁵ For wāhine Māori, these structures provided their lives with purpose and afforded them protection, respect, and power. Smith and Pihama note that through colonisation, the “imposition of gendered and socially hierarchical structures and systems has had severe and traumatic impacts upon Māori women and children in whānau.”¹²⁶ And that critical to our healing “is the understanding of the inter-generational layers of oppression that have directly affected wāhine Māori and therefore whānau as a whole [and that] ... helping whānau to understand complex inter-generational and contemporary trauma is critical to establishing spaces of healing and enabling the reclamation and recovery of Mana Wahine in ways that bring transformative change.”¹²⁷

INTERGENERATIONAL MAMAE – Collective Trauma of Wāhine Māori

Indigenous Peoples’ trauma of being colonised has been and continues to be experienced throughout the generations. Indigenous Peoples’ trauma, Smith and Pihama assert, is “perpetuated by systematic, institutional, and interpersonal racism that has been linked to the incidence and prevalence of ill health.”¹²⁸ Indeed, Smith et al. argue that for Māori, systematic oppression has left a legacy of “inter-generational trauma and violence against [the] bodies, minds, and souls of whānau, hapū, and iwi.”¹²⁹ Western definitions of trauma do not capture Indigenous experiences as they “fail to account for long-term chronic and complex individual and collective trauma. In

¹²³ Te Kanawa, “Taonga Tuku Iho,” 34.

¹²⁴ Te Kanawa, “Taonga Tuku Iho,” 50.

¹²⁵ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 27.

¹²⁶ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 25.

¹²⁷ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 25.

¹²⁸ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 16.

¹²⁹ Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism,” 201.

addition, they do not allow for experiences of historical trauma due to assimilative colonial practices, which have occurred for Indigenous populations worldwide.”¹³⁰ Trauma from an Indigenous Peoples perspective is intrinsically inter-generational and historical, collective and cumulative. Smith and Pihama describe the kinds of assaults that many Indigenous Peoples have been subjected to, such as “genocide, ethnocide (systematic destruction of life ways), forced removal and relocation of Indigenous communities, health-related experimentation, and the forced removal and placement of Indigenous children.”¹³¹ From an Indigenous perspective, our trauma must be understood within the context of our shared histories so that we can effectively heal. Smith and Pihama refer to Native psychologist Eduardo Duran’s term ‘soul wounds’ to describe the kind of trauma that results from historical events that continue to plague each generation of Indigenous Peoples. Duran writes, “Once the core from which soul emerges is wounded, then all emerging mythology and dreams of a people reflect the wound, spiritual injury, soul sickness, soul wounding, and ancestral hurt.”¹³² Smith and Pihama assert that if soul wounds ‘along with oppression (including all forms of racism)’ are not acknowledged, they are internalised by Indigenous populations.¹³³ Indeed, they claim this internalisation can have a detrimental impact on Māori being able to positively identify as Māori, leading, at times, to ‘trapped lifestyles,’ a term they adopt from Māori scholar Mason Durie, that describes a lifestyle “characterized by the absence of feeling of belonging in either Māori or non-Māori contexts.”¹³⁴ Smith and Pihama assert that having an awareness of the historical causes of our trauma can reduce internalised oppression as well as guilt.¹³⁵

In their book *For Native Eyes Only*, Native scholars Waziyatawin and Michael Bird state that: “If our minds are contaminated with self-hatred and the belief that we are inferior to our colonisers, we will believe in both the necessity and virtue of our own colonisation.”¹³⁶ This points to how

¹³⁰ Rebecca Wirihihana and Cheryl Smith, “Historical Trauma, Healing, and Wellbeing in Māori Communities,” *Mai Journal*, vol. 3. Issue 3, (2014), 198.

¹³¹ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 17.

¹³² Eduardo Duran cited in Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 18.

¹³³ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 17.

¹³⁴ Mason Durie cited in Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 16.

¹³⁵ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 19.

¹³⁶ Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Michael Yellow Bird, *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonisation Handbook 1*, (New Mexico: School of American Research Press), 2.

dominant narratives take hold in the consciousness of an oppressed group of people (for example, wāhine Māori) and can lead to our own adoption (at the personal, intimate scale) of harmful narratives that further hold us back from the journey of liberatory healing. The darker side of this process (when racist codes and power relations are not actively disrupted in real time) results in the cultural assimilation of our people within the dominant worldview – in the case of Aotearoa, this is the British colonial worldview. This ultimately results in the internalisation of racist beliefs that have evolved over multiple generations. Unlearning these subtle codes of internalised racism - at the level of individuals and communities of wāhine Māori – thus relies on sustained efforts to disrupt and call into question certain cultural tropes that, I argue, have existed in Aotearoa since initial colonial contact. Such messages that promote self-hatred and shame have been spread (and continue to be spread) effectively through visual mediums – this is a central argument within my thesis.

The impact of the internalisation of colonial constructs of race and gender on wāhine Māori has been identified as critical within Mana Wahine discourse and has been applied in a myriad of contexts. Mana Wahine academic Ngāhuia Murphy reflects on the effects of the distorted and hostile ethnographic interpretations of wāhine Māori menstrual practices that not only continue to deny wāhine Māori our understandings of menstruation but have replaced such knowledge with feelings of disgust and embarrassment, reflecting “the internalisation of textual legacies that present wāhine Māori’s reproductive bodies as unclean, contaminating, polluting, and a source of shame and inferiority.”¹³⁷ In a similar vein, Kaupapa Māori scholar Naomi Simmonds speaks to the embodiment of colonialism in wāhine Māori birth practices and her concern for wāhine Māori safety in this colonised space. Simmonds also discusses the concept of whakamā regarding what we do not know about ourselves due to what we have lost in the colonising process. Mana Wahine, inquiry leader, and scholar Ripeka Evans contributes to the “void in our conceptual topography,”¹³⁸ as wāhine Māori, to the internalisation of our powerlessness and that “in the clamour to fill the

¹³⁷ Ngāhuia Murphy, “Te Awa Atua: The River of Life! Menstruation in Pre-Colonial Times,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 131.

¹³⁸ Ripeka Evans, “Negation of Powerlessness: Māori Feminism, a Perspective,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1987-1998, Volume 1*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 126.

void of Mana Whenua, the quintessence of the Māori psyche – Mana Wairua maintains barely, by virtue of Mana Wahine.”¹³⁹

Pihama affirms the internalisation of colonial ideologies as presenting one of the most pressing tasks for Māori, and other Indigenous women, as we are “constantly confronted with the need to decolonise that which we have internalised about ourselves.”¹⁴⁰ Another common theme was the internalisation or co-opting by Māori men of the patriarchal benefits enforced on them in a colonial man’s domain, resulting in the complexities of oppression experienced by wāhine Māori from both Pākehā and Māori men, as well as from Pākehā women. The unlearning (and therefore healing) process begins from first becoming conscious of how initial racist tropes were foisted upon us through history and how these have – over generations – become implicitly embodied. In particular, this relates to what Brazilian education theorist Paulo Freire calls the process of ‘conscientization,’ and it involves multiple, reinforcing actions that critically examine and disrupt dominant colonial consciousness amongst our people – that is, providing the grounds for which collective liberation for oppressed peoples can be nurtured and grown.¹⁴¹ Smith et al. assert that “Māori researchers and academics are charged with the responsibility to provide other Māori with the knowledge to revive what was lost and challenge the foreign ‘norms’ imposed on stories told about Māori.”¹⁴² In this vein, Theresa Harlan, a Native artist of Kewa Pueblo, argues that we must reject the reduction of Native images as sentimental and nostalgic representations and recognise the “politicised state of memory” as a way to remember in order to “illuminate and transform the present.”¹⁴³

Prominent Kaupapa Māori scholar Leonie Pihama explains that a significant trauma experienced by wāhine Māori is the colonial erasure of our realities not only in regards to the “marginalisation of our voices, or the denial of our place within our stories and our roles amongst our people but

¹³⁹ Evans, “Negation of Powerlessness,” 126.

¹⁴⁰ Leonie Pihama, “Mana Atua, Mana Tangata, Mana Wahine,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joellee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 195.

¹⁴¹ Paulo Friere, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (New York: Continuum, 1970).

¹⁴² Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism,” 195.

¹⁴³ Theresa Harlan, “Creating a Visual History: A Question of Ownership,” *Aperture, Strong Hearts: Native American Visions and Voices*, (1995), 20.

also to the spiritual and physical erasure.”¹⁴⁴ Māori scholar Huia Jahnke, along with many wāhine Māori academics and leaders, assert that a Māori cosmological analysis provides insight into the position of wāhine Māori as “powerful, autonomous, independent beings and as bearers of knowledge,”¹⁴⁵ thus providing “theoretical understandings about the position, status, and role of Māori women in customary society.”¹⁴⁶ This claim is echoed throughout the Mana Wahine texts reviewed, and the drive to reclaim our cosmological significance has provided the grounding from which we can strive forward, led by the examples of our tīpuna wāhine. Such a stance is reflected in contemporary wāhine Māori art, such as with the prestigious Walters Award (2021) winning collective, ‘Mata Aho,’¹⁴⁷ who, along with renowned Māori artist and weaving expert Maureen Landers, in their large-scale fibre installation, *Atapō* (Figure. 5),¹⁴⁸ explore the transitional states of female interconnectedness, drawing on the stories of Hine-Tītama and Hine-nui-te-pō. Here the artists created a restaging of our atua wāhine as almighty and infinite rather than as the popular colonial representations of passive participants, recognising our atua wāhine as “significant and important protagonists in their own right.”¹⁴⁹ Waerete Norman affirms, “To us, to be Māori is to acknowledge ‘tūpuna’ and keep them close to our hearts as a ‘puna’; a source of inspiration, wisdom, and knowledge.”¹⁵⁰ Using twelve long black screens with diamond cut-outs, the Mata Aho collective utilises the weaving motif of ‘ngaro’ to symbolise ‘mourning and protection from harmful influences.’ In doing this, the collective created “receding sightlines that pierce through the suspended layers to and from each atua ... [to] suggest a cyclical reading of the narrative – one of regeneration, life and death, light and darkness.”¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Patricia Johnston and Leonie Pihama, “What Counts as Difference and what Differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 195.

¹⁴⁵ Huia Tomlins Jahnke, “Towards a Theory of Mana Wahine,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 185.

¹⁴⁶ Jahnke, “Towards a Theory of Mana Wahine,” 184.

¹⁴⁷ Mata Aho Collective members Terri Te Tau, Bridgette Reweti, Erena Baker and Sarah Hudson. “Mata Aho Collective,” accessed 19 May 2023, <https://www.mataahocollective.com/about>

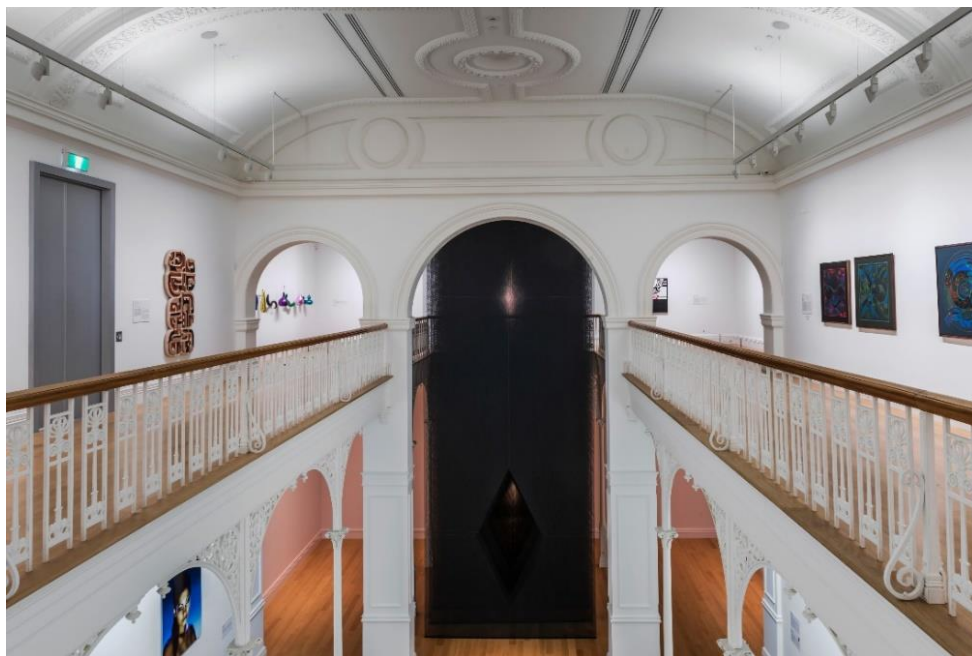
¹⁴⁸ *Atapō - Before Dawn* - winning installation of the New Zealand Walters Award 2022. First exhibited and commissioned for the Toi Tū, Toi Ora exhibition held at the Auckland Art Gallery, New Zealand (May, 2021).

¹⁴⁹ Jessica Tyson, “Mata Aho Collective Winners of NZ’s Most Prestigious Contemporary Art Award,” *Te Ao Māori News*, August 8, 2021.

<https://www.teaomaori.news/mata-aho-collective-winners-nzs-most-prestigious-contemporary-art-award>

¹⁵⁰ Waerete Norman, “He Aha te Mea Nui?.” 14.

¹⁵¹ Mata Aho Collective, “Atapō.” <https://www.mataahocollective.com/art-works/atapo>.



(Figure. 5) Te Mata Aho Collective with Maureen Landers *Atapō* 2020 (installation view), in *Toi Tū Toi Ora: Contemporary Māori Art, 2020*, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

In recognising the shared experiences of Indigenous women as colonised and the value that these shared knowledges offer us, Māori barrister, solicitor, and scholar Ani Mikaere, notes that the “chasm between Indigenous reality and the coloniser’s perception of that reality is a theme that emerges time and time again, in any colonial context.”¹⁵² Smith asserts that the colonial mechanisms that marginalised wāhine Māori functioned on the grounds that they were savage and sexual objects and that these views were predicated partly on their many misinterpretations of wāhine Māori behaviour.¹⁵³ Smith draws on Pākehā anthropologist Anne Salmond’s account of a wāhine Māori’s practice of whakapohane – an expression of severe contempt that French explorer Surville and his crew interpreted via French sexual codes as lasciviousness.¹⁵⁴ This account provides, as Johnston and Pihama point out, a striking example of how wāhine Māori were

¹⁵² Ani Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy: A Ngāti Raukawa Woman’s Perspective.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 15. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

¹⁵³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects, and Mana Wahine,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 117.

¹⁵⁴ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses,” 45.

incorrectly “written into ‘western’ history [original emphasis] as lustful and sexually available,” demonstrating how Pākehā represented misinterpretations as factual.¹⁵⁵

The pain, sorrow, and anger felt by wāhine Māori about what we have lost through being colonised has been and continues to be expressed in myriad art forms, including waiata and poetry. Yates-Smith refers to Māori singer Mahinarangi Tocker and Māori author Keri Hulme and their acknowledgments of Papatūānuku in their compositions and poetry.¹⁵⁶ Three decades later, many Māori artists refer to our atua in a similar vein as we draw on their strength to heal. Yates-Smith also points out the title of Māori poet and healer Whaea Hinewīrangī Kohu Morgan’s book of poetry, *Screaming Mako*, as a way to describe her mamae. Yates-Smith states: “Her reaction towards early Pākehā researchers’ opinions is expressed in her poem “Historians” where she recalls how Māori were described as ‘savage,’ ‘devil worshippers’ and how the ‘white historian’ became ‘an expert’ on her.”¹⁵⁷ An excerpt of Kohu Morgan’s poem “Ngā Mareikura” below illustrates the critical importance of our tīpuna’s legacy as guides to healing from the legacy of pain and sadness that we have been born into. Smith et al. contend that the idea of being born into an inter-generational legacy is “important for considering how racism and its health impacts are understood and measured across time.”¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, Smith and Pihama explain that recognising the violence against us as collective assaults on mana and tapu returns us to our own knowledge base and methods of healing. They assert this “reinstates a collective responsibility to restore and enhance ... mana...by reclaiming...mamae, and celebrating collective steps toward healing.”¹⁵⁹

“Ngā Māreikura
Sit in your connectedness of your birth right
The tipuna have left you
A legacy of waiata
Learn your songs that lie deep within
Old traditional monocultural waiata
The modern waiata with different

¹⁵⁵ Johnston and Pihama, “The Marginalisation of Women,” 117.

¹⁵⁶ Yates-Smith, “Reclaiming the Ancient,” 53-54.

¹⁵⁷ Yates-Smith, “Reclaiming the Ancient,” 54.

¹⁵⁸ Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism,” 209.

¹⁵⁹ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 25.

Rhythms of the rangatahi
Learn to be free in your voice
Being able to sing the pain
Lodged in the fourth door of the voice
So that your children and others
Can heal from their pain
We need to heal our rangatahi
They are deciding daily to take
Their own lives
Huge sadness, not understood”¹⁶⁰

SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN COLONIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WĀHINE MĀORI

In her book *Girl of New Zealand: Colonial Optics in Aotearoa*, Māori academic Michelle Erai writes, “Indigenous Peoples have been countering the objectification of their bodies and cultures through images for as long as it has sought them out.”¹⁶¹ Erai draws on Indigenous artists and scholars such as Luana Ross, Alice Te Punga Somerville, and Robyn Kahukiwa as examples of those who continue to challenge colonisation in their recognition that “colonisation has not ceased; it continues through the capture of our images.”¹⁶² Pacific Islands scholar Marata Tamaira also focuses on how the visual arts have operated as a necessary and significant vehicle by which the racialised/gendered/sexualised Pacific Islands woman’s body was carried through history to the present time. Tamaira interrogated the systematic exploitation and objectification of the Polynesian female “by European artists and unveiled within the minds of Western audiences.”¹⁶³ Alongside Professor Edward Said’s 1978 treatise *Orientalism*, Tamaira argues that Polynesia has been “refracted through a distorted lens—a lens that Westerners systematically shaped for the

¹⁶⁰ Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan, “Ngā Māreikura,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 3.

¹⁶¹ Erai, *Girl*, 5.

¹⁶² Johnston and Pihama cited in Erai, *Girl*, 5.

¹⁶³ Marata Tamaira, “From Full Dusk to Full Task: Reimagining the ‘Dusky Maiden’ through the Visual Arts,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 22, no. 1 (2010), 14.

purpose of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over [it].”¹⁶⁴ Concentrating on the works of contemporary Polynesian artists Rosanna Raymond, Shigeyuki Kihara, and Sue Pearson, Tamaira explores how these three Pacific artists seek to refocus this distorted lens through their art.

The artworks of Japanese Samoan fa’afafine artist Shigeyuki Kihara challenge assumptions of Western gender classifications by manipulating the visual concerning time and space, race, gender, and sexuality. Indeed, works like Kihara’s present the Indigenous worldview and provide an alternative vision that ensures gendered equity and fluidity. In an interview conducted by Banaban, I-Kiribati, African American scholar Katerina Teaiwa, Kihara describes how her ancestry and gender position allows her to think and practice her art between peoples and places:

“For me being a Samoan and a Fa'afafine (gender of no limits) goes against every thread which makes up the social fabric that is essentially Western based. This has been explored in a number of my past artworks, including the *Fa'afafine; In the manner of a Woman* 2005 series, which involves a series of self-portraiture photographs where I masquerade and perform a variety of gender identities in Samoan culture. The photographic works visually reference while subverting the colonial gaze and romanticism found in late-nineteenth-century postcards of Samoan people staged and taken by Western photographers in Samoa.”¹⁶⁵

Similarly, Pacific Islands scholar Caroline Vercoe, in her work *Enduring Gauguin: Reflections on Gauguin’s Legacy in the Pacific*, has analysed French painter Paul Gauguin's historical paintings and the ways in which they have “fixed Pacific women into timeless, exotic tropes.”¹⁶⁶ Vercoe argues, “If every generation writes its own history, then the art history and legacy of Gauguin presents an intriguing ambivalent and increasingly fraught narrative across time and place.”¹⁶⁷ Vercoe draws on the works of contemporary Pacific Island and Māori artists Serene Timoteo, Selina Tusitala Marsh, Andre Marere, Tyla Vaeau, Shigeyuki Kihara, Nephi Tupea, and Graham

¹⁶⁴ Tamaira, “From Full Dusk to Full Task,” 14.

¹⁶⁵ Katerina Teaiwa, “An Interview with an Interdisciplinary Artist Shigeyuki Kihara,” *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 27, (2011), 1. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue27/kihara.htm>

¹⁶⁶ Caroline Vercoe, “Enduring Gauguin: Reflections on Gauguin’s Legacy in the Pacific,” *Widenstein Plattner Institute Webiner*, (2023).

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=roDWpWtWXfk&t=2183s&ab_channel=WildensteinPlattnerInstitute

¹⁶⁷ Vercoe, “Enduring Gauguin.”

Fletcher to examine how they have created works reflecting Gauguin's legacy “as a continuum of French colonialism and as a reflection of an art practice which has entrenched stereotypes of Polynesian women as exotic and sexualized.”¹⁶⁸ Vercoe interrogates Gauguin’s desire to be among the ‘savages’ and his engagement in a range of sexual arrangements and marriages with young Tahitian and Marquesan females, describing him as a colonial and sexual predator who likely infected many of these females with syphilis. Vercoe shares the following excerpt of the poem “Guys Like Gauguin,” written by Aotearoa-born, Pacific Islander poet Selena Tala Marsh that encapsulates this perception of Gauguin:

“...

thanks Bougainville
for desiring ‘em young
so guys like Gauguin could dream
and dream
then take his syphilitic body
downstream to the tropics
to test his artistic hypothesis
bout how the uncivilized
ripen like pawpaw are best slightly raw
delectably firm
dangling like golden prepubescent buds
seeding nymphomania for guys like Gauguin”¹⁶⁹

In *Girl of New Zealand: Colonial Optics in Aotearoa* Erai reads a selection of colonial images of wāhine Māori, arguing that the figures depicted are not real people but instead present an absence not “merely [as] empty space but [as] ontological accounts of the material conditions of their presence as an ideology or myth.”¹⁷⁰ Erai labels them as phantasms, a “magic that is theoretically a science of the imaginary”¹⁷¹ that were utilised as “a means of control over the individual and the masses based on a deep knowledge of personal and collective erotic impulses.”¹⁷² Erai writes that defining violence represented in the images was an enduring challenge in her work, which was

¹⁶⁸ Vercoe, “Enduring Gauguin.”

¹⁶⁹ Vercoe, “Enduring Gauguin.”

¹⁷⁰ Erai, *Girl*, 6.

¹⁷¹ Erai, *Girl*, 6.

¹⁷² Erai, *Girl*, 6.

critical to her analysis as she proposes that “within some images are the traces of the ideologies that constrain Māori women.”¹⁷³ Erai argues that violence is ocular, as well as physical, verbal, or written.¹⁷⁴ Erai examines violence in two ways: first, it justifies hierarchies of power, and second, through a process of ‘naturalisation,’ this involves “historical reiterations [to] establish which individual bodies are the most likely to be victims of violence.”¹⁷⁵ Erai focuses on naturalisation to highlight new knowledge about how this is connected to violence justified by hierarchies of power.

Visual and historical anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards asserts that employment of photography as a medium of objectification through ethnographic images was intended to organise the ‘Others,’ thus developing “systematic anthropological data for taxonomic analyses.”¹⁷⁶ In her work, titled, *Reading the Visual, Tracking the Global, Postcolonial Feminist Methodology and the Chameleon Codes of Resistance*, Indian feminist Radhika Parameswaran convincingly traces the emergence of an imperialist scientific epistemology of vision to argue that the problematic equation of optical, rationalised visibility to ‘reality’ and ‘neutral information’ continues to haunt our contemporary practices of seeing and processing codes of race and gender in visual culture.¹⁷⁷ As Māori academic Donna Matahaere-Atariki notes:

“Often, we pride ourselves with an ability to peel back the layers of representations, to see the ‘real’ behind the facade, to state the obvious. The problem with this is that ‘the obvious’ is never there but is part of the mythology that enables representations to gain their efficacy through the viewers’ complicity in making sense of what they allegedly see.”¹⁷⁸

Indeed, feminist film theorist Rey Chow builds on Foucault’s notion of biopolitics and the implication of methods of visualisation, therein, alongside Heidegger’s assertion that if “in

¹⁷³ Erai, *Girl*, 13.

¹⁷⁴ Erai, *Girl*, 15.

¹⁷⁵ Erai, *Girl*, 15.

¹⁷⁶ Alexandra Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic? Gottfried Lindauer in the Context of European Portraiture,” *Riha Journal* (Coord:Sentraliinsitut fUr Kunstgeschichte), 9.

¹⁷⁷ Radhika Parameswaran, “Reading the Visual, Tracking the Global, Postcolonial Feminist Methodology and the Chameleon Codes of Resistance,” in *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, ed. Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (California: Sage Publications Inc., 2008), 409.

¹⁷⁸ Donna Matahaere, “Interrogating Speech in Colonial Encounters Native Women and Voice.” Masters Thesis, (Palmerston North: Massey University, 1997), 8.

modernity, the world itself becomes a picture, then it also inevitably becomes a target.”¹⁷⁹ Chow highlights the notion of visibility as being a ‘saturation of knowability’ and that it is more “a matter of participating in a discursive politics of (re)configuring the relation between centre and margin,”¹⁸⁰ that is pressing. It is this ‘saturation of knowability’ promulgated by commodity racism that infiltrated and shaped the lives of not just wāhine Māori but Pākehā women on the colonial frontier that I invested in this research inquiry.

In his book, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Māori, 1840-1914*, Leonard Bell points out that his analysis of colonial representations of Māori does not reflect Māori reality but reflects European behaviour, attitudes, ways of seeing, and practices. His focus was not on the Māori culture and people they purported to represent but on the European images of them. He states that:

“This is so of all the representations, however diverse in their appearances, circumstances of production and use they otherwise might have been, from the small sketch made in the field to the large oil painting executed in the studio. It was the case with seemingly realistic pictures, pictures based on close observation and experience of the physical and social actualities of Māori life as well as with the most fanciful, overtly idealised, and transparently unrealistic representations.”¹⁸¹

Bell’s primary focus was what representations of Māori, often conflicting in their portrayal, meant to colonial Pākehā society and their function within it. Smith and Johnston claim that in regards to wāhine Māori, our realities have been constructed based on colonial discourses grounded within ideological discourses of race and gender inferiority that sought to define wāhine Māori into marginalised roles that colonial settlers and the colonial administration believed to align with their view of them as ‘savage’ and as ‘sexual objects.’¹⁸² Bell states that paintings and photographs of wāhine Māori in the late to the early nineteenth century were predominantly represented in two ways; firstly, there was the “charming and idealised young mother, usually half-length and smiling, with a baby or sweet little child, her head tilted, even if slightly, downward, and her gaze either

¹⁷⁹ Rey Chow, *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 188.

¹⁸⁰ Chow, *Writing Diaspora*, 188.

¹⁸¹ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 2-3.

¹⁸² Johnston and Pihama, “The Marginalisation of Women.”

level or directed downward.”¹⁸³ Secondly, there was the representation of ‘the belle’ which Bell describes as “either in Māori or European dress, softly pretty, mouth slightly open, either smiling invitingly or coyly, or with her head tilted to one side, a flirtatious look in her eye, or, if unsmiling, looking vulnerable, meek, or bashful. Again, the direction of the head and eye is either level or downward.”¹⁸⁴ Central to my research are the ideological components of colonialism and how these were represented via the images of wāhine Māori (and kōtiro Māori) bodies. I am less interested in what the ideological components are but what they have done and continue to do to harm wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori. Bell states that the images “rather than just passively reflecting ideology, representations could be prime sites for the articulation of ideology – of the views, ideas, and stereotypes that contributed to the justification of the actions, presence, and power of the dominant European culture.”¹⁸⁵

A number of the colonial artists included in this research, such as George French Angas, Richard Aldworth Oliver, and Joseph Jenner Merrett, had varying artistic skills and came from a range of social, political, and religious backgrounds. Nevertheless, they all came with firm Victorian ideological stances that were consistent with the general understanding of wāhine Māori as inferior based on both their race and sex. This remained true even if their approach appeared as one of support, such as in the case of Joseph Jenner Merrett, who was married to a wāhine Māori and begat Māori children. Angas also held Māori in a positive light, however, Bell states that his “Positive regard for Māori was largely conditional on their acceptance of progress and the settlement of Europeans. His view that Māori were the most ‘capable of civilisation’ of the non-European peoples was consistent with the common classification of Māori as the ‘best’ of the ‘uncivilised races.’”¹⁸⁶ Similarly, a journal entry of Oliver’s reveals the following sentiment concerning Māori: “...a little, temporary Māori settlement of surpassing loveliness, all seemed a dancy scene and work of enchantment, til the smell of the half dried sharks and other abominations and close proximity to the dirty natives brought you back to the world.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 236.

¹⁸⁴ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 236.

¹⁸⁵ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 6.

¹⁸⁶ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 24.

¹⁸⁷ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 32.

Whatever ideological direction wāhine Māori were pulled in, it comes under what Erai terms as a ‘possessive gaze’ that “reproduces the Māori woman figure as a literal repository of the sanctity of European masculine life,”¹⁸⁸ which she claims is connected to the “process of naturalisation ... and builds a figurative relationship between two propositions: (1) that women become constructed as ‘inherently rapable,’ and (2) the suggestion that the ideological formations of imperialism and colonialism support (and perhaps even impel) a notion that “certain territories and people require and beseech domination.”¹⁸⁹ In her book *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*, Indigenous Australian academic Aileen Moreton-Robinson, also speaks to this possessive imperial nature using the concept of “possessive logics.” Here she effectively argues that possessive logics ‘denote a mode of rationalisation’ that “are operationalised within discourses to circulate sets of meanings about ownership of the nation, as part of commonsense knowledge, decision making, and socially produced conventions.”¹⁹⁰ As a network of ideologies, Smith et al. highlight the role of racism in the process of colonisation, stating that it “results in the un-weaving of people from each other and the land. It also assumes dominion over environments and requires the imposition of ‘boundaries’ and the objectification and commodification of nature.”¹⁹¹ Racist colonial ideologies thus directly impacted the rangatiratanga of wāhine Māori and, therefore, their mana. For wāhine Māori to achieve ‘oranga,’ both of these elements must be restored for all wāhine Māori collectively so that we can heal from our mamae and live fully in our culture. However, Smith et al. assert: “Definitions of racism in research do not always account for the particular ways that racism worked together with colonialism of Indigenous Peoples.”¹⁹² Thus, it is with a firm endeavour to examine the role of racism in the construction of representations of wāhine and kōtiro Māori in the early colonial period of Aotearoa that I focus the first two chapters of my research on the network of ideologies that formulated into scientific racism and commodity racism.

In this literature review, I have examined several Mana Wahine works, alongside those of various Indigenous artists and scholars, from the 1980s to the present, focusing on the themes central to

¹⁸⁸ Erai, *Girl*, 65.

¹⁸⁹ Erai, *Girl*, 65.

¹⁹⁰ Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), xii.

¹⁹¹ Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism,” 199.

¹⁹² Smith et al., “Narratives of Racism,” 195.

this project, framed as an Indigenous Project of Love. The themes of Oranga (Māori wellbeing), Shared Mamae (Inter-generational trauma), and Symbolic Violence in Representations were discussed in some depth to understand the complexity of our shared inter-generational trauma as a part of the process of colonisation, and how it can manifest in ways that serve to oppress us, either internally or externally. I conclude that addressing the underlying colonial ideologies and expressions of racism directed towards wāhine and kōtiro Māori in their historical construction and representation is critical to contemporary projects concerning our well-being. By recognising colonial violence as inter-generational and shared, we reduce the impact of the mamae in our lives and can collectively resist the colonial forces that continue to provide barriers to our rangatiratanga and mana Motuhake.

In chapter four, “Colonial Ideologies of Race,” I examine scientific and commodity racism and representations of wāhine Māori. In the first section, “Scientific Racism – Representations of Wāhine Māori in Space in Time,” I highlight the network of colonial ideologies that sought to construct the wāhine Māori body within Western scientific discourses, particularly the pseudo sciences that played a dominant role in promoting racial and sexual hierarchical thinking, alongside a naturalisation discourse. I draw on images to illustrate how racist colonial ideologies were presented through the bodies of wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori. In the second section, “Commodity Racism – Colonial, Sexual Visualisations of Wāhine Māori,” I look at how the commodification of Māori culture and women were instrumental in the articulation of a national Pākehā culture. Chapter four provides a background into the prominent forms of racism and colonial ideologies that Pākehā depended on in the colonisation of Aotearoa as a way to classify wāhine Māori as inferior based on their race and sex and therefore justify any violence enacted on them. I demonstrate how scientific and commodity racism had a specific range of impacts on wāhine Māori. Thus, I provide some insight into the perspectives of the artists and others who depicted wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori through their representations.

In chapter five, “Mana Wahine State Discourse,” I provide an examination of the state by tracing a history of early sexual contact between Pākehā men and wāhine Māori (as well as Māori girls, boys, and men) on Aotearoa New Zealand’s colonial frontier and its connection to the economic expansion of the colonial economy. In the first sub-section, “Flax and Sex: Colonial Control of

Wāhine Māori Labour,” I examine the tropes of degeneration and racial deviance as Pākehā applied them to wāhine Māori bodies within the context of a thriving flax industry that relied heavily upon them. I argue that wāhine Māori bodies that represented to the colonialists both desire and degeneracy and, at a time of Pākehā gender-imbalance anxiety, the permeability of such bodies represented a danger to racial purity. In the second sub-section, “The Embryonic Pākehā on the Colonial Frontier,” I provide a brief insight into the early development of the Pākehā culture and national identity by examining where they came from and why they chose to immigrate to Aotearoa, with a particular focus on the plight of white women, to gain an understanding of Pākehā intergenerational trauma and how Pākehā managed this trauma in the colony of New Zealand. In the sixth chapter, “Mana Wahine Whānau Discourse,” I shift the focus from state discourse to whānau discourse, taking the analysis to the domestic front to provide an insight into a site where belonging and exclusion are lodged. In the first sub-section, “The Cultural Construction of Māori Motherhood as Problematic for Colonialism,” I draw on a ballad by Keith Sinclair, “The Ballad of Halfmoon Bay,” to examine the products of miscegenation between Māori and Pākehā – the ‘half-caste’ and the complex space in which they occupied as both a potential ally to Pākehā and a constant threat from within. Of particular concern to Pākehā and the state was their rights to certain Pākehā privileges, specifically regarding their ability to inherit land. It also addresses the “problem” wāhine Māori as mothers posed to colonial discourses. In the second sub-section titled, section, “Homes of Humiliation and the Interior Frontiers,” I discuss the connection between sex, race, and cleanliness. Identifying the home as an oppressive patriarchal site, I examine the role of soap advertisements as fundamental in the process of representing to the masses a colonial justification for the violence enacted upon wāhine Māori.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

As a wahine Māori of Te Aowera, Ngāti Porou, my research is part of a broader tāngata whenua inquiry and, therefore, necessarily has the philosophical foundation of a Kaupapa Māori-led research. Māori scholar Ocean Mercier asserts, “Kaupapa Māori has been one of the most important decolonising actions in Aotearoa to date.”¹⁹³ The localised people and place-specific theoretical approach of Kaupapa Māori essentially describes a “uniquely Māori way of looking at the world.”¹⁹⁴ This worldview is based on the knowledge we have inherited from our tūpuna (ancestors).¹⁹⁵ However, Mercier asserts that the decolonising and Indigenising principles of Kaupapa Māori resonate with Indigenous Peoples everywhere.¹⁹⁶ Māori academics Clive Aspin and Jessica Hutchings, in their research, which examines Māori sexuality historically and contemporaneously, affirm that the knowledge that underpins Kaupapa Māori derives from the past and informs the present.¹⁹⁷ A notion that Māori scholar Donna Campbell observes is the reversal of the European sense of the past as behind us and the future before us. Campbell states, “For Māori, our tūpuna are not memories; they are ever-present guiding and informing [us].”¹⁹⁸ To be defined as Kaupapa Māori research, I recognise that I must meet several criteria relative to the nature, process, and purpose of this research. Mana Wahine is the theoretical perspective informing this research; hence, as both a Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine researcher, I am charged with a particular responsibility, as Pihama writes, to “analyse and challenge unequal power relations that exist both between colonised and coloniser... [and to] deal with the impact of these issues internally within and upon Māori communities.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹³ Mercier, “What is Decolonisation?” 62.

¹⁹⁴ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 2nd ed., 177.

¹⁹⁵ Leonie Pihama, “Māku Anō,” 163. As Leonie Pihama states, “at the centre of [our] being is te reo Māori and tikanga Māori (Māori language and culture) both of which are presented and argued emphatically as appropriate and legitimate ways of understanding the world.”

¹⁹⁶ Mercier, “What is Decolonisation?” 51.

¹⁹⁷ Clive Aspin and Jessica Hutchings, ed., *Sexuality & the Stories of Indigenous People*, (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2007).

¹⁹⁸ Donna Campbell, “Weaving the Skin.” Masters Thesis, Whitecliffe College of Arts and Design, (Auckland, New Zealand, 2005), 14.

¹⁹⁹ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 163.

Mana Wahine theory is understood as an extension of Kaupapa Māori. Pihama asserts in her doctorate, titled, *Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring our Voices: Mana Wahine as a Kaupapa Māori: Theoretical Framework*, that Mana Wahine theory is “driven by a need to re-engage Māori women’s knowledge and understandings and in doing so affirm a broader Kaupapa Māori drive that is currently expressed in Aotearoa.”²⁰⁰ In reflecting on the history of Pākehā feminism and Mana Wahine, Evans notes that a difference in positionality lies in the fact that the latter is “grounded in the identity and creation of this country.”²⁰¹ Pihama explains that Mana Wahine theory was developed by wāhine Māori to “both assert our ways of being within the world and to speak back to the imposed colonial gender construction that continues to dominate within Aotearoa.”²⁰² A central concern of Mana Wahine theory is the “diminishing, the denial, [and] the trampling of the mana of Māori women”²⁰³ that is upheld by colonial belief systems set out specifically to do so. Pihama states that Mana Wahine has two straightforward projects: first, “the affirmation of ways of being as Māori that are grounded within our own language, culture, and knowledge.”²⁰⁴ And secondly, to attend “to the multiple issues that are faced by Māori women as a result of race, class, and gender ideologies that have been imported to our lands.”²⁰⁵

Mana Wahine is a theoretical and methodological approach that, as Simmonds explains, “explicitly interrogates the intersection of being both Māori and female.”²⁰⁶ It is an approach concerned with advancing analyses incorporating the intricate relationship between gender, race, class, and sexuality from a central position.²⁰⁷ Māori intellectuals Patricia Johnston and Pihama assert that there is a need to “deconstruct colonial representations and to reconstruct and reclaim knowledge

²⁰⁰ Leonie Pihama, *Tihei Mauri Ora, Honouring our Voices – Mana Wahine as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework*, Doctoral dissertation, (University of Auckland, New Zealand, 2001), 260.

http://www.tutamawahine.org.nz/tihea_mauri_ora

²⁰¹ Evans, “Negation of Powerlessness,” 33.

²⁰² Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 162.

²⁰³ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 163.

²⁰⁴ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 163.

²⁰⁵ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 163.

²⁰⁶ Naomi Simmonds, “Never-Ending Beginnings- The Circularity of Mana Wahine,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 157.

²⁰⁷ Johnston and Pihama, “The Marginalisation of Māori Women,” 157.

about ourselves”²⁰⁸ from the centre. Black feminist Patricia Hill Collins explains that a “centering approach is not designed to be static,”²⁰⁹ where another replaces one normative group, but rather by “pivoting the centre and theorising from multiple angles of vision, new themes, approaches, and questions become visible.”²¹⁰ Johnston and Pihama bring to our attention that “part of the struggle for wāhine Māori seeking to engage [and invert] dominant ideologies is the continual shifting ground and the multiple representations of ideologies.”²¹¹ Therefore, it is essential to view the centering approach as fluid to counter the difficulties that arise from the shifting ground and multiple representations of colonial ideologies. Collins also describes the concept of intersectionality as a way to introduce “added complexity to formerly race-, class-, and gender-only approaches to social phenomena.”²¹² Indeed, McClintock asserts that imperialists did not organise history “around a single privileged social category [rather], the formative categories of imperial modernity are articulated categories in the sense that they come into being in historical relation to each other and emerge only in dynamic, shifting and intimate interdependence.”²¹³

Mana Wahine theory recognises that wāhine Māori do not belong to a homogenous group, yet our shared experiences can be located in various discourses. Pihama stresses that “the variation in our experiences should not deter us from seeking theories that can support the affirmation of our roles, status, and positioning or that can bring a unified engagement with colonisation.”²¹⁴ Johnston and Pihama claim that Mana Wahine “requires revisiting colonial ideologies, the ways in which those have constructed wāhine Māori and the extent to which we, as tāngata Māori, as wāhine Māori, have internalised those ideologies.”²¹⁵ Pihama insists that Mana Wahine is the affirmation and deliberate elevation of wāhine Māori, stating that “in a context of colonial oppression, the imposition of ideologies that deny and marginalise the roles and position of wāhine Māori, this [Mana Wahine] is both a cultural and political stand.”²¹⁶ In recognising the powerful significance

²⁰⁸ Johnston and Pihama, “The Marginalisation of Māori Women,” 124.

²⁰⁹ Patricia Hill Collins, “Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political and Social Sciences,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 568 (2000), 44. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1049471>

²¹⁰ Collins, “Gender, Black Feminism,” 44.

²¹¹ Johnston and Pihama, “The Marginalisation of Māori Women,” 119.

²¹² Collins, “Gender and Black Feminism,” 44.

²¹³ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 62.

²¹⁴ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 164.

²¹⁵ Johnston and Pihama, “The Marginalisation of Māori Women,” 166.

²¹⁶ Pihama, *Tihei Mauri Ora*, 297, http://www.tutamawahine.org.nz/tihea_mauri_ora.

of the localised people and place-specific theoretical approach of Kaupapa Māori, I note that I have not focused this research on my whakapapa/tūrangawaewae or any particular area of Aotearoa. Instead, due to the peculiar nature of the kaupapa and the relatively minimal records about it, I have scanned over some of the experiences of wāhine Māori as a collective group, not as a homogenous monolith but as a complex source from which I could track an actively silenced area of our past.

Ngā Pou Ariā (the theoretical pillars and principles of Mana Wahine theory) provide the framework for my visual analysis of colonial images of wāhine Māori. Ngā Pou Ariā are critical to my project in engaging directly with “the heteronormative patriarchal systems and structures that have been implanted in Aotearoa.”²¹⁷ Ngā Pou Ariā provide the most appropriate analytical tool to achieve what Erai might refer to as a ‘knowing eye’ in reading the images.²¹⁸ Pihama outlines Ngā Pou Ariā in relation to the six principles of Kaupapa Māori, which are: 1) Tino Rangatiratanga (the self-determining principle), 2) Taonga Tuku Iho (the cultural aspirations principle), 3) Ako Māori (the ‘culturally preferred’ pedagogy), 4) Kia Piki ake i ngā Raruraru o te Kainga (the ‘socioeconomic’ mediation principle), 5) Whānau (the ‘extended family structure’ principle), and 6) Kaupapa (the ‘collective philosophy’ principle).²¹⁹ Pihama draws from each of these principles to highlight Ngā Pou Ariā, demonstrating the close relationship between Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine theory, which she describes as being ‘hoa haere’ – committed companions.²²⁰

I apply Ngā Pou Ariā, as outlined below, to inform a wāhine Māori lens to engage with each colonial image of wāhine Māori critically. Māori scholar and photographer Natalie Robertson describes a similar writing position as a form of ‘visual sovereignty’ that ‘returns fire,’²²¹ via an

²¹⁷ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 164.

²¹⁸ Erai, *Girl*, 216. A ‘knowing eye’ Erai explains, requires the refusal of an ‘innocent eye’ and a willingness to develop “an ethic of perception” that moves the responsibility for the viewer from only recognising the “politics of the gaze” in their reflection.

²¹⁹ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 163.

²²⁰ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 163.

²²¹ Natalie Robertson. “Tātari e Maru Ana: Renewing Ancestral Connections with the Sacred Rain Cape of Waiapu Kōkā Hūhua.” Doctoral dissertation, (University of Auckland, New Zealand, 2021), 42. The concept of ‘returning fire’ was coined by Indigenous writer, Sherry Farrell-Racette (2011) to describe acts of resistance enacted through an Indigenous lens when it is pointed back at photo-colonial legacies.

Indigenous Peoples’ analysis of photographic and lens-based histories.²²² Using a wahine Māori lens informed by Ngā Pou Ariā, I question how representations of wāhine Māori in the archives uphold the colonial project and/or obscure wāhine Māori to examine what is missed or is misrepresented. The essence of why I am doing this is to bring consciousness to how these archives are read from a Mana Wahine perspective so that then we are not internalising colonial stereotypes of wāhine Māori, for example, as problematic mothers, as dirty and as un/desirable, which are rampantly dished out. As Pihama and Smith claim, “historical trauma is also linked to racism and discrimination and the way in which historical events and policies have created current myths and misconceptions of people of colour.”²²³

This project aims to bring about transformative change through the affirmation and uplifting of wāhine Māori mana. Mana Wahine researchers recognise that we have internalised and embodied colonial stereotypes over generations without necessarily being able to pinpoint them. Yet colonial stereotypes about wāhine Māori continue to feed our everyday collective trauma, our shared *mamae*. Pihama and Smith assert that reclaiming and recovering Mana Wahine requires understanding contemporary trauma as complex and intergenerational.²²⁴ Furthermore, they explain that reframing breaches of mana and tapu as individual violations to violations of the collective “reinstate[s] a collective responsibility” to trauma that enables us to reclaim our *mamae* as shared, creating space from which we can move towards healing.²²⁵

The questions I ask when reading the colonial images of wāhine Māori framed within Ngā Pou Ariā and the six Kaupapa Māori principles are:

- 1) Wāhine Rangatira – under the Kaupapa Māori principle of Tino Rangatiratanga Pihama discusses the role of Māori leadership, explaining that rangatira is a non-gendered term that relates to the ‘weaving together’ (Ranga) of the collective group (tira).²²⁶ Within Mana Wahine theory, Māori academic Kathie Irwin explains that it is critical to document and

²²² Robertson, “Tātari e Maru Ana,” 42.

²²³ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 18.

²²⁴ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 25.

²²⁵ Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 25.

²²⁶ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 165.

validate the role of wāhine Māori leaders whose realities have been written out of colonial historical records.²²⁷ In affirming and reconnecting with our tīpuna women leaders, Mana Wahine theorist and scholar Ngāhuia Te Awekotuku asserts that Mana Wahine theory provides wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori the opportunity to have agency over our future that is inspired by the mana of our tīpuna and atua wāhine.²²⁸

In their research measuring racism against Māori's understandings of racism, Smith et al. highlight how Māori see mana as a “key aspect of rangatiratanga.”²²⁹ Smith et al. refer to a survey respondent’s comment that “rangatiratanga means autonomy, the ability to self-determine, the full expression of mana.”²³⁰ As such, in the application of the ‘wahine rangatira’ principle to my visual analysis of wāhine Māori in colonial images, I question in what ways is her rangatiratanga in the form of her mana tangata (individual power) and her mana whakahaere (self-determination) portrayed? Is her mana being diminished? If so, what colonial ideologies are at play?

- 2) Te Reo, Tikanga, and Mātauranga Wahine – under the Kaupapa Māori principle of Taonga Tuku Iho. Taonga Tuku Iho is, as Smith et al. explain, an intergenerational legacy that Māori are born into of “carrying the hopes and dreams of [our] ancestors into the future.”²³¹ It is a principle that Māori artist and academic Kahutoi Mere Te Kanawa utilised to express the intergenerational transfer of Māori weaving knowledge in her thesis *Taonga Tuku Iho: Intergenerational Transfer of Raranga and Whatu*.²³² Pihama writes that “all the components of Taonga Tuku Iho are located within understood practices and transmitted through te reo (Māori language); tikanga (Māori practices and protocols); and mātauranga (Māori knowledge and ways of knowing).”²³³ Pihama explains that these components are

²²⁷ Kathie Irwin, “Towards Theories of Māori Feminisms,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joellee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 67.

²²⁸ Ngāhuia Te Awekotuku, *Mana wahine Maori: selected writings on Māori women’s art, culture, and politics*, (Auckland: New Women’s Press, 1991).

²²⁹ Smith et. al in Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 199.

²³⁰ Smith et. al. in Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 199.

²³¹ Smith et. al. in Pihama and Smith, *Ora*, 201.

²³² Te Kanawa, “Taonga Tuku Iho,” 82.

²³³ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 166.

sources that enable us to rebalance the inequities Māori find in our gendered relationships resulting from colonisation.²³⁴

As Mana Wahine researchers, ‘mātauranga wahine’ requires that we reclaim “the position of wahine Māori within our histories and stories.”²³⁵ I apply the component of ‘te reo’ to my visual analysis to ask, is te reo Māori evident in the image (such as in the labelling by the artist or the archivist)? And if so, how? How is language used (whether Māori or non-Māori) to frame the Māori female? Is she named or described? Does she have a voice?

- 3) Ako Māori - This principle concerns Māori pedagogy and stresses the importance of the “need to transmit, maintain, and further expand Māori knowledge.”²³⁶ Therefore, Pihama asserts that it is essential to view this in relation to how Māori knowledge is understood.²³⁷ I apply ‘ako Māori’ to my visual analysis to ask, What, if any, wahine Māori knowledge is portrayed (i.e., as a mother, a leader, a weaver, a healer, etc.), and how? Is this knowledge being portrayed in a manner that elevates or diminishes its value? If so, how and why?
- 4) Kia Piki ake i ngā Raruraru o Te Kainga - is a Kaupapa Māori principle highlighting the collective need to actively alleviate “the negative pressure of marginal socio-economic positioning”²³⁸ of Māori. Concerning wāhine Māori, Pihama claims that it is necessary to provide a critical analysis “of the layers of structural arrangements that prevent Māori women accessing resources and economic opportunities to ensure well-being.”²³⁹ As such, I am interested in colonial gender ideologies that sought to domesticate wāhine Māori and, as a result, reduce their life opportunities. I ask, in what ways are colonial gender ideologies framing wāhine Māori as domesticated in the Pākehā sense, particularly regarding her labour?

²³⁴ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 166.

²³⁵ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 168.

²³⁶ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 169.

²³⁷ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 169.

²³⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith cited in Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 169.

²³⁹ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 169.

5) Whānau - Pihama explains that within both Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine theory, whānau is considered vital to the collective well-being of Māori.²⁴⁰ Whānau has often been reduced to meaning family, which Pihama describes as “particularly dangerous for Māori women.”²⁴¹ Wāhine Māori were threatened by the reduction of whānau to a family as it effectively dislocated them from their roles and positions of power as well as the protection afforded her within their whānau, hapū, and iwi. This violence impacted not only her but also her whānau and has been, as I will discuss in more detail, one of the most significant violations experienced by Māori people. It attacks the very core of our being as Māori. In applying the ‘whānau’ principle to my visual analysis, I ask, is whānau being represented? If so, how? And why? How are wāhine Māori portrayed in relation to whānau? What gendered colonial ideologies are being employed and why?

6) Kaupapa - Prominent Māori scholar Graham Smith defines this foundational principle of Kaupapa Māori as the ‘collective philosophy’ that provides Māori with a platform on which we can focus on issues that are explicitly Māori. Pihama writes, “A key element of Mana Wahine theory is the recognition that our collective aspirations must necessarily be inclusive of the many ways in which we locate ourselves.”²⁴² I apply this principle to my visual analysis in acknowledging that the wāhine Māori represented in the images do not belong to a homogenous group but come from diverse backgrounds and realities within their own whānau, hapū, and iwi. As such, I question what distinctive features (if any) are evident in the image that would have suggested to the European audience the Māori woman’s lived reality within her own culture (i.e., her position, role in her whānau, hapū, and iwi)? And what purpose may such a representation or omission have served?

This research is a response to Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s call, over two decades ago, to assume through the paradigm of Mana Wahine a “control over the interpretation of our struggles, to theorise our experiences”²⁴³ to provide an added insight into the complexities of our world. A decade ago, in

²⁴⁰ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 169.

²⁴¹ Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 170.

²⁴² Pihama, “Māku Anō e Hanga,” 171.

²⁴³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects, and Mana Wahine,” in *Women and Education in Aotearoa*, 1992, Sue Middleton and Alison Jones ed. (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books), 34.

her article, “Mana Wahine: Decolonising Politics,” Māori academic Naomi Simmonds discussed the possibilities of Mana Wahine by reflecting on Smith’s four Mana Wahine discourses- the whānau discourse, the spiritual discourse, the state discourse, and the Indigenous women’s discourse.²⁴⁴ Smith asserts that each discourse encapsulates the efforts of wāhine Māori to address the “subtleties of ongoing oppression”²⁴⁵ from a wāhine Māori perspective. Thus, the whānau, spiritual, state, and Indigenous strands of Mana Wahine are significant to my project and lay the foundation for my methodological approach.

The whānau discourse, Smith explains, recognises that our whakapapa is the “fundamental unit of identity”²⁴⁶ that can help us understand our different realities as wāhine Māori. As such, whakapapa connects our individual circumstances to the collective. Smith describes whakapapa as: “embedded in a whānau- and hapū-based view of the world, an epistemology or body of knowledge and experience which marks out the boundaries and the geography over which our collective struggles as Māori women are fought.”²⁴⁷ Whānau discourse informs my Mana Wahine research, which aims to contribute to the uplifting of wāhine Māori mana. This necessarily includes uplifting the mana of the entire whānau, hapū, and iwi collectives. I draw on the whānau discourse throughout my thesis, with a particular focus in the chapter six, “Mana Wahine Whānau Discourse.”

In my methodology, the spiritual discourse guides my research as I grapple with the dominant Western worldview that continues to suppress our own understandings of te ao. I approach this research with the understanding that the Western worldview denies our realities that are, as Smith writes, “spiritual as well as physical.” Thus, in my research, I recognise and highlight the importance of the knowledge our atua and tīpuna wāhine have passed down to us and our responsibility as wāhine Māori to honour this knowledge in the present and through to the future. I employ excerpts of the life accounts of various tīpuna wāhine to garner an understanding of what our realities consist of, particularly regarding relationships and our mana within them.

²⁴⁴ Simmonds, “Mana Wahine: Decolonising Politics,” 106.

²⁴⁵ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects, and Mana Wahine,” 43.

²⁴⁶ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects, and Mana Wahine,” 44.

²⁴⁷ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects, and Mana Wahine,” 44.

As an Indigenous women's research I recognise that our story of colonisation belongs to a much larger international context and that, because of this, we are not alone. I have conducted this research with the knowledge that our struggle as wāhine Māori is shared with millions of Indigenous women worldwide. I recognise that although our experiences with oppressive regimes may differ, they collide in many areas. From our common history, I have been able to draw from Indigenous women's strength and knowledge to inform my thinking and practice. In turn, with this research, I contribute to the Indigenous women's body of knowledge with the hope that it will benefit our collective Indigenous aspirations to live in 'ora.'

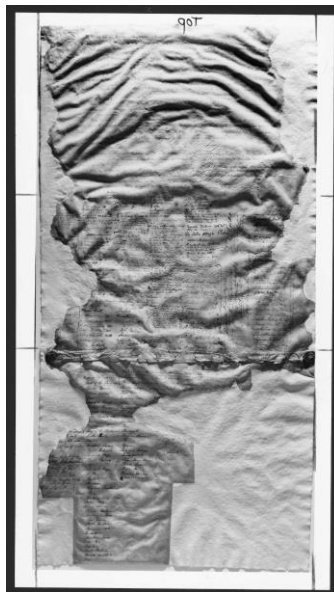
I dedicate chapter five of this thesis to the state discourse as a way to identify and discuss the role of the state in the economic and social oppression of wāhine Māori. As such, I focus the first section on the impact of colonisation and capitalism on wāhine Māori labour. I have also drawn particular attention to how the colonial ideologies instrumental in the construction of 'Māori womanhood' were shaped by a Pākehā social hierarchy and the colonial economy. I also investigate how wāhine Māori bodies were visually represented to promote and uphold this notion of 'Māori motherhood' and the many ways in which the state was implicated.

Simmonds concludes that "the need to sustain and further develop Mana Wahine as an epistemological framework is still as pressing as ever."²⁴⁸ It is, therefore, in the study of New Zealand's colonial power and history that I took to archival research with a fierce epistemological motivation to unravel an array of taken-for-granted essentialist ontologies in which they harbour. I was ever aware of the politics of knowledge, of how Pākehā assembled, used, and abused knowledge of wāhine Māori, and also why colonial sentiment and affective life are imagined, as Stoler points out, as "Recursive elements in the making of knowledge – virtually banned from epistemology and political acuity when centuries of political elites and their commentators have told us otherwise."²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ Simmonds, "Mana Wahine: Decolonising Politics," 25.

²⁴⁹ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, 10.

Stoler has asserted for decades that archival research necessarily requires a particular attentiveness to the labour that went into crafting the colonial narratives as well as the deceptively smooth coherence of their authority.²⁵⁰ Jackson spoke of colonisation as always being a ‘many rendered thing.’²⁵¹ He notes that “since the beginning of the European dispossession of the world’s Indigenous Peoples, the colonisers have defined and redefined it in a vast story archive.”²⁵² In Aotearoa, colonisation took place with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, two years after the passing of the Public Record Office Act in Britain. Accordingly, Pākehā included an office in the proposed settlement plans of the New Zealand Company, the establishment of which by Hobson was under the instruction of the Colonial Office.²⁵³ Here, the Treaty of Waitangi was stored, forgotten, and broken, serving as a fitting metaphor for the relationship between the British Crown and Māori (Figure. 6). The Crown’s breaches of the treaty, Māori scholar Ocean Mercier notes, have been numerous and ongoing, resulting in the confiscation or lack of protection of land and resources and the displacement of our people.²⁵⁴



(Figure. 6) Te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840, Alexander Turnbull Library, EP-Ethics-Waitangi Day and Treaty of Waitangi-03.

²⁵⁰ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

²⁵¹ Moana Jackson, “Where to Next? Decolonisation and the stories in the land,” in *Imagining Decolonisation*, Anne Hodge, ed. (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020), 133.

²⁵² Jackson, “Where to Next?” 133.

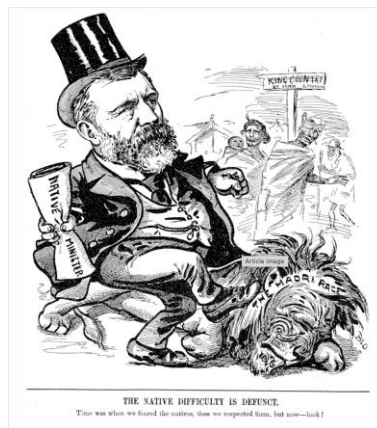
²⁵³ Alexander Hare McLintock, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 1*, (Wellington: R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1966), 78.

²⁵⁴ Mercier, “What is Decolonisation?” 40.

Jackson states:

“As they set about ensuring their supremacy through war and all the other brutality of dispossession, the colonisers wrote new stories that deliberately misremembered and obscured the injustice of what they were doing. History became a kind of rebranding in which colonisation was not seen as a violent home invasion but a grand if sometimes flawed, adventure that was somehow ‘better’ here than anywhere else because of the proclaimed honour of the Crown in treaty-making.”²⁵⁵

With a Mana Wahine theoretical approach, I sought to question the categorical imperatives that are particular to the production and purpose of the archive itself. The New Zealand government’s archive was designed based on how the records could serve the colonisation of Aotearoa rather than just as a preservation of public records. Here, colonists, like former Prime Minister Richard Seddon, an ardent imperialist, depicted below (Figure. 7), are noted to have been mainly motivated to have their personal achievements and those of their colonial forebears recorded.²⁵⁶



(Figure. 7) Advertisements Column 1
Observer, V. XIV, Issue 795, 24 March 1894, 1.

In addition to a Mana Wahine analysis of the archives, I have adopted Stoler’s approach of reading ‘along the archival grain.’ I utilise this methodology as a ‘hoa mahi’ to Mana Wahine theory. In her dissertation, Pihama asserts that a hoa mahi relationship with Western theory is premised on

²⁵⁵ Moana Jackson, “Where to Next?” 145.

²⁵⁶ McLintock, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 2*, 78.

the idea that Indigenous Peoples can use radical Western theories to engage colonialism.²⁵⁷ Māori educationalist and esteemed scholar Graham Hingaroa Smith claims that theories can be modified to work within a tāngata whenua setting.²⁵⁸ Thus, in my research, I attempted to, as Stoler suggests, read along the archival grain, as opposed to against it, by identifying how ethnography itself is an approach to history-making. Reading along the grain requires researchers to take a humble approach rather than one too assured in finding a grand colonial narrative. Stoler suggests that by exploring the archival grain carefully, our sensibilities are drawn to the “archives granular rather than seamless texture, to the rough surface that mottles its hue and shapes its form.”²⁵⁹ In doing so, researchers can enter a “field force and will to power, to attend to both the sound and sense therein and their rival and reciprocal energies. It calls on us to understand how unintelligibilities are sustained and why empires remain so uneasily invested in them.”²⁶⁰

As a Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine researcher, I understand the archives to be a highly protected site that helps maintain what counts as legitimate knowledge. And that the systems of classification and representation that Pākehā protect within these archives allow for fragments of information, as Smith asserts, “to be retrieved and reformulated in various contexts as discourses,”²⁶¹ which, in turn, inform the systems of power and domination that continue to impact on wāhine Māori lives. Thus, within these fragments, I sought to break apart the categories in which we, in Aotearoa, work, think, live, and presume to know wāhine Māori, each other, and the world. By reading along the archival grain, I could see the archival materials as a type of evidence while simultaneously deconstructing the messages that were coded into those images, disrupting the epistemic violence of the text, which attempts to capture Māori within the framework of their intended audience. Reading along the archival grain with a wāhine Māori lens provides a method to read hidden racial formations. Racial formations that, Stoler asserts, “are steeped precisely in an assumed way of knowing expressed in loquacious and carefully muted registers.”²⁶² In her work

²⁵⁷ Pihama, *Tihei Mauri Ora*, 31.

²⁵⁸ Graham Hingaroa Smith, “Māori Education: Revolution and Transformative Action,” in *The Canadian Journal of Native Education* 24, no. 2 (2000). <https://doi.org/10.14288/cjne.v24i1.195881>

²⁵⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008), 53.

²⁶⁰ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 53.

²⁶¹ Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies*, 46.

²⁶² Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 53.

in the Dutch colonial archive, Stoler employed an ‘epistemological hesitance’ as a political diagnostic, marking, she writes: “where and when problems of interpretation arise, where doubt confronts emphatic claims. Such issues are alerts to where interior frontiers emerge and reposition, how sentiments distribute social distinctions, how taste marks denigration, and how the forgotten and forgettable withhold social worth.”²⁶³ It is at the interior frontiers that I address our shared humiliation and rage, the *mamae*, and the *kaha* of *wāhine* Māori.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Kimihia te mea ngaro - ka tuohu koe, he maunga teitei
Search for what is hidden - and only bow to lofty mountains.

Most of my archival research was conducted at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, where I spent three weeks from opening to closing. It was an expensive exercise, involving a ten-hour journey from my home on Waiheke Island, Auckland. I borrowed money to hire a car and stayed at my mum’s house to override my financial barriers. At the Alexander Turnbull Library I searched through their ‘Drawings, Paintings and Prints’ collection, the ‘Ephemera’ collection, the ‘manuscripts’ collection, the ‘National newspaper’ collection, the ‘New Zealand Cartoon Archive,’ the ‘New Zealand and Pacific Book’ collection, the ‘Photographic Archive,’ the ‘Oral History and Sound’ collection as well as the ‘Turnbull General’ collection, for images of and references to Māori women. In addition to analysing the images, I also read the texts that might accompany them. These could be the artist’s words or an interpretation by the editors or publishers—such as in the case of Houhamou Rowera. I observed the descriptions provided by the curators, librarians, and archivists and took note of how often Māori girls were referred to as Māori women.

I searched the archival database using the keywords “Māori” and “women” within my timeframe of 1820-1920. However, as I did not want to rely on librarians and archivists to identify *wāhine*

²⁶³ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 55.

Māori, I would also search for the keyword ‘Māori’ and go through the archives manually. This is how I found sketches of wāhine Māori at the Native Land Courts (see Figures. 8 and 9), drawn on to Land Court documents by colonial artist William Hodgkins in his private collection of sketchbooks (1833 - 1898). I followed this method when looking at other archival collections online, such as those held at the Canterbury Museum, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, and the Nelson Provincial Museum (NPM), where I requested permission to use the images of Hema Ruka and the wahine Māori bottle feeding her pepi from the Mana Whenua Iwi of Te Taihū. Furthermore, I sought permission from The Royal Collection Trust to use the image of Grace Horomona by Gottfried Lindauer.



(Figure. 8) Hodgkins, William Mathew. My Private Catalogue of the New Zealand and South Seas Art Collection, 1833-1898, Alexander Turnbull Library, E-324-q-3. Sketches of what appear to be people at the Native Land Courts are on Native Land Court document paper. Hodgkins identifies the wāhine Māori as Mata in several sketches, one of which she is taking “the oath.” (Figure, 9) Hodgkins, William Mathew. My Private Catalogue of the New Zealand and South Seas Art Collection, 1833-1898, Alexander Turnbull Library, E-324-q-3 Another figure Hodgkins appears to have labelled is ‘Kiti Keropa,’ and another is ‘Paddy OHym? Ex Kopati.’ Other figures seem to be of Māori and colonialists either as a portrait or engaged in activity, namely reading and writing.

The archival material I found relevant to my project consisted of official nineteenth-century imperial records and publications, such as Imperial Magazine articles, Christian Missionary Society documents, official government documents, and correspondence. I used these materials to analyse the development of the state and to gain further insight into how wāhine Māori bodies

were managed within this site. I also expanded my scope of inquiry to include genres perhaps assumed to be irrelevant to colonial discourse, such as those concerned with the domestic sphere. Within the archives of the domestic, I sought texts and images that were either of an intimate nature, such as letters, journal entries, and Christmas cards, or were instrumental in the building of the nation's psyche, such as newspaper clippings, postcards, and advertisements. Thus, I sought to collect fragments of popular, accessible material that served as information to the masses and enabled a group of immigrants to come to "know" each other and have a common understanding of the 'Other,' that is, wahine Māori.

Notably, in my archival research, I found that colonial family scrapbooks provided one of the wealthiest resources available to provide insight into life on the colonial frontier. Victorian scrapbooks tended to hold a range of materials, such as letters, newspaper clippings, photographs, postcards, and advertisements, that were often personally meaningful. A number of the images I have included in this research belonged to a prominent colonial family – The Richmond family. The Richmond family included members who were politicians (including a Native minister), colonial administrators, barristers, and, in the case of Elizabeth Mary Richmond, a leader in the League of Mothers and the New Zealand Society for the Protection of Women and Children. Thus, I was able to obtain advertisements of cleaning materials and other domestic items, women's committee brochures, a complete and comprehensive shopping catalogue, emigrant teenage girls' journal entries, calling cards, advertising, children's toys, domestic guides, courting, matrimonial and child-rearing advice, contraception and the like. Examining these materials gave me a unique window into a colonial exercise that Western academia has predominantly misunderstood and overlooked as having played an insignificant role in the imperial project. The images I was interested in represented the embeddedness of ideological constructs of wāhine Māori while also providing insight into the societal, cultural, and historical conditions within which the ideological constructions underpinning the images, and the images themselves, were produced.

The colonial frontier of New Zealand's past provides the period in which I have invested this research, as it encapsulates an area of particular interest to the agents of empire and the 'men of science' throughout the nineteenth century. Agents of the empire, such as these men, were interested in the frontier's inhabitants' production, dissemination, and reception of British

knowledge. Therefore, colonial frontier ethnography offers a diverse field of study consisting of complex relations to state power and the home. Examining a diverse range of archival materials from this period demonstrated how the Pākehā's reproduction, adaptation, and circulation processes generated influential but highly stable knowledge of human diversity. The linear boundaries that colonialist's established relied on core binaries of 'us' and 'them,' 'pure' and 'contaminated,' 'civilised,' and 'heathen.' These binaries were displaced over time and space and were necessarily porous in design. Colonialists believed that blurring of these binaries would result in chaos and was to be actively prevented, at any cost, with violence if deemed necessary.

As a Mana Wahine researcher, I found I had what felt like an instinctive mistrust of the archives. Due to this, I approached the archives very cautiously; for example, I would wear the white gloves provided by the library to protect particular objects and texts. However, I would opt to wear them voluntarily when handling materials, such as the scrapbook cutouts, (Figure. 10) that I thought may have had the potential of containing toxic components, such as arsenic, that were used to create a particularly vibrant green hue, predominantly known as 'Scheele's Green.' This pigment was discovered in 1775 by Carl Scheele, a Swedish chemist, who knew it was poisonous yet persevered to get it on the market. There was no other green like it, and once it was available, it became extremely popular throughout the nineteenth century. It was so popular that even when its toxicity became known, the demand for it remained:

"Its vibrant colour could be found in clothing, wallpaper, toys, candles, dyes, and more through the end of the nineteenth century. Gowns, hats, gloves, and socks were dyed with it, sometimes making the wearer ill through touch alone. Children in green rooms were documented as 'wasting away.' Women in green dresses were struck ill, swooning in droves. The ingredient that made the colour in Scheele's Green so vibrant was also responsible for its deadliness."²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ John Hulsey and Ann Trusty, "Green Death | The Art History of Arsenic," 2020. <https://www.artistsnetwork.com/art-history/arsenic-art-history/>



(Figure. 10) Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

In the spaces of uncertainty and ‘inter-indeterminacies,’ I engaged in the archives. I used spaces of uncertainty as an approach to critical thinking and epistemology and, in my thesis writing, as a tool of analysis and reflection. I wanted to “draw together incommensurable places and objects of knowledge”²⁶⁵ in a way that cultural critic Rey Chow’s work “reveals the complex discursive relations, reticulations, implicit and explicit interconnections between as well as gaps, hiatuses, aporias and barriers across putatively separate ‘realms.’”²⁶⁶ Thus, the archival materials that I analysed provided a range of fragments that I connected through the common thread of metaphors around desire and degeneracy. I found that I was presented with an abundance of images and texts that consistently staged metaphors around the proper role of women and their connection to land, as well as the status or ‘health of the races.’

In my archival research, I focused on spaces of intimacy, perceived proximity, and desire as a source from which we can search for newly recognisable forms of social perceptions in relating, which are visible precisely in their discomfort and contradiction. Here, I interrogated my belief that the colonial discourses of desire and deviance may have been covert but were crucial in how

²⁶⁵ Chow, *Writing Diaspora*, 234.

²⁶⁶ Chow, *Writing Diaspora*, 234.

wāhine Māori became gendered as women, racialised as Māori, and how our bodies were then distributed across class structures. Critical examination of colonial categories of feelings, desire, the intimate, and affect prompted these central questions: how are bodies similar or not? How are bodies available or not? How are bodies knowable or not? And to whom? These questions are critical and essential themes in my research as it is in the shaping of common sense and the control of that common sense, which comprise the substance of colonial governance and its working epistemologies. As argued by Stoler, the genealogy of intimacy is one method that can guide us toward spaces at once not yet known but deeply embodied, the spaces at the edges of balance emerging.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers*.

CHAPTER 4

COLONIAL IDEOLOGIES OF RACE

In this chapter, I examine representations of wāhine Māori that were the products of racist colonial ideologies, constructed within and informed by scientific and commodity racism. In the first sub-section, “Scientific Racism – Representations of Wāhine Māori in Space in Time,” I highlight the network of colonial ideologies that sought to construct the bodies of wāhine Māori within Western scientific discourses, particularly the pseudo sciences that played a dominant role in promoting racial and sexual hierarchical thinking, alongside a naturalisation discourse. I draw on images to illustrate how racist colonial ideologies were presented through the bodies of wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori. In the second sub-section, “Commodity Racism – Colonial, Sexual Visualisations of Wāhine Māori,” I look at how the commodification of Māori culture and women were instrumental in the articulation of a national Pākehā culture. This chapter provides a background into the prominent forms of racism and colonial ideologies that Pākehā depended on in the colonisation of Aotearoa as a way to classify wāhine Māori as inferior based on their race and sex and therefore justify any violence enacted on them. I demonstrate how scientific and commodity racism had a specific range of detrimental impacts on wāhine Māori. Thus, I provide some insight into the perspectives of the artists and others who depicted wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori through their representations.

SCIENTIFIC RACISM – REPRESENTATIONS OF WĀHINE MĀORI IN SPACE AND TIME

In this section, I examine the network of colonial ideologies that sought to construct the wāhine Māori body within Western scientific discourses. I will demonstrate how, through images, wāhine Māori bodies were presented as inferior based on a linear view of time and progress and located out of place in the historical time of modernity. I also address how Pākehā beliefs in social

degeneracy fuelled fears of racial contamination, a threat thought to be posed by the bodies of wāhine Māori. I begin this section within the context of modernity emerging as it provided the set of narratives necessary to classify Indigenous Peoples and nature and justify their oppression politically.

The Enlightenment period, also known as the ‘Age of Reason,’ marks a time of significant change in Europe, with imperialism central to the formation of the ‘modern’ human through the development of the modern state, its economic expansion, and science. The scientific paradigm of positivism equipped the West with a way to attempt to understand the natural world by examining the social world of human beings and human societies. Along with this development came new conceptions of society that were based on rationalism, individualism, capitalism, and imperial expansion. Distinguished Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith refers to the rich colonial imagination of imperial expansions that opened up an array of exciting opportunities in the South Pacific, noting that “the establishment of colonies and the systematic colonisation of Indigenous Peoples in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are all facets of the modernist project.”²⁶⁸ Pākehā historian Keith Sinclair captured this imagination, framing imperialist conquest of the Pacific as inevitable, desirable, and necessary, when he stated:

“For centuries, the Polynesians kept their myriad of islands to themselves, but they could not permanently hide such treasures from the curious European... The expansion of Europe had begun... The greater part of the world, including the scattered islands of the Pacific, was to be seized by an insatiable civilisation, (*sic*) greedy for spices or for realms of gold; for land, for novelty, or for souls.”²⁶⁹

This idea of inevitable expansion was founded on the invented notion of progress that would evolve through social Darwinism, a distorted interpretation of Darwin’s *On the Origins of Species*, published in 1859. McClintock asserts that in alliance with social Darwinism, an image of the natural patriarchal family emerged as a “popular trope for marshalling a bewildering array of cultures into a single global narrative, ordered and managed by Europeans.”²⁷⁰ This essence is

²⁶⁸ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 62.

²⁶⁹ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*. (Middlesex: Penguin Books Inc., 1959), 29.

²⁷⁰ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 57.

captured in the scrapbook cut-out below (Figure. 11). Whereby the metaphor of the family of humankind became an analogy with the patriarchal family, as a way to rationalise the idea of a hierarchy of nations, with some nations ruling over the populations of others.



(Figure. 11) Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Missionary reports from Tahiti in 1820 provide further evidence of this notion of the paternal coloniser concerning the management of the Indigenous Peoples, distinguishing between the need to use coercion to control them or not. Violence is assumed a natural option under this paternalistic approach, as was an underlying condescension: “If the Tahitians are kindly treated, they may be led as children; if coercively, they will be entirely unmanageable and will forsake the person’s house who should so treat them.”²⁷¹

Similarly, the following excerpt from a newspaper article reporting on the ‘Wairau Incident,’ later to be referred to as the ‘Wairau Massacre,’²⁷² that occurred in 1843 when an armed party of New Zealand Company colonialists attacked the iwi, Ngāti Toa, over the proposed land purchase in the Wairau valley. Here, we witness the paternal coloniser notion used to justify the violence deemed necessary to control the minds and bodies of Māori people:

²⁷¹ “Extract of an account of the State of the Mission in the Island of Raiatea, and of the General Meeting of the Society there” in *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Volume 2, (Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1820), 658.

²⁷² Initially referred to in the colonial press as the Wairau ‘Masacre’ on account of the onus being firmly placed on the Māori as the aggressors. As it became evident that the colonialists were, in fact, the transgressors, the event was to become known as the Wairau ‘Incident’.

“The natives resemble spoiled children; the timid defence shown to them by the authorities and to the impunity extend to all their criminal acts, have encouraged them in the belief that the government is either unwilling or unable to control them, and has led them on to the commission of excesses which have nearly ruined the settlers, and terminated in the massacre. From the temper they have manifested since the event, it is to be feared that harsh measures must be resorted to before they will pay obedience to the law.”²⁷³

Some Māori, too, appear to have adopted the paternalising notion, placing their trust in the relationship they had believed to have developed between themselves and the British Crown based on mutual benefit. At the Waitangi debate on whether to sign the treaty between Māori and the Crown, Ngāti Hao Rangatira, Tāmāti Wāka Nene asserted that British intervention was necessary to protect themselves from the lawless Pākehā on the colonial frontier.²⁷⁴ Nene’s speech reportedly was the turning point of the debate that led to the general agreement of many to sign.²⁷⁵ Despite his belief in the benefits of Te Tiriti, Nene’s sentiment was clear when he commanded: “You must be our father. You must not allow us to become slaves. You must preserve our customs and never permit our lands to be wrested from us.”²⁷⁶

Indeed, it is stipulated in the first of the three articles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Māori version of the treaty) that Māori give the Crown the right to govern their British settlers. In the second article, it is affirmed that Māori retain their sovereignty and Māori agree only to sell their land to the Crown, and in return, the Crown agreed (in the third article) to give Māori the same rights as British subjects. Te Tiriti granted neither side authority to rule the other; each was to govern themselves under the protection of the Queen. However, social Darwinism gave the English a colonial lens from which to view the treaty as a contract between an emerging and a dying race. The treaty, therefore, could be understood by some colonialists as perhaps a ‘buffer’ that would be rendered

²⁷³ “The Late Massacre at Wairau, New Zealand,” *Illustrated London News*, in *Illustrated London News (Cuttings) 1843-1875*. New Zealand Parliamentary Library, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Reference: MSY-8130.

²⁷⁴ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, “Tāmāti Wāka Nene.” <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/tamati-waka-nene>. In 1839 Nene was baptised under the Wesleyans and named Thomas Walker (Tāmāti Wāka) after an English merchant of the Anglican Church Missionary Society.

²⁷⁵ “Tāmāti Wāka Nene,” Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 8 Nov 2017.

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/tamati-waka-nene>

²⁷⁶ George William Rusden, *The History of New Zealand. Vol 1*. (London: Chapman and Hall Limited), 216.

<https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Rus01Hist-t1-body-d5.html>

null and void as the Māori eventually ceased to exist. A social commentator in 1838 captured the notion of the inevitable extinction of Māori concerning the proposed colonisation of Aotearoa:

“It may be deemed a cold and mercenary calculation, but we must say that instead of attempting an amalgamation of the two races - Europeans and New Zealanders - as is recommended by some persons, the wiser course would be to let the native race gradually retire before the settlers and ultimately become extinct.”²⁷⁷

Twenty years after the event, a newspaper article titled, *The Māori Record* published in the 1860s, emphasised this paternalism in their interpretation of Nene’s speech, as well as evidence of the adoption by Māori a fear regarding the threat of their extinction:

“If thou shouldst return, we natives are gone, utterly gone, nothinged, extinct. What, then, shall we do? Who are we? Remain, Governor, a father for us...“Thou go away!! No, no, no: For then the French or the rum-sellers will have us natives... But we natives are children, yes, mere children. Yes, it is not for us, but for you to say, to decide, what it shall be. It is for you to choose. For we are only natives. Who and what are we? Children yes, children solely. We do not know; do you then choose for us. You, our fathers, you missionaries. Sit, I say, Governor— sit!!! a father, a Governor for us.”²⁷⁸

What we witness here is a characteristic of the oppressed that Brazilian philosopher Paulo Freire describes as the internalisation of the oppressor’s opinion of them. Furthermore, it comes with a fatalistic attitude towards their situation, another characteristic Freire claims of the oppressed.²⁷⁹ One Māori lamented, “As the Pākehā rat drove out the Māori rat, as the introduced grasses drove out the Māori fern so will the Māori die out before the white man.”²⁸⁰ Indeed, if one removes the coloniser’s paternalistic and fatalistic discourse from the statement, the narrative conveys a desire for the British to manage the threat of the French as well as that posed by their own people, who were wreaking havoc in Kororāreka and beyond. Twenty years after the event, the press interpreted Nene's speech as “pronounced with remarkably strong and solemn emphasis, well supported both

²⁷⁷ Paul Meredith, “A Half-Caste on the Half-Caste in the Cultural Politics of New Zealand,” in *Maori und Gesellschaft*, ed. H. Jäcksch (Berlin: Mana Verlag, 2000).

6, <https://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/Paul%20Meredith%20Mana%20Verlag%20Paper.pdf>

²⁷⁸ William Colenso, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, (Auckland: The University of Auckland, 1890), 18. <https://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document/?action=null&page=0&wid=123>

²⁷⁹ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 43.

²⁸⁰ Condlifee and Airey, “A Short History,” 112.

by gesture and manner.”²⁸¹ The article from the Illustrated London News in 1861, titled *The New Zealand chief, Tamati Waka, a friend to European Settlers*, affectionately describes Nene as: “Ever been a warm-hearted friend to the European settlers, and during a term of thirty years, no one has called in question his fidelity. His words are, I am a Māori in skin, but my heart is that of a white man.”²⁸² It is clear from this report that Nene’s views were embraced by the colonisers and were to be relied upon and encouraged, notably his apparent rejection of his ‘Māori heart.’

Although contradictory, this invention of progress was crucial to implementing and justifying the imperial project. Based on a linear view of time, the colonial notion of progress would be measured in terms of teleological advance and spiritual salvation.²⁸³ In a narrative from a Christian Missionary Society report (1821) regarding a *Visit to the Missionary Stations in the South Sea Islands and in India*, Reverend Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq., provided the following account:

“In the islands round Tahiti, and in almost all those which we visited in our progress to New Zealand, the most surprising and delightful moral change had even then taken place in the overthrow of ignorance, vice, idolatry, and indolence, and in beholding the changes which had been produced by the instruction of the natives in Christianity, we derived a satisfaction and pleasure beyond expression.”²⁸⁴

However, the reverends note, “In New Zealand, the marks of improvement are few and equivocal. The people are ferocious, intractable, and still, cannibals, as we ourselves very nearly experienced.”²⁸⁵ Furthermore, they assert: “In New South Wales... we found ... the *aboriginies* [*sic*] who are certainly the most pitiable abject of the human family that we have yet known and for whom nothing, or next to nothing, has yet been done, and but little attempted.”²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ “The New Zealand chief, Tamati Waka, a friend to European Settlers,” in *Illustrated London News* 67, no.3 (1861), 67.

²⁸² “The Battle of Mahoetahi,” *Illustrated London News* 67, no.3 (1861): 67.

<https://onehera.waikato.ac.nz/nodes/view/4307>

²⁸³ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 2nd ed., 57.

²⁸⁴ Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, “Visit to the Missionary Stations in the South Sea Islands and in India,” *Christian Advocate*, (Philadelphia, 1821).

²⁸⁵ Tyerman and Bennet, “Visit to the Missionary Stations ” 882-3.

²⁸⁶ Tyerman and Bennet, “Visit to the Missionary Stations ” 882-3.

Engel's imagining of global history as a family, in the image of an evolutionary family tree between humans is a way in which the imperial project could visualise all of humanity as a family in the domestic space.²⁸⁷ McClintock argues that alongside this, the domestic crises are imagined in racial terms, whereby the crises in the industrial core, inside the domestic economy, were imaged racially, pulling in metaphors from the experiences of empire. In German philosopher Karl Marx's *Genesis of Capitalism*, he claims that a division of labour follows after man's burgeoning consciousness. Hence, the division of labour is necessarily engendered by the sex act, laying the foundational dynamics within the nuclear family, with the wife and children as slaves of the husband.²⁸⁸ Thus, either through the use or threat of violence, the wife exists within a hierarchy where she is submissive to her husband. In turn, such patterns of inequality exist as both systematic and undisputed in European industrialised capitalist society and, therefore, serve to reinforce the view that such divisions of labour are 'natural.' As a result, the violence inherent in the gendered structuring of material relations is obscured. The family as an institution is treated as ahistorical, as spontaneously self-organising, and so then are its patriarchal power dynamics.

The gendered structuring of material relations enabled imperialists to treat the domestic family/home as ahistorical, claiming that it existed "naturally, beyond the commodity market, beyond politics and history proper."²⁸⁹ The family was thus viewed as an organic, spontaneously emergent institution that embodied and expressed natural power relations. A natural hierarchy then existed within the nuclear colonial family, with men in a higher position relative to women and adults over children. The Māori women's writings I reviewed discuss in-depth the crucial role that the state discourse of education and the Christian drive to civilise the natives played pivotal roles in enforcing Victorian, patriarchal gender roles. Indeed, Pākehā historian Barbara Brookes asserts that colonialists saw the patriarchal family form and the household's political significance as a vital instrument to transform Māori society.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*. McClintock acknowledges the concept of an 'evolutionary family' as an important concept in some dimensions, such as being part of the anti-slavery movement. However, when read alongside Social Darwinism it turns into a developmental discourse where people are placed on a racial continuum,

²⁸⁸ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *German Ideology*. (New York: International Publishers, 1996), 51.

²⁸⁹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 44.

²⁹⁰ Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*. (Bridget Williams Books. Wellington, 2016), 54.

The concept of race, as one that defined radical differences between the nature of people, was developed in the eighteenth century as a way to justify slavery and the exploitation of tāngata whenua and other Indigenous Peoples and their lands. Man was first classified into the animal kingdom by Swedish botanist, zoologist, and taxonomist Carl Linnaeus, who in 1735 developed the hierarchical classification system, “System Naturae,” where *Homo* was divided into four ‘varieties’ with European men at the top of the scale and African men at the bottom. Linnaeus also assigned attributes to each race; for example, they understood American Indians to be choleric, red-skinned, enthusiastic, and combative and Asians to be melancholy, yellow-skinned, severe, and inflexible.²⁹¹ Figure. 12 shows how racial groupings, like those of Linnaeus, could be visually depicted. McClintock offers three images to illustrate this invention of progress; firstly, “The Racial Family Tree:” “an ancient image of a natural genealogy of power,”²⁹² distorted by social evolutionists, from being a cosmological tree to a secular one, that “negotiated between nature and culture as a natural image of evolutionary human progress.”²⁹³ Secondly, the image of Mantegazza’s “Morphological Tree of the Human Races” was presented to demonstrate how, in the Tree of Time, “racial hierarchy and historical progress became the *fait accompli* of nature.”²⁹⁴ Thirdly, the “Family Group of the Katarrhinen” offers an image of “evolutionary progress represented by a series of distinct anatomical types, [organised] as a linear image of progress.”²⁹⁵

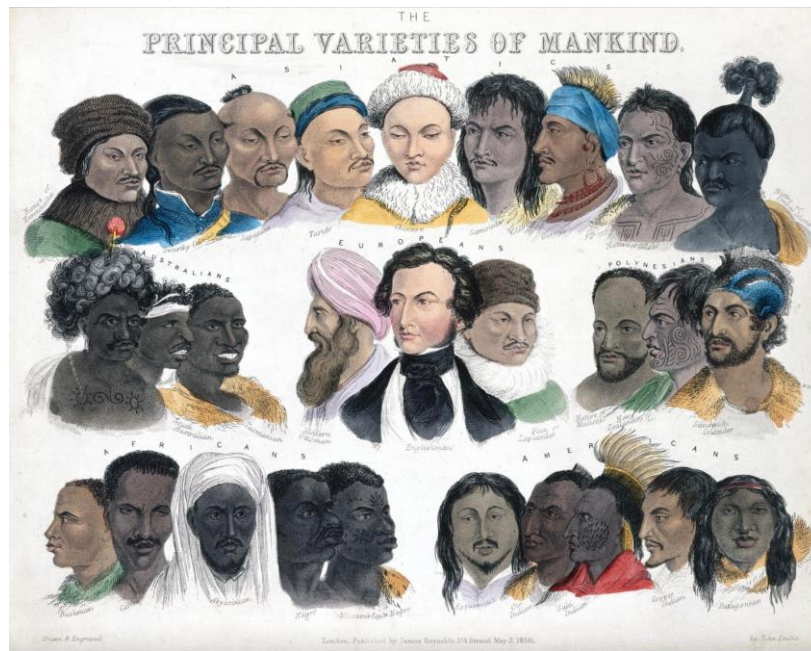
²⁹¹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 54.

²⁹² McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 37.

²⁹³ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 37.

²⁹⁴ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 38.

²⁹⁵ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 38.



(Figure. 12) Reynolds, James, *The Principal Varieties of Mankind*, May 30, 1850, London. Drawn and engraved by John Emslie.

Indigenous notions of time, however, cannot be adequately defined in English, which, according to Indigenous scholar Wenona Hall, is futile when the descriptive would be ‘non-linear.’ “We don’t have a word for non-linear in our languages because nobody would consider traveling, thinking, or talking in a straight line in the first place.”²⁹⁶ Furthermore, Hall explains that Indigenous kinship movements are circular and that our concepts of time are not separate from space; she asserts: “In our spheres of existence, time does not go in a straight line, and it is as tangible as the ground we stand on ... A focus of linear, abstract, declarative knowledge alone not only fails to create complex connectivity but damages the mind.”²⁹⁷

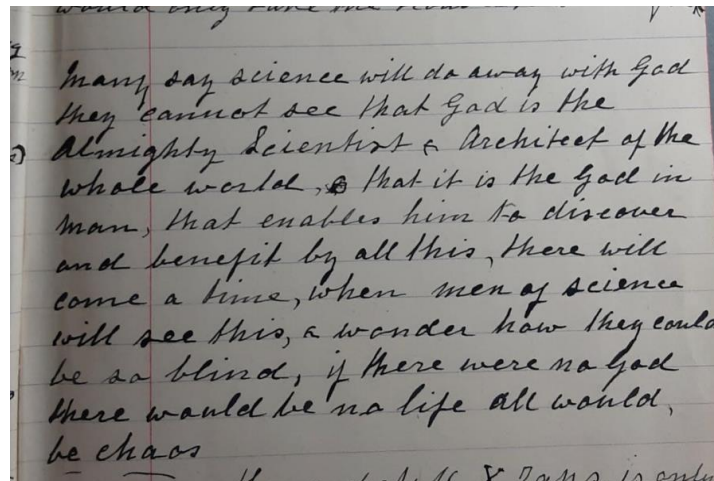
Hall refers to what she describes as ‘existential acrobats’ that were necessary for European-derived cultures to create a law of systems that are required to be “isolated and [to] exist in a vacuum of individual creation, beginning in complexity, but simplifying and breaking down until they meet their end.”²⁹⁸ Thus, time is deemed linear because everything has a beginning, middle, and end.

²⁹⁶ Wenona Hall, “Becoming Fully Human,” in *Restoring the Kinship Worldview: Indigenous Voices Introduce 28 Precepts for Rebalancing Life on Planet Earth*, ed. Donald Trent Jacobs and Darcia Narváez (California: North Atlantic Books, 2022), 247-8.

²⁹⁷ Hall, “Becoming Fully Human,” 248.

²⁹⁸ Hall, “Becoming Fully Human,” 248.

The personal journal entries of Sarah Pratt (nee Fowler) provide examples of such existential acrobatics. Pratt's journals provide an in-depth insight into the life of a young female colonialist who arrived in Nelson on board the *Indus* in 1843. In one account, Pratt expresses her anxiety about the scientific propositions on the evolution of the human species. Much perturbed, she challenges the idea as a move backward rather than forwards, a threat towards degeneration and spiritual waywardness, while simultaneously adopting the notion of the survival of the fittest to the race of people to which she belongs. A race of 'noble people' with the potential to be "free from worrieing [*sic*] weaknesses of the flesh."²⁹⁹ Indeed, Pratt claims it to be "a fine race of men and women and children glad to be alive, getting full enjoyment from all the good things of this beautiful world, there it will be paradise indeed, but this must be brought about by our own endeavours."³⁰⁰



(Figure. 13) Sarah Pratt's Journal entries, 1842, Alexander Turnbull Library, MSX-3895-3896.

Echoing Pratt's sentiments on the Pākehā race and the moral qualifications they possessed, English author and short-time (1865-1868) Pākehā colonialist, Lady Mary Ann Baker continues that:

"There can be no doubt about the future of any working man or woman in our New Zealand colonies. It rests in their own hands, under God's blessing, and the history of the whole human race shows us that He always has blessed honest labour and rightly directed efforts to do our duty in this world. Sobriety and industry are the first essentials to success.

²⁹⁹ Sarah Pratt, *Journal*, (Wellington: The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, ca.1830), MSX-3895.

³⁰⁰ Pratt, *Journal*, MSX-3895.

Possessing these moral qualifications, and a pair of hands, a man may rear up his children in those beautiful distant lands in ignorance of hunger, or thirst, or grinding poverty means. Hitherto, the want of places of worship, and schools for the children, have been a sad drawback to the material advantages of colonisation at the Antipodes; but these blessings are increasing every day, and the need of them creates the supply.”³⁰¹

The invention of progress for wāhine Māori, however, meant ‘scientific’ techniques, such as cranium measuring, were employed to prove their inferior mental capacity, not just on the grounds of their race but also of their gender.³⁰² It was Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Germany’s Enlightenment ‘father of anthropology, who began using human skulls as scientific evidence for his theories of human origin and diversity in the South Seas.³⁰³ Publishing his doctoral thesis in 1775, Blumenbach developed what Australian-based scholar Antje Kühnast states is indisputably the most influential theory of human variety of his day, of which he proposed there were five types.³⁰⁴ What Kühnast refers to as Blumenbach’s ‘cranial geography’ across the Pacific Ocean is particularly striking since he did not have in his possession any skulls from the Pacific region until twenty years after publishing his thesis.³⁰⁵ Instead, he relied heavily on the observational accounts of Joseph Banks, Cook’s gentleman naturalist, and his lead scientist at only twenty-six years old, who had accompanied Cook on the Endeavour’s voyages in 1770.

Blumenbach, Kühnast argues, also relied heavily upon classifications of skin colour, from which he had his own already established palette, which also consisted of the contradictory observations of Dampier (1697), Hawkesworth (1773), and Parkinson (1773), despite his rejection of skin colour as a racial marker due to its environmentally alterable nature.³⁰⁶ Thus, Kühnast asserts, Blumenbach hypothesised a “schematic gradual sequence from Africans to Indigenous Australians, [Māori/Moriori], and Tahitians to Native Americans.”³⁰⁷ Here, the evolutionary types

³⁰¹ Lady Baker, *Station Amusements in New Zealand*, (Auckland: Wilson & Horton Ltd., 1873), 15-16.

³⁰² Merata Mita, “From Head and Shoulders,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joellee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019).

³⁰³ Antje Kühnast, “Johann Freidrich Blumenbach’s Neuholländer,” *Australian Studies Journal* 33 (2020), 31. https://australienstudien.org/ZfA/2019-20%2033-34/ZfA_3334-201920_03_Kuehnast.pdf

³⁰⁴ Kühnast, “Johann Freidrich Blumenbach’s Neuholländer,” 32.

³⁰⁵ Kühnast, “Johann Freidrich Blumenbach’s Neuholländer,” 33.

³⁰⁶ Kühnast, “Johann Freidrich Blumenbach’s Neuholländer,” 33. For example, coal black, wood soot, (‘like Spaniard’), clear olive, rust mixed with oil, red, copper-coloured.

³⁰⁷ Kühnast, “Johann Freidrich Blumenbach’s Neuholländer,” 37.

from the archaic to the modern are displayed by Blumenbach in a way that shows that progress unfolds naturally as a range of changing marks on the body. McClintock states: “Progress takes on the character of spectacle under the form of the family. The entire chronological history of the human development is captured and consumed at a glance, so that anatomy becomes an allegory of progress and history is reproduced as a technology of the visible.”³⁰⁸

Colonial discourses thus sought to reduce wāhine Māori to a perceived biological essence, resulting in fragmented bodies, dehumanised, and of another time. Interestingly, McKinley defines the socially constructed body of wāhine Māori as containing within it the markers of ‘race’ and ‘woman’ that is “identified with a presence of the past.”³⁰⁹ McKinley refers to a genealogical/whakapapa body to describe how “bodies have a way of being seen [repetitively] throughout historical time,”³¹⁰ noting that in this context, ‘racial’ markers signify ‘origins.’³¹¹ McKinley describes the ‘body’ as both ‘written’ and ‘corporeal,’ a doubling of the body that cannot be treated separately, as both conditions inform each other. The description of a doubled body having the “ability to transcend time through a web of discourse”³¹² is relative to the tropes that American anthropologist Anne McClintock defines as the invention of ‘Panoptical Time,’ where “the image of global history [is] consumed - at a glance - in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility.”³¹³ And ‘Anachronistic Space’ where, we would see the agency of wāhine Māori denied and “projected onto anachronistic space: atavistic and irrational, inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity.”³¹⁴ McClintock asserts that ‘Anachronistic Space’ and ‘Panoptical Time’ are the two centralising tropes from which imperial science of the surface was drawn. Thus, representations of wāhine Māori were framed within colonial understandings of space, time, and progress, informed by the imperial disciplines of science and history.³¹⁵

³⁰⁸ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 38.

³⁰⁹ Elizabeth McKinley, “Brown Bodies, White Coats: Postcolonialism, Māori Women and Science,” in *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, (26, no.4, 2005), 483.

³¹⁰ McKinley, “Brown Bodies, White Coats,” 493.

³¹¹ McKinley, “Brown Bodies, White Coats,” 493. [original emphasis].

³¹² McKinley, “Brown Bodies, White Coats,” 493.

³¹³ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 37.

³¹⁴ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 40.

³¹⁵ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 168.

The following image is a photograph of a wahine Māori identified by the colonial photographer William Batt as ‘Houhamou Rowera’ in the 1870s.



(Figure. 14) “Houhamau Rowera,” circa. 1870, Photograph taken by William Batt. *Maori in Focus*, 1976, Wellington: Millwood Press.

Over a century after Pākehā photographer William Batt took this photo of ‘Houhamou Rowera’ in Wellington, author William Main provides the following narrative about the image as ‘capturing’ an example of a ‘classic’ wahine Māori, identified on the *carte portrait* as ‘Rowera, Poverty Bay’ and ‘Houhamou wife of a Taupo Chief.’ Main states:

“Fortunately, the camera arrived in New Zealand in time to record the transition in dress from authentic parallel to the European costume of the day. As well it captured some typical

examples of Māori faced characteristics... The face shows classical features with heavy brow, wide nostril, and full lips. The hair in its unkempt state also seems fitting.”³¹⁶

Applying the ‘wahine rangatira’ and ‘kaupapa’ principles to my visual analysis of this photograph through a wahine Māori lens, I can identify via Batt’s labelling that Houhamau Rowera was the ‘wife’ of a rangatira in Taupo and was, therefore, of high standing and rank within her whānau, hapū, and iwi. Houhamau’s ‘mana tangata’ is thus affirmed. Houhamau’s kākahu and adornments also testify to her position as a person of significance. When I first examined this image, framed within Main’s narrative, I thought Houhamau looked inquisitive and perhaps sad. However, on deeper examination, I realised that Houhamau is staring directly at the camera lens in a way that suggests bold confidence, a stance I read as an affirmation of her ‘mana whakahaere.’ In line with this view, Houhamau may have been one of the many Māori sitters who, as Te Awekotuku describes: “were flattered and intrigued by [the] attention and by the [photographic] process.”³¹⁷ Indeed, this photograph is dated to a period when there had been a high demand for Māori portraits, which Main describes as ‘unprecedented.’ Furthermore, the low cost of producing portraits in the form of carte de visite ensured that Pākehā, who wanted cheap images of Māori, could get them in ‘abundance.’³¹⁸

Applying the ‘te reo’ pillar of Ngā Pou Ariā, I examine the language used in framing the photograph. As noted, the photographer labelled the image with her Māori name and her status as a wife of a chief of Taupo. This is significant as it was more common to find images of wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori in the archives as nameless. In addition to the photographer’s notes, I was provided with Main’s interpretation of it in his book, *Maori in Focus: A Selection of Photographs of the Maori from 1850-1914*. Main’s description of her ‘typical’ characteristics aligns with the ‘science’ of physiognomy, including his subtle jab regarding Houhamou’s ‘unkempt’ hair. We witness in his description an Māori woman being distinguished by an inferior and backward relation to linear European time. Within this colonial framework, the Mana wahine principle of

³¹⁶ William Main, *Maori in Focus: A Selection of Photographs of the Maori from 1850-1914*, (Dunedin: Millwood Press, 1976), 1-2.

³¹⁷ Ngahua Te Awekotuku, “Moko Maori – An Understanding of Pain,” in *Anthropologists, Indigenous Scholars, and the Research Endeavour: Seeking Bridges Towards Mutual Respect*, ed. Joy Hendry, and Lara Fitznor, (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012). 216.

³¹⁸ Main, *Maori in Focus*, 2.

‘ako Māori,’ becomes irrelevant to present and future knowledge; it is devalued to that of ‘myth.’ The principle ‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga’ is also diminished in value as she is ultimately framed as part of a dying race.

British progression through the imperial space to New Zealand is likened to backward time travel to an anachronistic moment of prehistory, ‘Old New Zealand.’ Hence, the paradigm of evolution necessarily meant the conceptual shift of time from chronical (biblical) to secular, natural, and spatial. Thus, “the axis of time was projected onto the axis of space, and history became global.”³¹⁹ This is where we see geographical differences across space as being understood as historical differences across time, where popular titles emerged, such as *The Maori as He Was* (Best, 1924); *An Old New Zealander - Te Rauparaha, the Napoleon of the South* (Lindsay, 1911); *The Maori, Yesterday and To-day* (Cowan, 1930); *Maoriland Fairy Tales* (Howes, 1936); *Our Maoris* (Lady Martin, 1884); *Old New Zealand* (Manning/Pakeha Maori, 1930). As well as in the influx of New Zealand history publications during the centennial collections in the 1940s, where Māori occupy the prefaces, and into the 1970s with publications such as Mains’ (1976) *End of an Era- a last look at the Native Race before foreign influences obliterated an ancient way of life*, that are all clear testaments of these tropes.



(Figure. 15) Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

³¹⁹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 37.

The concept of an evolutionary family expresses contradictory visions of world history that were critical in rationalising particular power relations and provided the foundations for racial optics. Racial optics visually placed wāhine Māori on a continuum of progress and development. This framing provided the shifting backdrop where Māori people were meant to reside. Pākehā historian James Belich, outlined four popular modes of thought regarding the status of Māori amongst Pākehā that informed the unfolding racial optics of:³²⁰

1) The Dying Māori

“The Māori is passing away like the Kiwi, the Tui, and many other things, and by-and-by they will disappear just as the leaves of the trees, and nothing will remain to tell of them but the names of their mountains and river.”³²¹

2) The Redeemable Māori:

“The paramount influence of a civilised community is creating a change in the native habits and customs, which will soon bring these people into a closer affinity with the colonial population, and all accounts concur in proving that the amalgamation of the two races will be complete in the course of a very few generations.”³²²

3) The Noble Māori:

“That these tribes, although independent of each other, were at peace among themselves; and that the principal chief, Patuone, a man of superior intellect and extensive influence, was not only friendly to European but also particularly anxious that the missionaries should fix their residence near him, and that he had engaged to protect them to the utmost of his power.”³²³

And, 4) The Savage Māori:

As Brookes points out, in the observations made of wāhine Māori by Cook’s ship crew on his third voyage to New Zealand in 1779, referring to Kathryn Rountree’s claim that wāhine Māori were

³²⁰ James Belich, “Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand,” in *British Imperial Strategies in the Pacific, 1750-1900*, ed. Jane Samson, (London: Routledge, 2003), 10.

³²¹ Paul Meredith, “A Half-Caste in the Cultural Politics in New Zealand, 5.
<https://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/Paul%20Mana%20Verlag%20Paper.pdf>.

³²² “The Maori” *Illustrated London News*, (no.164, 1845), 388.

³²³ Tyerman and Bennet, “Visit to the Missionary Stations,” 882-3.

seen to be dominated by their men, and because of this, they were even: “further down the Chain of Being, and therefore closer to savages.”³²⁴

Eighty-five years after this observation in 1864, James Kirker, poet, essayist, and member of the Wellington Literary Society, wrote an essay titled “The Maori Race,” where he made the following comment about the Māori ‘stage of savagery,’ measured against their linear notion of ‘civilisation:’

“The subject for our consideration this evening possesses the peculiar attraction and interest for many reasons- The people whose Manners, Customs, and Mode of Life we are about to consider are agreed by all who have had ample opportunity for forming a just and accurate opinion thereon; to be a highly courageous and intelligent people - and just as in the civilised world, there are observable different stages of progress and perfection, analogically so with savage races the Maories it is acknowledged bordering on the Confine of Civilisation.”³²⁵

Belich describes Pākehā stereotypes of Māori as centred on either, firstly, the ‘Black’ savage, deemed as permanently inferior and linked to Polygenist theory, known as the first ‘scientific’ approach to race, of which New Zealand’s second-longest serving Prime Minister, William Massey (1912) was an ardent believer, stating: “New Zealanders are probably the purest Anglo-Saxon population in the British Empire. Nature intended New Zealand to be a white man's country, and it must be kept as such.”³²⁶ Indeed, in 1920, the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act was implemented as a deliberate policy to keep New Zealand white. The Act “provided that no person, other than a person of British birth and parentage, was to enter New Zealand without a permit.”³²⁷

Secondly, Belich describes the ‘white savage’ stereotype as one who was convertible and therefore assimilative, and, lastly, the ‘grey savage,’ those who were dying out as part of the natural order of the ‘racial hierarchy.’ Belich claims that between 1840 and 1860, the Whitening Savage was popular due to the “perceived Māori enthusiasm for Christianity, commerce and civilization.” Along with King and other Pākehā historians, Belich argues that the Pākehā colonial identity was

³²⁴ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 25-26. Brookes points out that the judgements made of Māori women by Cook and his crew between his first voyage to New Zealand in 1769 and his third in 1776-1779, shows a regression from praise to disgust.

³²⁵ James Kirker, “The Maori Race,” *Manuscript*, (July, 11, 1876), 1. MS-Papers-10821-06

³²⁶ Karoline Tuckey, “Massey racism provokes call for university name change,” *Stuff News*, (September 29, 2016). <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/84753337/massey-racism-provokes-call-for-university-name-change>

³²⁷ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 268.

closely tied to the notion that they were “prime exponents of the alleged English genius for native handling.”³²⁸ Despite this, he asserts, “the Dying Māori still acted to cushion the ideologically subversive reality of Māori parity with the settlers in war, economics, and politics — Māori successes could be dismissed as transitory.”³²⁹ In the 1860s, resistance to European domination and the decline in the Māori population saw the Dying Māori myth gain popularity, which Belich claims dominated until the mid-1880s and remained prominent to the 1900s.³³⁰ Indeed, as early as 1856, the notion of the dying Māori discourse was recorded in the *Australian and New Zealand Gazette*, blaming the Māori themselves for quickening their impending doom due to their apparent propensity to warfare: “... of becoming extinct as a people, and every philanthropist can not [*sic*] but regret that they should be so determined to hasten this consummation by their own folly.”³³¹

Throughout the nineteenth century, numerous causes for the rapid decline in the Māori population were proposed by various Pākehā, including in March 1851; this account given by *The Wellington Independent* where it found that it was ultimately due to the ‘impaired’ fecundity of wāhine Māori, the injury upon which was caused by “unchastity...[and] promiscuous indulgence” on her part, stating that it is a “physiological fact, that promiscuous indulgence on the part of the female has a tendency to postpone and impair, and if carried to excess, destroy her fruitfulness...”³³²

Before outlining their theory, the authors provide the solution given by the “leading statesman of England, and by all those who have interested themselves in the welfare and preservation of aboriginal races,” that it is: “a law of nature that the black savage must necessarily disappear before the civilised white man.”³³³ As well as relieving the colonisers of any active role in the plight of the Māori because:

“If again it be intended to maintain, that the white man causes the extinction of the natives by diminishing or destroying their means of subsistence, we would submit, that whatever truth there may be in such a statement, when made in reference to the Red Indians driven

³²⁸ James Belich, “Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand,” *British Imperial Strategies in the Pacific, 1750-1900*, ed. Jane Samson (London: Routledge, 2003). 12

³²⁹ Belich, “Myth, Race, and Identity,” 12

³³⁰ Belich, “Myth, Race, and Identity,” 12.

³³¹ *Australian and New Zealand Gazette*, (August, 23, 1856).

³³² *The Wellington Independent*, (VI, issue. 567, 19 March, 1851), 2.

³³³ *The Wellington Independent*, 2.

from their hunting ground, it can have no form in this country, where the natives have always been agriculturists, and where their means of subsistence have been so materially increased by the introduction by the Europeans of pork, wheat, potatoes, [etc.]”³³⁴

Moreover, going as far as saying:

“It would be infinitely more in accordance with the truth to maintaining ‘that the black race become extinct *because* the white man never makes his appearance amongst them soon enough’; in other words, we contend that their extinction is (certainly in the case of the New Zealanders, and most probably in that of all other savage races) attributable to their own barbarous habits and customs; that civilisation can alone counteract, and in the end eradicate the causes tending to produce such extinction - but that unless civilisation be introduced before the process of depopulation has gone to a very great extent, its application as a remedy is useless, and the disease utterly hopeless.”³³⁵

The shifting, often contradictory, grounds on which the discourse of race resides has always been one of contentious design, originating as a term used to classify plants and animals to becoming one that involved “the biological transmission of physical/psychological and cultural characteristics.”³³⁶ Such a movement further developed racial hierarchies where the “difference between ‘races’ was seen as an unchangeable position.”³³⁷ Thus, it is evident that the colonialists adopted this view but also equipped themselves with ways to adapt their ideas according to what suited their needs at any given period. Indeed, historian James Belich notes that numerous contradictory works of mid-nineteenth-century New Zealand ethnography simultaneously use monogenist, polygenist, and evolutionist racial theories.³³⁸ Indeed, Pākehā adopted these racial theories to question whether wāhine Māori were, in fact, of the same species as the Europeans. Belich claims that Pākehā adopted the polygenist doctrine to assert the false notion that ‘half-caste’ wāhine Māori were infertile based on the biological grounds of race drawn from the distortion of Darwin’s theory of evolution. Pseudo-science enabled what late French philosopher, historian, and political activist Michel Foucault refer to as biopower, the systems put in place under biological

³³⁴ *The Wellington Independent*, 2.

³³⁵ *The Wellington Independent*, 2.

³³⁶ Johnston and Pihama, “The Marginalisation of Māori Women,” 115.

³³⁷ Johnston and Pihama, “The Marginalisation of Māori Women,” 116.

³³⁸ James Belich, “Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand,” *British Imperial Strategies in the Pacific, 1750-1900*, ed. Jane Samson (London: Routledge, 2003), 6.

discourse that control the movements, rights, and options in the lives of the population.³³⁹ For wāhine Māori, these racist attacks were at the very heart of her value as a wāhine Māori, her sexual prowess and liberty, and her biological power to bear the descendants of her tīpuna. Racism, French philosopher Etienne Balibar argues, “is what the concept of biopower sets out to explain.”³⁴⁰ The colonial biopower that directly applied to wāhine Māori was necessarily tied in with sexual deviance discourse and was to feature heavily in the colonial experience of wāhine Māori.

This sexual deviance discourse led to one of the most successful nineteenth-century shows in London, the exhibition of Sarah Bartmann and her ‘anatomical abnormality.’ Bartmann, a Khoikhoi woman from South Africa, had been taken to Britain and France to be scientifically studied as a *cause celebre*.³⁴¹ Bartmann’s “primitive genitalia,” scientists argued, were a mirror of her “primitive sexual appetite.”³⁴² The perverted, inhumane treatment of Bartmann while alive and after her death provides a chilling account of just how the spectacle of Western male sexual fantasies was justified by the racist ‘scientific’ discourses of the time. This blending together of discourses around race and sexuality had been used in nineteenth-century Europe to control problematic populations effectively, viewed as degenerate classes, such as the working classes, the poor, the Irish, and radical political participants. These ‘races,’ McClintock asserts, were policed via a racial deviance discourse, using the notion of degeneracy, by a notion of danger that’s predicated on that degeneracy.³⁴³

Social degeneration was an influential concept in the eighteenth century when the social and biological sciences met. Blumenbach, along with other ‘scientific thinkers’ such as Immanuel Kant Comte de Buffon and Georges Louis Leclerc, professed that although humans originated from the

³³⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics – Lectures at The College de France 1978-1979*, (New York: Palgrave McMillan).

³⁴⁰ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 147.

³⁴¹ Sandra Ponzanesi, “Beyond the Black Venus: Colonial Sexual Politics and Contemporary Visual Practices Revisited,” in *ReSignification – European Blackmoors, Africana Readings*, ed. Awam Ampka and Ellen Mary Toscano (Rome: Postcart), <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/350856>

³⁴² Ponzanesi, “Beyond the Black Venus.”

³⁴³ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 61.

same place, differences in the climate had led to the degeneration of some over time.³⁴⁴ In the nineteenth century, however, ‘degenerationists’ began to fear civilisation was in decline due to a decline in any perceived biological change. From this standpoint, imperial pursuits integrated the concepts of degeneration into colonial politics, militarism, and scientific racism. Following Blumenbach and the likes, influential writers, such as Bénédict Morel in psychology and Cesare Lombroso in criminology, emerged. These discourses of deviance were then transferred to the colonies. As a result, we have images of wāhine Māori as being represented as promiscuous or ferocious, to be pitied or to be held in contempt, to be respected or laughed at, to be welcomed or to be rebuked. Hence, there is a co-implication of racial and gender images that imperialists used to control ‘subordinate’ populations both inside the industrial core and in the periphery of the colonies.

COMMODITY RACISM – COLONIAL SEXUAL VISUALISATIONS OF WĀHINE MĀORI

In this section, I investigate how commodity racism and the sexual visualisations of wāhine Māori framed and constructed wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori as well as informed the development of a unified national identity and Pākehā identity. I also interrogate the colonial cult of domesticity, the home and the ahistorical patriarchal family, as a focal point from which various discourses of the state and whānau were redefined.³⁴⁵ I provide a wāhine Māori visual analysis of various Victorian images of wāhine Māori to consider how colonialists read the commodifiable images as those of commodifiable bodies. I interpret the male colonial gaze as seeking pleasure in ‘Otherness’ and highlight how the ‘sexually deviant bodies of wāhine Māori’ was a colonial construction that held her as both desirable and dangerous, profitable and expendable.

³⁴⁴ Robert Richards, “Kant and Blumenbach on *Bildungstrieb*: A Historical Misunderstanding,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 31, no. 1(2000): 11-32.

³⁴⁵ The Cult of Domesticity is a social construction of gender that promoted women to be dependent housewives.

Commodity racism refers “specifically to Victorian forms of advertising and photography, the imperial expositions, and the museum movement, which converted the narrative of imperial progress into mass-produced *consumer spectacles*.”³⁴⁶ McClintock argued that an ‘epochal shift’ in the culture of imperialism occurred during the late nineteenth century from ‘scientific racism’ to ‘commodity racism.’³⁴⁷ The following image of a wahine Māori is in the form of an imperial exhibition certificate (a chromolithograph with holograph) by Thomas Riley. This certificate was presented to W. Woodruff (with a medal) in 1886 as a reward as part of the “Colonial and Indian Exhibition” that was held in London. According to the Royal Collection Trust website, the exhibition was “a six-month display of colonial culture and commerce, and a demonstration of British imperial power that coincided with Queen Victoria’s jubilee.”³⁴⁸ The jubilee celebrations included a gift-giving ceremony, during which Queen Victoria received many gifts from ‘foreign visitors’ connected to the exhibition.³⁴⁹ The image we are presented with in this certificate may be a symbolic interpretation of this event.

³⁴⁶ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 33-34.

³⁴⁷ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 33.

³⁴⁸ Gottfried Lindauer, “Terewai Horomona (b.1867)- Signed and Dated 1886,” (Royal Collection Trust). <https://www.rct.uk/collection/406702/terewai-horomona-b-1867>

³⁴⁹ Lindauer, “Terewai Horomona.”



(Figure. 16) Riley, Thomas, *Colonial and Indian Exhibition Certificate*, 1886, Alexander Turnbull Library, C-098-013.

The image depicts approximately twenty-four ‘attractive to the Western eye’ female figures, each representing a colony of Britain. Britannia is seated on a golden throne, with the figures standing about her. Britannia’s golden throne comes complete with two golden lions on each side; leaning against one is her shield with the pattern of the Union Jack. Like the lions and the throne, Britannia’s hair is also golden. She is wearing a full-length, short-sleeved, loose-fitting blue dress with sage-coloured fabric wrapped around her waist and draped across her hips and thighs. Britannia appears to be accepting a gift offered to her by the female figure representing India, standing to her right. India has black hair and brown skin and is wearing a sari. Britannia faces India, her gaze directed behind and below her to do so. Standing beside India is Canada; she has black hair, olive skin, and a feathered headdress. Australia is standing to her right and stepping ahead of those beside her. Unlike India and New Zealand, Australia is not represented here as an Indigenous person. Instead, she is a colonial white woman with fair hair. The symbol that indicates that she represents Australia is the kangaroo pattern on the hem of her dress. One Australian commentator’s observation of the exhibition’s opening, recorded in the Melbourne newspaper, *The Argus* (1886), describes the ‘South Australian Bush Scene’ as containing “figures of blacks

and animals,”³⁵⁰ and he states “of its kind, is only second to the jungle scenes in the Indian court.”³⁵¹ He also describes when blessings on the Queen were invoked, writing: “The Archbishop concludes the prayer with the adjuration that all the daughter lands of the realm throughout the Empire may be knit together in prosperous strength and perfect unity.”³⁵² The ‘daughter lands of the realm’ seem to be a fitting description of what is being portrayed in this image. New Zealand is standing to her right and behind; this Māori woman has black hair and the darkest complexion out of the four figures. She is wearing a cloak with her breast exposed.

In applying the ‘wahine rangatira’ principle to my wahine Māori visual analysis of this image, I ask, is the mana of the Māori woman depicted being diminished in her portrayal? It is evident in this image that neither her ‘mana tangata’ nor her ‘mana whakahaere’ are being respected here. Instead, she appears almost like a shadow, and even though she is a darker shade, she seems to blend into the various brown hues of the background behind her. Using the ‘te reo’ pillar, I identify that the only language used in the certificate that references the wahine Māori is the label ‘New Zealand,’ which appears amongst forty-one other names of countries participating in the exhibition, located in the certificate's decorative border. She has no voice as she is not meant to depict a real person but rather the colonial ideal of a submissive commodity. Applying the ‘kaupapa’ principle, it is evident that she is being represented as belonging to a homogenous group. She is just a brown body representing a ‘daughter land’ of the British Empire. The principle of ‘ako Māori’ is redundant here as it has no place in this British display of power. Using the principle ‘piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga,’ I ask in what way are the colonial gender ideologies framing the wahine Māori in this representation of her. As I have noted, all the female figures are depicted in a manner considered attractive to the imperial male gaze. Hence, they also fall within the colonial ideal of the Victorian woman in that they appear docile, submissive, and delicate. The wahine Māori also falls within this trope; however, it is notable that she is only one of two (or possibly three) women out of roughly twenty-four women who are topless. Both topless women also have the darkest complexions. Their state of undress is symbolic of their distance from

³⁵⁰ The Argus, “Colonial and Indian Exhibition- Arrangements for the Opening,” (Melbourne: The Argus, 1 June 1886). (<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/6097966>)

³⁵¹ The Argus, “Colonial and Indian Exhibition,” 9.

³⁵² The Argus, “Colonial and Indian Exhibition,” 9.

civilisation. Lastly, using the ‘whānau’ principle, I question how the wahine Māori is portrayed in relation to whānau. In this image, the concept of whānau is absent. Instead, she is represented as a member of the family of mankind, a symbol of mankind's history and progress. Her body is a symbol of the Empire’s ownership of her body and her lands.

The shift from scientific to commodity racism was “facilitated by the emergence, in the second half of the nineteenth century, of a variety of mass-produced ‘consumer spectacles,’ that enabled Western imperialism to be mass-marketed on a hitherto unprecedented scale, both nationally and globally.”³⁵³ McKinley also observed that, in addition to ‘racial’ typologies, colonial discourse viewed the wahine Māori as a sexual being.³⁵⁴ Furthermore, as a primitive female and an object of sexual desire, she appears in numerous works of art that have become, as with other Indigenous women, a “central metaphor for sexuality in many Western societies.”³⁵⁵ In regards to Indigenous women, Smith notes that by the nineteenth century, European powers had already established gendered and hierarchical “systems of rule and forms of social relations which governed interaction with the Indigenous Peoples [they were] colonising.”³⁵⁶

Professor Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, the first Māori woman to become a professor, commented on how such a discourse was seen in the “postcard craze” that she notes came with a thriving tourist industry at the turn of the century.³⁵⁷ Te Awekotuku asserts that although such postcards provided ethnographic representations, they could also serve as images of “fantasy and desire, promiscuity, and eroticism, exotic and alluring.”³⁵⁸ Examples of such representations are evident in the following two postcards from that era (Figure. 17 and Figure. 19). The front cover of the postcard in Figure. 17. shows in the top left corner, an emasculated Māori man in the background, with his impotent challenge to the Pākehā man, who is centred in the foreground, and who is simply

³⁵³ Mrinalini Sinha, “Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest,” (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 183. https://dept.english.wisc.edu/amcclintock/writing/AHR_review.pdf

³⁵⁴ Elizabeth McKinley, “Brown Bodies, White Coats,” 485.

³⁵⁵ Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Māori: Selected Writings on Māori Women’s Art, Culture and Politics*, (Auckland, New Women’s Press, 1991), 5.

³⁵⁶ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 26.

³⁵⁷ Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Māori*, 485.

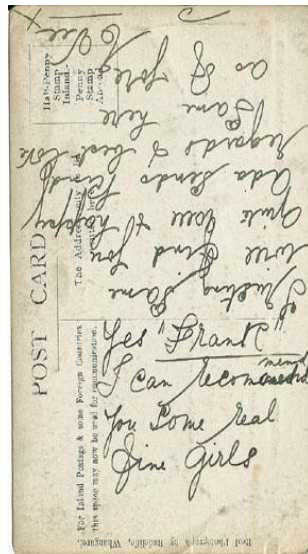
³⁵⁸ Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Māori*, 91.

ignoring him, as he struts off arm-in-arm, with two young wāhine Māori, presumably to go and engage in sexual activity. The postcard titled *The Tourist in Clover*, by well-known New Zealand nineteenth-century etcher Trevor Lloyd, penned, “Trusting ... will find you quite well and happy. Ada sends kind regards and best love. Same here, as of love....” The other section of the card, written on the mirror axis, reads, “Yes ‘Frank’ (original emphasis), I can recommend you some real fine girls.”



(Figure. 17) Lloyd, Trevor, nd. *The Tourist in Clover*, Private collection (Postcard - not stamped).

In my wāhine Māori analysis, I use the ‘wāhine rangatira’ principle to question how the ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ of the wāhine Māori are portrayed. I ask if her mana is being diminished and what colonial ideologies are at play if so. Both wāhine Māori are portrayed as free to engage in whatever activity, sexual or otherwise, that they choose. In this way, both her individual power and self-determination are evident. However, this power of free will is framed within the dominant Pākehā man’s sexual desires. It also appears to be at the Māori man’s displeasure. The colonial ideologies at play here are that wāhine Māori are inferior to Pākehā women and, as such, can be treated as sexually available in ways that the latter were considered not to be.



(Figure. 18) Reverse side of Lloyd, Trevor, *The Tourist in Clover*, Private collection (Postcard - not stamped).

It partly reads, ‘Yes “Frank,” I can recommend you some real fine girls.’

In applying the ‘te reo’ principle, I can identify that the title of the postcard, *Tourist in Clover*, serves as a mockery of the bodies of wāhine Māori as tourist attractions and as sites in which the colonial man can play out his sexual fantasies and desires. This is further suggested by the eccentric appearance of the Pākehā man, such as in the forms of his monocle, sunhat, and flower brooch that signifies to the audience that this is not typical behaviour of a colonial man, even though it was widely accepted that it was. The wāhine Māori bodies were sexualised further in the text written by a Pākehā man who had penned the postcard but had not sent it (based on the lack of a postage stamp). Writing, “I can recommend you some real fine girls,” on the backside of this particular postcard demonstrates that wāhine Māori bodies as sexual objects was a well-known trope on the colonial frontier and beyond.

The ‘ako’ principle leads me to question whether wāhine Māori knowledge is portrayed in a manner that diminishes its value; if so, how and why? I would suggest here that the value of the huia feathers, items highly treasured by Māori, portrayed as worn by both wāhine Māori, is diminished, as the wearers are depicted as cheap, sex objects, rather than as respected women amongst their whānau, hapū, and iwi. Furthermore, in applying the principle of ‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru i te kainga,’ I visually analyse this image by asking, in what ways are wāhine Māori being framed as domesticated in the Pākehā sense, particularly in regards to her labour. In this image,

the labour of wāhine Māori is framed as sexual. She is portrayed as a willing sexual object; her value is placed on this aspect alone. Lastly, using the ‘whānau’ and ‘kaupapa’ principles to analyse this image, it is evident that whānau, hapū, and iwi exist as they are portrayed in this image via the Māori man and the small figures drawn as sitting outside the whare. However, these whānau, hapū, and iwi members are relegated into the background. The presence of whānau and its related structures appear insignificant, a notion that is further strengthened by the manner of indifference the wāhine Māori display towards the Māori man’s protests. Thus, the positions of the wāhine Māori within her whānau and its related structures are deemed irrelevant.

The second postcard is titled *Maoriland*, a part of the Dominion series of art postcards [ca 1900-1914]. It presents two photographs of a Māori girl (or woman, as referred to in the archives), with the words, “A pretty Maori girl” printed in the lower left corner of the bottom image. Despite Māori having adopted European clothing to a large degree by the twentieth century, the Māori girl is wearing a korowai. She is seated in front of tukutuku panels and whakairo. As described in the Alexander Turnbull archives, she is presented holding a piece of carving in the upper image. In the lower image, she is shown in a semi-reclining position.



(Figure. 19) A postcard titled ‘Maoriland, A Pretty Maori Girl,’ circa 1900-1914, of the ‘Dominion’ series art postcards 137677, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-B-POSTCARD-Vol-12-079-1.

Under the Mana Wahine principle of ‘wahine rangatira,’ I find it difficult to identify her ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ as she appears to represent a colonial fantasy of the seductive Māori maiden. This representation is further confirmed when I apply the ‘te reo’ principle and address the postcard’s title, *Maoriland*. Erai claims that within this term “resides the specificity of epistemological violence.”³⁵⁹ *Maoriland* was a name used by Pākehā from the late nineteenth century to describe Aotearoa. Furthermore, Erai asserts: “*Maoriland* represented a romantic, wistful image of a ‘saccharine fantasy in which Māori warriors in heroic attitudes and Māori maidens in seductive ones inhabited outmoded Victorian forms, while at the same time, the business of settlement sidelined and dispossessed actual Māori.”³⁶⁰ In my wahine Māori visual analysis I apply the ‘ako Māori’ principle to acknowledge the wealth of Māori knowledge present in this image in the form of carvings and dress. However, here, they are presented as mere props for the image to give it a sense of authenticity. The ‘piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga’ principle draws my attention to the ways in which the value of the kōtiro Māori’s labour is tied to her appearance as a docile, submissive Māori maiden. A female figure that neatly fits within Victorian ideals of her; however, unlike European girls of her age, she is prescribed as sexually appealing, particularly in the bottom image where she is in a semi-reclining position. She also appears to be older than she would have been in this representation of her. The ‘whānau’ principle highlights the absence of whānau, hapū, and iwi in what would likely have been the European audience’s interpretation. However, from a Māori lens, the whakairo and tukutuku panels behind the kōtiro Māori would provide that information if she has a whakapapa connection to the wharenui. Applying the ‘kaupapa’ principle to my visual analysis emphasises the absence of her identity.

Commodity racism was a powerfully effective form of organised racism; as McClintock asserts, it had the capacity to reach the masses well “beyond the literate, propertied elite through the marketing of commodity spectacle,”³⁶¹ stating that “with industrial production at an all-time high, imperial kitsch hit the scene with a force that would have been previously unimaginable.”³⁶² In

³⁵⁹ Erai, *Girl*, 94.

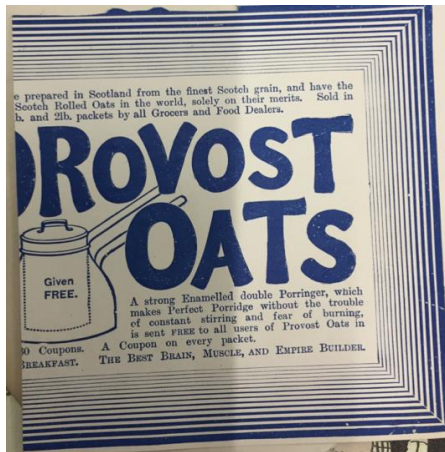
³⁶⁰ Erai, *Girl*, 94.

³⁶¹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 48.

³⁶² McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 62.

Aotearoa, this was heightened in the nineteen twenties when the first chain stores opened under the new beatitude of ‘Small Profits and Quick Returns.’³⁶³ McClintock argues that the inundation of domestic commodities was mass-marketed based on “their appeal to extreme imperial patriotism, which in turn aided the reinvention and maintenance of British national unity.”³⁶⁴

In Aotearoa, the cult of domesticity was to become critical to solidifying a Pākehā national identity, providing affirmation through a unified system of cultural representation. Consider the following nineteenth-century New Zealand advertisements for the domestic items below, firstly (Figure. 20) is the backside of a scrapbook cut-out advertising ‘Provost Oats,’ the last line reads, ‘The Best Brain, Muscle, and Empire Builder,’ bringing the empire to the breakfast table. Secondly, a rare archive of a store catalogue from the ‘Pages Store’ (Figure. 21) in early colonial Auckland, it advertised a range of household ironmongery, including the ‘The Colonial’ lawnmower. The lawn was a powerful symbol of imperial progress, which held not only ecological and aesthetic value but also social value in their architectural design.



(Figures. 20 and 21) A W Page [Firm, Auckland]: A W Page’s Popular Prices, 1913. Page’s Stores, Kingsland. Wilson & Horton printers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-A-RETAIL-1913-01.³⁶⁵

³⁶³ George Fraser, *Ungrateful People*, (Wellington: The Pelorus Press, 1952), 29.

³⁶⁴ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 208.

³⁶⁵ The backside of a scrapbook cut out - an advertisement for Provost Oats - The last line of which reads, ‘The Best Brain, Muscle, and Empire Builder’. Rare Store Catalogue from the Pages Store in Auckland city, New Zealand, ‘The Colonial’ lawnmower.

In the eighteenth century, McClintock remarks that the commodity was simply a banal object to be purchased and utilised, as Marx noted, “a trivial thing.”³⁶⁶ However, she asserts that by the late nineteenth century, it had “taken its privileged place not only as a fundamental form of a new industrial economy but also as the fundamental form of a new cultural system for representing social value.”³⁶⁷ An example of the commodification of the popular Māori image as ‘warrior,’ as ‘mother with child,’ and as ‘authentic’ are presented here as Māori motifs in the bowls of teaspoons and are in direct violation of the Māori concept of tapu and its association with food and drink. The photograph below (Figure. 22) is of a handcrafted boxed set of silver teaspoons (circa 1880s) representing a whakairo of Ohinemutu, the head of a Rangatira, and a portrait of a mother with her child on her back. The teaspoons are complete with pounamu handles and are part of the Canterbury Museum Collection.



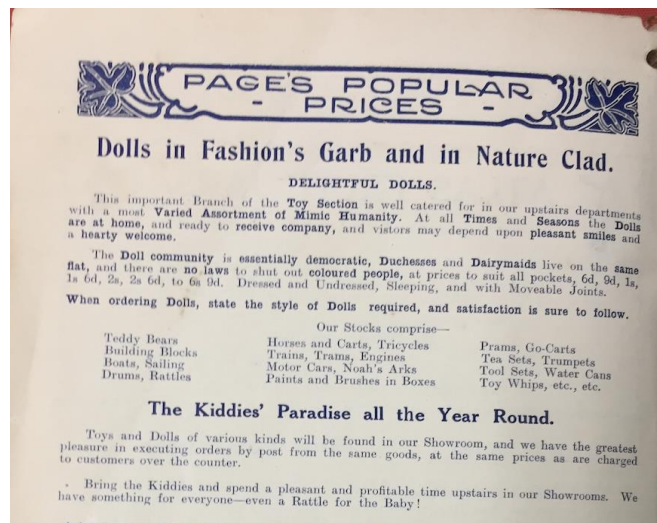
(Figure. 22) Swindell, Joseph, and Sons: silversmith. Handcrafted boxed set of silver teaspoons with Māori motifs in the spoon’s bowl, circa 1880s. The box is from Petersons Ltd of Christchurch. Canterbury Museum 2022.28.1

Renowned feminist, social activist, and African American author bell hooks encourages a discourse on race that interrogates whiteness rather than its invention remaining the invisible norm; she suggests that perhaps whiteness is the problem we should investigate. In the New Zealand context, this whiteness is found in the dominant Pākehā culture of New Zealand that currently

³⁶⁶ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 208.

³⁶⁷ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 208.

persists and is one that was founded on its colonial identity development. An identity that, for wāhine Māori, was constructed in direct opposition to the Victorian woman ideal, that which was to be chaste, ‘clean,’ and bound to the domestic. As the nineteenth century advanced, Pākehā historian Michael King noted that New Zealand’s distinct British character was “more British than Britain itself.”³⁶⁸ Indeed, in his unofficial speeches in London, New Zealand’s Prime Minister Gordon Coates (1925-1928) stated that “New Zealanders are much more British than people here” and that on seeing three people sit during the song “God Save the King,” he stated that, “they would not tolerate that in New Zealand.”³⁶⁹ As such, I am interested in interrogating what remaining connections to this colonial identity might look like today and how this continues to affect wāhine Māori. In this respect, my research aspires to move beyond examining how wāhine Māori were viewed to how the Europeans in colonial New Zealand imagined themselves and developed their communities along the asymmetries of race, gender, and class. Entities of imperial formations that, Stoler asserts, are “significantly at odds with the European models on which they were drawn.”³⁷⁰



(Figure. 23). A W Page (Firm, Auckland): A W Page’s Popular Prices, 1913. Page’s Stores, Kingsland. Wilson & Horton printers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-A-RETAIL-1913-01

³⁶⁸ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*. (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2007), 155.

³⁶⁹ Fraser, *Ungrateful People*, 10.

³⁷⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, “Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures,” in *Journal of the American Ethnological Society*, (1989), 634.

<https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/136501/ae.1989.16.4.02a00030.pdf?isAllowed=y=&sequence=1>

Here, I recognise the home as a central space from which the state sought to redefine whānau through various commodifying discourses, including advertising such as that shown in Figure. 23. In this Page's Store advertisement, the 'Doll community' is adopted to illustrate the notion that New Zealand is 'democratic,' and 'classless' where "Duchesses and Dairymaids live on the same flat, and there are no laws to shut out coloured people."³⁷¹ The under-recognition of the role of the domestic in imperial discourse gives it cause to provide a fertile position from which to analyse the microcosmic value of such a space. How I explore conceptions of space in this research is focused on how this was articulated in the colonial domestic sphere, the home. How they ordered their homes and how they gathered and presented objects of importance, including their art, particularly those pertaining to wāhine Māori, nationalism, and the celebration of colonisation. Thus, it also explores Māori land and where the spatial juxtaposition between Māori and Pākehā views of land collide and where wāhine Māori got caught and consumed within it.

Photography was an effective medium that provided imagery to colonial New Zealand culture, establishing a connection between imperial formations and the domestic imagination. Photographs such as these were made to be kept and sent abroad to family and friends, displaying their comportment and dress in this part of the domestic. Photographs were also considered a sound method to archive and share knowledge. The following photograph (Figure. 24) from an album that had belonged to early colonialist Edith Agnes Nimmo (nee Fitzgerald) of Karori, Wellington, demonstrates the middle-class domestic space in the colony that often became packed with framed photographs, magazine cut-outs, ornaments, weapons, mirrors, furniture, and a whole host of trinkets and frippery. In this photograph, labelled "Violet J? Vera?" Two women are seated at a table in an Edwardian-era sitting room. Note the scrapbook-like picture cut out on the wall, an image of domestic bliss, a mother seated, tending lovingly to her child, and numerous framed photographs on the small table, the corner shelving, and the wall.

³⁷¹ A W Page , "A W Page's Popular Prices, 1913. Page's Stores," (Kingsland. Wilson & Horton printers), Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-A-RETAIL-1913-



(Figure. 24) Nimmo, Edith Agnes, Photograph album formerly belonging to Edith Agnes Nimmo (nee Fitzgerald) of Wellington, “Violet J? Vera?,” circa 1860s to circa 1910s, Alexander Turnbull Library, PA1-q-1155.

According to Alexandra Karentzos, Professor of Art History, Fashion, and Aesthetics at the Technische Universität Darmstadt in Germany, photography “has been instituting visual codes of ‘Otherness’ since its inception in the nineteenth century.”³⁷² Moreover, in its supposedly scientific registration, they created a ‘zone of Otherness,’ a spatial dimension defined geopolitically, in effect, demarcating it. Here, Karentzos refers to Christine Buci Glucksmann’s phrase “the cartographic gaze of art” to distinguish photography.³⁷³ Photography, she argues, provides a particular viewpoint of reality constructed through the camera lens, a supposedly neutral gaze, the formation of which is, in itself, a mode of visualisation control. Thus, Karentzos claims, in the conventions of the centralised perspective, “seeing becomes photographic” and “dominances become objectified,” stating that “privileging seeing and visibility in scholarly investigation endows the optics of bodily images with the validity of visual evidence.”³⁷⁴

Fanon claimed that the colonised came into being by the colonisers, and both the colonised and the coloniser are mutual constructions of colonialism.³⁷⁵ Stoler argued that “the categories ‘coloniser’ and ‘colonised’ were secured through forms of sexual control that defined the domestic

³⁷² Alexandra Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic? Gottfried Lindauer in the Context of European Portraiture,” in *Riha Journal*, (2018), 10.

³⁷³ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 10.

³⁷⁴ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 10.

³⁷⁵ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies* 2nd ed., 27.

arrangements of Europeans and the cultural investments by which they identified themselves.”³⁷⁶ Mass culture is recognised in contemporary debates about race, and as such, I examine these gender-specific sexual constraints not only as critical posits of power but also as the personal and public boundaries of race, where, hooks notes, “mass culture both publicly declares and perpetuates the idea that there is pleasure to be found in the acknowledgment and enjoyment of racial difference.”³⁷⁷ The photograph in Figure. 25 below is a deplorable example of this trend. Labelled in the archives as “Maori Woman from Hawkes Bay District,” it also highlights the trend in the archives to label Māori girls as women, in this case, a girl of Ngāti Kahungunu.

In this photograph, the young Māori female is being objectified through the chosen viewpoint, that is, of an authentic wahine Māori just on the cusp of losing her authenticity as a member of the ‘Māori race,’ as the book she is holding suggests. In effect, the camera and the photographer determine the gaze on which we view her. Karentzos tells us that focusing on the gaze and the process of visualisation implies a form of control, a ‘domestication of perception.’³⁷⁸ The description given for this photograph is “Carte de visite portrait of a Māori woman from the Hawkes Bay district, wearing a kahu huruhuru (feather cloak) beneath her breasts, taken between 1880 and 1890 by Samuel Carnell of Napier.”³⁷⁹ The photograph is included in the aforementioned work of William Main in 1976, with the following commentary:

“Towards the end of the nineteenth century, many photographers endeavoured to obtain the services of attractive Maori [*sic*] women to pose in the nude in an attempt to depict the original way of life. There were difficulties as the demand for images of this sort was restrained by prudish Victorian attitudes. The sessions often produced insidious results—the more decorous the pose, the worse the result.”³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 41.

³⁷⁷ bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, (Boston: South End Press, 1995), 21.

³⁷⁸ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 9.

³⁷⁹ Maori Girl from Hawkes Bay District, Carnell, Samuel 1832-1920: Maori Portrait Negatives: Ref: ¼-022228-G. (Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library). <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22899375>

³⁸⁰ Main, *Maori in Focus*, 1-2.



(Figure. 25) “Maori Woman from Hawkes Bay District,” circa 1880-1890, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/4-022228-G.

In applying the ‘wahine rangatira’ principle to this photograph, it is apparent that the overall representation concerns her ability to be assimilated, as indicated by the book, which is most likely a studio prop she holds. As such, the Māori girl’s ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ were aspects the photographer was not concerned with. This kōtiro Māori, like Houhamau Rowena, is staring directly at the camera lens. Her furrowed brow suggests she may not be comfortable with the sitting arrangement. Her mana is being diminished as it is proposed to be a threat to the process of assimilation. The ‘te reo’ principle highlights that the Māori girl is left nameless in the archive as Carter did not include her name in his records. Furthermore, approximately ninety years after it was taken, Main's commentary on the photograph describes the Māori girl as an ‘attractive’ woman staged nude to illustrate her closeness to nature and her place in the family of man’s scale of civilisation. Thus, the Māori girl is represented as inferior to Pākehā but with the potential to ‘advance.’ The ‘ako Māori’ principle draws my attention to how knowledge is framed. The book symbolises true knowledge of value – that is, Western knowledge, not Indigenous knowledges. It is unlikely that it is a book she could read, so the image makes a mockery of her intelligence. The

‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga’ principle highlights how, although she is represented as having the ability to be assimilated, she can never be equal to a Victorian woman – she can only mimic her. Applying the ‘whānau’ and ‘kaupapa’ principles to my visual analysis of this photograph demonstrates that the photographer emphasises the invisibility of whānau, hapū, and iwi in her representation. The labelling, however, does inform us that she is from the Hawkes Bay district.

Images such as this stimulate a type of attraction to the ‘Othered’ body that hooks terms as “Eating the Other.”³⁸¹ Such an attraction involved white men who view the bodies of women of colour as sites of difference. These bodies become the sites of temptation, deviance, and hypersexuality, rather than what a white woman’s body would stereotypically represent: characteristics such as purity and docility. Degrading representations such as that shown in this image could provide within the adventuring colonialist a desire to colonise her body to “eat it up and use it to come to know himself.”³⁸² It is noted by hooks, in her influential work that:

“The commodification of Otherness has been so successful because it is offered as a new delight, more intense [and] more satisfying than normal ways of doing and feeling. Cultural taboos around sexuality and desire are transgressed and explicit... the ‘real fun’ is to be had by bringing to the surface all those ‘nasty’ unconscious fantasies and longings about contact with the ‘Other’ embedded in the secret (not so secret) deep structure of white supremacy. In many ways, it is a contemporary revival of interest in the ‘primitive,’ with a distinctly postmodern slant.”³⁸³

In Australia, contemporary nuances of desire for the racialised ‘Other’ are highlighted by Aboriginal academic Faye Blanch, who provides a personal account of the complex ways in which race and gender played out, as accurately described by hooks, when she encounters a man on a Saturday night. Blanch relays her experience of being racialised as ‘Other’ despite her attempts to enact resistance and agency:

³⁸¹ hooks, *Black Looks*, 21.

³⁸² Faye Blanch, “Encountering the Other: One Indigenous Australian Woman’s Experience of Racialisation on a Saturday Night,” *Journal of Gender, Place & Culture* 20, no.2 (2013): 257.

³⁸³ hooks, *Black Looks*, 21-22.

“I know that black women are the discursive terrain where the playing field of racism and sexuality converge, and the norm of the colonising white man is to dictate the discourse of sexuality and to live his desires through his so-called loving of blackness of women, not I might add white women but black women. His sense of entitlement to move next to me into my space, into my expression of enjoyment, to place his hand on me, to almost subtly caresses me. All the time talking, there was no sense of meanness, no sense of wrongdoing. Is my body being colonised? My blackness appropriated? Am I being appraised as an object of curiosity? Am I being objectified as a sexual being? Is my sex targeted or is it my blackness?”³⁸⁴

How colonial discourses of desire for wāhine Māori were conveyed, negotiated, and transformed by Pākehā encounters with difference, and the different is what hooks refers to as a critical terrain in which I explore. Particularly when we consider that McClintock’s tropes above can work to posit wāhine Māori bodies as both modern and primitive, suspended in time and space, to create a fantasy of the primitive wahine Māori. McClintock coined the term ‘porno-tropics,’ described as “a fantastic magic lantern of the mind on to which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears.”³⁸⁵ Within this porno-tropic custom, wāhine Māori are the embodiment of sexual deviation and indulgence.

The following image (Figure. 26) of a wahine Māori is a pencil drawing by colonial artist George French Angas in 1844. Bell notes that “Angas produced the largest body of representations of Māori to be exhibited or published throughout the nineteenth century.”³⁸⁶ Angas was not a fine artist; he was an ethnological illustrator who often made drawings on the spot, as it appears he did with this image. The sketch shows a Māori woman from behind as she weaves harakeke. Analysing the sketch from a wahine Māori lens, I apply the principle of ‘wahine rangatira’ to acknowledge that her ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ are evident in this representation as she is engaged rāranga. However, the artist’s perspective comes from behind her, which has the effect of undoing her agency. It is unknown whether she has given her consent to be drawn or is even aware he is doing so. The ‘te reo’ and ‘kaupapa’ principles highlight that Angas provides no title or description to discern who this Māori woman is or which hapū or iwi she comes from. This deepens the void of absence that seems to frame this image. Applying the ‘ako Māori’ principle, it is evident that

³⁸⁴ Blanch, “Encountering the Other,” 257.

³⁸⁵ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 22.

³⁸⁶ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 9-10.

wāhine Māori knowledge is being represented through the work of wāhine Māori with harakeke, albeit illustrated in an abstract sketch style. The ‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga’ principle also highlights her labour as a kairāranga, producing a highly valued commodity to the colonisation of Aotearoa. Applying the ‘whānau’ principle brings to my attention the absence of whānau, hapū, and iwi in this representation.



(Figure. 26) Angas George French (pencil drawing), 1844, Alexander Turnbull Library, A-020-034-2-2

With its masculine, disembodied eye, the aforementioned male gaze was a term famously used by feminist scholar and filmmaker Laura Mulvey in her 1975 essay, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema.” Here, Mulvey uses the language of psychoanalysis to argue that films respond to “scopophilia,” the sexual pleasure involved in looking, and that the most popular movies are those that satisfy masculine, heterosexual scopophilia.³⁸⁷ Feminists and other scholars have, in turn, applied this concept to broader social dynamics beyond cinema. Victorian photography, for example, provided the platform for a new expression of erotic material that was the product of the culture, politics, and customs of the period.

Images of women engaged in domestic labour were another source of erotic material for European men. In looking at laundry and eroticism in mundane activity (Figure. 27), women’s rights activist

³⁸⁷ Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen*, Vol. 15, I3, (1975), 6-18, <https://doi.org/10.1093/16.3.6>

and scholar Olivia Thonson notes that erotic material was characterised as "anything from posed eroticism in mundane activities to overtly sexual images"³⁸⁸ and that in both France and Britain, these were under judicial surveillance. Thonson reports that in France, the French created a police unit tasked to monitor the creation and distribution of pornographic photographs.³⁸⁹ Furthermore, Thonson notes, the House of Commons in Britain passed a law banning street and cheap pornography. A consequence of this was that only expensive, erotic books were therefore available, and only to the upper class, who could afford them. Images of colonised women, however, provided access to another, more accessible form of titillating material. Despite their different geopolitical borders, Thonson argues that the state's reactions against Victorian-era photographic, particularly stereoscopic, pornography were primarily concerned with purity and class issues.³⁹⁰ Censorship of erotica and pornography then went beyond photography to include other forms of art, such as French modernist painter Édouard Manet's *Olympia*.



(Figure. 27) Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1832-1883.

³⁸⁸ Olivia Thonson, "Laundry: Eroticism in Mundane Activity," in *Gender & Sexuality: A Transnational Anthology from 1690 to 1990* (North Carolina: Wake Forest University Students, HST 114/WGS 377, Fall 2019), 1 <https://librarypartnerspress.pressbooks.pub/gendersexuality1e/chapter/laundry-eroticism-in-mundane-activity/>

³⁸⁹ Thonson, "Laundry: Eroticism," 2. The police were responsible for the prosecution of well-known photographers and models between 1855 and 1868.

³⁹⁰ Thonson, "Laundry: Eroticism," 2.

Manet's *Olympia*, painted in 1863, caused outrage when it was displayed at the Salon in 1865, as his portrait of a nude white woman (as opposed to the typical non-white nude woman), with its vigorous and uncompromising technique, ignored the foundations of academic tradition. Rather than a portrayal of an acceptable nude, like those that were grounded in the ideals of classicism and antiquity, for example, a goddess or an allegory, and despite his formal and iconographic references, such as those to Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, the painting's contemporary portrayal of life's bitter and mundane realities caused much outrage among its Parisian male elite viewers, yet it remained on exhibition.³⁹¹ The subject here is Venus, modelled by Victorine Meurant, an artist herself. Manet has portrayed her through several symbolic objects and gestures as a prostitute reclining in the foreground and shamelessly staring directly at the viewer as if in a confrontational challenge.³⁹² Behind Venus is her maid, modelled by Laure, presenting a bouquet, likely sent by one of Venus' clients. Laure practically blends into the dark background and is portrayed here as being in servitude to a woman considered ill-repute. The fact that a black servant is wearing a clean white dress, demonstrating that she is more than an ordinary maid, further fuelled the painting's controversy at the time.³⁹³ According to Charles Bernheimer:

“The black maid is not ... simply a darkly coloured counterpart to Olympia's whiteness, but rather an emblem of the dark, threatening, anomalous sexuality lurking just under Olympia's hand. At least, this is the fantasy Manet's servant figure may well have aroused in the male spectator of 1865.”³⁹⁴

Manet himself described Laure as a “very beautiful black woman.”³⁹⁵ However, Pallant House Gallery, considered a leading museum in the United Kingdom, claims to stimulate new ways of thinking about Modern British art. Manet remarks that Laure's racial identity is much less exaggerated than that of some of his contemporaries and that Manet's portrayal of Laure was less a comment on her ‘exoticism’ than a commentary on modernisation and the changing population

³⁹¹ Pallant House Gallery, “Perspectives: Manet's *Olympia*: Laure and Victorine,” (last revised October 9, 2020). <https://pallant.org.uk/manets-olympia-laure-and-victorine>

³⁹² Pallant House Gallery, “Perspectives: Manet's *Olympia*.”

³⁹³ Pallant House Gallery, “Perspectives: Manet's *Olympia*.”

³⁹⁴ Charles Bernheimer, “Manet's *Olympia*: The Figuration of Scandal Poetics Today,” in *Art and Literature II*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989), 261. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1773024>

³⁹⁵ Bernheimer, “Manet's *Olympia*,” 262.

in France.³⁹⁶ Even so, of Laure, African American conceptual and performance artist Lorraine O’Grady, who explores how the experience of diaspora and hybridity shapes Black female subjectivity, remarks:

“We know what she is meant for: she is Jezebel and Mammy, prostitute, and female eunuch, the two-in-one... Laure's place is outside what can be conceived of as a woman. She is the chaos that must be excised, and it is her excision that stabilizes the West's construct of the female body, for the ‘femininity’ of the white female body is ensured by assigning the not-white to a chaos safely removed from sight. Thus, only the white body remains as the object of a voyeuristic, fetishizing male gaze...When paired with a lighter skin tone, the Black female model stands in as a signifier to all of the racial stereotypes of the West.”³⁹⁷

Regardless of the confrontation and contradictions this painting presented to its male audience, their gaze ultimately sanctioned it. The colonial male gaze is evident in the following image, where colonial scopophilia is in effect. The image is a portrait of Terewai Grace Horomona (Figure. 28), a ‘half-caste’ daughter of Deputy Commissioner Arthur Elkington and Marara Horomona (Ngāti Toa) of Wellington, painted by Gottfried Lindauer (1839-1926).³⁹⁸ Lindauer was a migrant from Bohemia (Czech Republic), arriving in Aotearoa in 1874, who began to exhibit portraits of Māori people by 1876.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Pallant House Gallery, “Perspectives: Manet's Olympia.”

³⁹⁷ Lorraine O’Grady, “Olympia’s Maid: Reclaiming Black Female Subjectivity,” (1994), 3.

https://lorraineogrady.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Lorraine-OGrady_Olympias-Maid-Reclaiming-Black-Female-Subjectivity1.pdf

³⁹⁸ Half-Caste’ - one of the common terms used in nineteenth-century New Zealand to describe the offspring of a Māori and Pākehā parentage. It is a problematic term that I will discuss further later in the thesis. The root of ‘caste’ comes from the Latin word ‘castos,’ meaning pure. To be half pure, as ‘half-caste’ denotes, is to be impure. This refers to the racist notion that Pākehā blood is contaminated by Māori blood.

³⁹⁹ Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope, “Introduction: Gottfried Lindauer’s New Zealand,” in *Gottfried Lindauer’s New Zealand – The Māori Portraits*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press), 15.



(Figure. 28) Lindauer, Gottfried, *Terewai Grace Horomona*, 1886, The Royal Collection, London. It is still housed in the Royal Collection today. On his exhibition tour, the Prince of Wales greatly admired the painting, which Buller gifted to the Prince.

When applying the ‘wahine rangatira’ principle in my wahine Māori visual analysis of this painting by Lindauer, it appears through her confident, even playful, stance that Grace Horomona’s individual power is somewhat recognised. From this image alone, it is difficult to ascertain her level of ‘mana whakahaere.’ Applying the ‘te reo’ and ‘kaupapa’ principles as a study of the language used to describe the painting by the artist, it is evident that she is the daughter of a Pākehā man with status on the colonial frontier as a Deputy Commissioner. It is likely that as the patriarch of the family, he would have had the ultimate decision on her level of ‘mana tangata.’ In applying the ‘ako Māori’ principle, it can be ascertained from the painting that Grace holds the knowledge

of poi. In using the 'kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga' principle, I question the ways in which colonial gender ideologies are framing Grace. I find that Grace is presented in a fashion true to Lindauer's aesthetic of wāhine Māori as "good-looking and clad in splendid clothing."⁴⁰⁰ Furthermore, he often had the wahine Māori looking directly at the viewer, as in the portraits of Pare Watene and Huia Matenga in 1878 and Raiha Reretu in 1877.⁴⁰¹ Grace's look is friendly and playful, perhaps perceived by some Europeans as flirtatious, and yet despite the apparently positive presentation, it is, as Bell writes: "However in [this] context of use for Europeans [Grace] can be seen primarily as [a] fine 'specimen' of the noblest race the British nation has come into contact with."⁴⁰² Applying the 'whānau' principle, I draw attention to the 'paternalistic' notion that serves to render Grace as childlike, belonging to a childlike, inferior race, regardless of her playful beauty. Within this paternalism also lies a possessive gaze; in this frame, she is also a commodity of the nation, on display within the imperial collection of colonial commodities.

Pākehā lawyer and naturalist Walter Buller (1838-1906) commissioned this painting. It was one of twelve other life-size, fine oil paintings exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held at South Kensington, London, in 1886. Grace Horomona's portrait was housed in 'The Māori Court' portion of the New Zealand collection, on view for the five and a half million Europeans who visited the exhibition.⁴⁰³ British Empire exhibitions, such as these, the first of which, setting the standard, was the "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations," held in London in 1851, which set out to glorify colonial power by a show of British scientific knowledge and prestige. McClintock asserts that this exhibition housed the "First consumer dreams of a unified world time. As a monument to industrial progress, the Great Exhibition embodied the hope that all the world's cultures could be gathered under one roof – the global progress of history represented as the commodity progress of the Family of Man."⁴⁰⁴

As with museums, these colonial exhibitions employed artifacts and images of Indigenous cultures that they stored, labelled, and arranged in their design. Smith asserts that colonisers framed these

⁴⁰⁰ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 234.

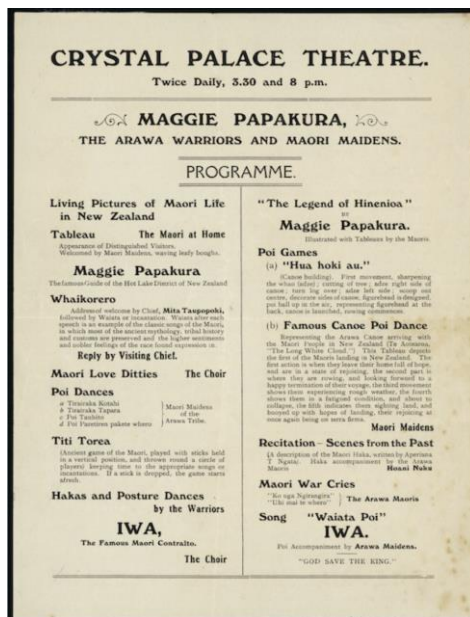
⁴⁰¹ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 234.

⁴⁰² Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 234.

⁴⁰³ Karentzos, "Images of the Exotic?" 11.

⁴⁰⁴ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 57.

images “within a language and a set of spatialised representations.”⁴⁰⁵ Historian James Clifford identifies this as a process that turns such objects into trophies of colonialism.⁴⁰⁶ As Karentzos argues, Lindauer’s portraits in this context represented “Otherness” by being “naturalised” as a consequence of being exhibited together with cultural artifacts, such as the pātaka (carved storehouse), carved initially in the 1850s for Ngāti Pikiao, at the Lake Rotoiti settlement of Taheke, that Buller took possession of for the exhibition; as well as a Māori party, performing live shows (Figure. 29), of handicrafts and specimens of nature, such as toetoe and ferns, in the greenhouses. It is also a performance of McClintock’s tropes of anachronistic space and panoptical time.



(Figure. 29) Crystal Palace Theatre, *Maggie Papakura, the Arawa Warriors and Māori Maidens* Programme, 1911, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-D-MAORI-CONCERTS-1911-01.

Karentzos notes that Lindauer’s works were “functionalised into ethnographic documentary, ‘authentic’ representations of Māori culture.”⁴⁰⁷ Lindauer would often utilise photography as a reference for his painting style, which enabled him to accurately depict richly fine detail, such as with tā moko, that elevated his work towards claiming documentary status. This was further supported by, Karentzos argues, Lindauer’s ‘standardised mode of depiction,’ such as the majority

⁴⁰⁵ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 2nd ed., 53.

⁴⁰⁶ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 8.

⁴⁰⁷ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 1.

of his portraits being “bust-length, in three-quarter view; the plainness of the backgrounds with dark brown shadows; or, for those with a landscape, a low horizon forms the foil so that the figure stands out against the dark, cloudy sky.”⁴⁰⁸ She claims that presenting this way leads to a form of serialisation that provokes the sense that it provides “comprehensive coverage of the subject.”⁴⁰⁹ This form of serialisation led to what American photographer, writer, filmmaker, theorist, and critic Allan Sekula termed “a voracious optical encyclopedism,” intended to provide a comprehensive, universal, and systematically ordered knowledge of the ‘Other.’⁴¹⁰

Visual representations of Māori as ethnographic documents were intended to provide insight into the lives of New Zealand’s Māori people. The European audience understood Māori to be threatened with extinction and, therefore, required reconstruction to preserve ‘authentic’ representations of them. In their reception, these portraits function as representations of ‘reality.’ Therefore, it is notable that the curators of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition did not deselect Grace’s portrait because her clothing was a combination of kākahu Māori and European dress, which was not the preferred depiction in this context. Karentzos claims that the “Māori adoption of British clothing styles shifts them - undesirably in the context of the colonial exhibition - closer to the colonists, something that would have caused irritation.”⁴¹¹ She argues it is an apprehension, using Bhabha’s concept of colonial ‘mimicry,’ which denotes the notion of “almost the same, but not quite – almost the same but not white.”⁴¹² An integration disrupted, where “skin colour serves as the badge of the ‘Other’ rendering the certainty of cultural dominance fragile and ... to that extent, ambivalent.”⁴¹³ Mimicry and mockery of Indigenous Peoples, women in particular, wearing European clothing held a fixation peculiar to imperialists and colonists, as was evident in the archives interrogated in this research, a reflection of this irritation perhaps. For instance, in an Imperial Magazine article, “Interesting Account of the Tahitian Mission” (1820) it was reported:

“Tuesday was the day appointed for opening the Royal Mission Chapel... The Queen and principal women were dressed with an English frill around the neck, and beautiful native

⁴⁰⁸ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 8.

⁴⁰⁹ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 7.

⁴¹⁰ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 9.

⁴¹¹ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 14.

⁴¹² Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 14.

⁴¹³ Karentzos, “Images of the Exotic?” 14.

clothing, so as to look a vast deal better than if *they* had been dressed in the English fashion. The assembled thousands were all clean and dressed in their best.”⁴¹⁴

“... a vessel lately on the station describes a church with a congregation of 5000 and the queen near the pulpit, the women wearing bonnets and altogether dressed as near the English as they can copy.”⁴¹⁵

An *Illustrated London News* article titled, *The New Zealanders*, stated of the Māori that:

“They imitate the English as far as they can, are very clever at a bargain, and evince a decided preference for European articles of dress. Many ludicrous mistakes were at first made from their ignorance of the use of our garments - such as putting on a shirt as a pair of trousers, tying trousers by the legs round the neck...”⁴¹⁶

In Sierra Leone in 1816, the Church Missionary Society noted:

“... there were about twenty-two nations or tribes of natives conflicting with each other, almost entirely naked, and when given clothes, they throw them away. No forms or principles of marriages existed among them, and the female character had been brought down to the lowest degree of degradations.”⁴¹⁷

A *Missionary Intelligence* report provided by the *Imperial Magazine*, which was given by Reverend Charles Buff in 1818 at the “Island of Hueine, in the South Seas,” states:

“Many large chapels are built, and building, by the natives. I was at the opening of one lately, where 3000 people were present, and it was not full. They were all dressed very neatly, and many of the females appeared in the English fashion...”⁴¹⁸

Although first witnessed in orientalist paintings, the racial sexual ‘Other’ reached its highest point in the colonial era. Netherlands Professor of Media, Gender, and Postcolonial Studies Sandra

⁴¹⁴ “An Interesting Account of the Tahitian Mission,” in *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Volume 2, (Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1820), 291.

⁴¹⁵ “An Interesting Account of the Tahitian Mission,” 291.

⁴¹⁶ “New Zealand Dinner,” in *Illustrated London News*, (London: Illustrated London News Limited, 1844), 12.

⁴¹⁷ “Church Missionary Society,” in *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Volume 2, (Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1820), xvii.

⁴¹⁸ “Missionary at the Island of Hueine, in the South Seas- Missionary Intelligence. Extract of a letter lately received from the Reverend Charles Buff,” in *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, (Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1818), 61.

Ponzanesi's analysis of the "roots and lingering influence of these visual representations"⁴¹⁹ provides an insight into "the causal relationship between colonial legacies and subsequent processes of ethnic and gender relations in contemporary multicultural societies."⁴²⁰ Ponzanesi draws comparisons between representations of the 'Black Venus' during the colonial Italian empire through the pseudo-scientific spectacle of Bartmann and the orientalist portrayals of Arab women in French paintings, to address the persistent and subtle transformations of these portrayals in contemporary representations, particularly in Italian advertising.⁴²¹ Curator Aindrea Emilife also explores the legacy of Black women in visual culture with the exhibition "Black Venus." In this exhibition, Emilife investigates the wide variety of modes of representation that Black women have faced throughout history, "from colonial-era exoticisation and fetishizing portrayals to the present-day reclamation of Black womanhood beyond stereotypes."⁴²²

The contemporary translations of colonial desire for the 'Other' are also explored by American sociologist Averil Clarke, who reports that "degreed black women's lives include less marriage and less sex, and more unwanted pregnancy, abortion, and unwed childbearing than college-educated white and Hispanic women."⁴²³ Clarke argues that "inequities that black women experience in romance highlight the connections between individuals' sexual and reproductive decisions, their performance of professional or elite class identities, and the avoidance of racial stigma."⁴²⁴

In Aotearoa, it has been reported that racial discrimination in romantic and sexual contexts negatively affects both the desire of male subjects and female objects categorised as the 'Other,' albeit in differing ways, due to unfavourable representation in the media and historical

⁴¹⁹ Sandra Ponzanesi, "Beyond the Black Venus: Colonial Sexual Politics and Contemporary Visual Practices Revisited," in *ReSignification – European Blackmoors, Africana Readings*, ed. Awam Ampka and Ellen Mary Toscano (Rome: Postcart), 166. <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/350856>

⁴²⁰ Ponzanesi, "Beyond the Black Venus," 166.

⁴²¹ Ponzanesi, "Beyond the Black Venus," 166. The representation of the Black Venus was an effective trope for articulating the contaminated and uneven relationship between those that rule and those that are ruled.

⁴²² Emilife Aindrea, "Tracing the Legacy of Black Womanhood Through the Work of Five Artists," *Another*, (May 26, 2022), <https://www.anothermag.com/art-photography/14106/black-venus-charting-the-legacy-of-black-womanhood-through-visual-culture>

⁴²³ Averil Clarke, *Inequalities of Love: College-Educated Black Women and the Barriers to Romance and Family* (Michigan: Duke University Press, 2011), 23.

⁴²⁴ Clarke, *Inequalities of Love*, 23.

portrayals.⁴²⁵ These shifts in imperial distributions of desire are what Foucault refers to when linking the history of sexuality to race.⁴²⁶ Concerning Asian women in Aotearoa, the news report stated that they are “stereotyped as exotic and gender-traditional” and are “therefore ‘desirable’ as potential mates.”⁴²⁷ This desirability is premised on their fetishization as racially exotic and the derogatory, patriarchal notion of female submissiveness. As recently as 2022, New Zealand ‘rich-lister’ Simon Henry, a descendent of one of the three great Scottish industrialist families that settled in New Zealand in the nineteenth century,⁴²⁸ relied on this ‘Othering’ perception when he commented during an interview about a New Zealand celebrity chef and successful businesswoman of Asian descent, Nadia Lim. Henry made the claim that in her business dealings, she strategically plays on her ‘sensuality,’ a sensuality that he specifically racialises, stating that: “I can tell you, and you can quote me... when you've got Nadia Lim when you've got a little bit of Eurasian fluff in the middle of your prospectus with a blouse unbuttoned showing some cleavage, and that's what it takes to sell your script, then you know you're in trouble.”⁴²⁹

Lim’s response was to reflect on how “incredibly damaging it is for young Asian women” to experience and witness this racialised and sexualised alterity, “What's so damaging is young people who hear these things over and over again, who then over time somehow start to believe they are less capable and have less to give and contribute than their peers.”⁴³⁰ Sociologist David Tokiharu Mayeda remarked that even resilient victims can eventually get broken down fighting these racialised and sexualised stereotypes, stating, “It gets exhausting and leads to internalised racism - the belief of the stereotypes about themselves and their “ethnic” community.”⁴³¹ To claim

⁴²⁵ Matt Burrows and Michelle Tapper, “Sexual Racism on New Zealand’s dating scene – and how apps are making it worse,” *Newshub*, 2021. <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/lifestyle/2021/07/no-blacks-no-asians-no-indians-sexual-racism-on-new-zealand-s-dating-scene-and-how-apps-are-making-it-worse.html>

⁴²⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics – Lectures at The College de France 1978-1979*. (New York: Palgrave McMillan).

⁴²⁷ Burrows and Tapper, “Sexual Racism.”

⁴²⁸ Michael Roche, “Henry David,” *Te Ara- The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, (2003), <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5h17/henry-david>

⁴²⁹ Ireland Hendry-Tennent, “Nadia Lim says rich-lister Simon Henry's 'Eurasian fluff' comments damaging for young women of colour, suggests unconscious bias training,” *Newshub*, . <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2022/05/nadia-lim-says-rich-lister-simon-henry-s-eurasian-fluff-comments-damaging-for-young-women-of-colour-suggests-unconscious-bias-training.html?cid=soc3%3Anewshubfb&fbclid=IwAR0QWY7Iw2CYdqTK3SW6WoYGGhsWb5ceqabO3svQNiOkvixP22Jt95O5vmE>

⁴³⁰ Hendry- Tennent, “Nadia Lim.”

⁴³¹ Burrows and Tapper, “Sexual Racism.”

that this is not inherent racism but instead personal preference of attraction and desire, Mayeda retorts that the 'personal preference' argument is just another way to uphold racial stereotypes.”⁴³² Mayeda stated, “as human beings, we want social relationships, and it's natural to want to be desired. When you see these patterns of you not being desired ascribed to your racial background, then it makes that sense of self-worth go down.”⁴³³ Mayeda acknowledges the exotification and commodification of Asian women in Aotearoa, who are rendered as expendable, asserting that “when we realise how insidious that discrimination is... maybe then we can talk about [these attitudes] actually going away.”⁴³⁴ For wāhine Māori, the exotification and commodification of our bodies is intrinsically linked with the exotification and commodification of our land and culture. Furthermore, the cultural representations of wāhine Māori played a critical role on the colonial frontier in the formation of a sense of national identity amongst Pākehā, primarily at the expense of wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori. Hence, the discrimination of desirability, or undesirability, experienced by wāhine Māori is necessarily linked with whatever the colonial political, economic, and cultural forces are, at any given time, that continue to seek to define them.

SUMMARY

In chapter four I have sketched a historiography of the struggles of wāhine Māori regarding their representations of difference in Western science, whereby the colonial ideological constructs of race and gender produced a biopower of hierarchical social ordering. I have demonstrated how scientific racism justified colonial social ordering based on a linear view of time and progress, leading to complex assertions of inferiority in the minds and bodies of wāhine Māori. I have discussed how wāhine Māori were dehumanised, represented as fragmented bodies that were out of place in the historical time of modernity. I have also highlighted how wāhine Māori, as racialised bodies, could transcend Western notions of time via the centralising tropes of ‘panoptical time’ and ‘anachronistic space’ – tropes on which imperial science was drawn. Furthermore, I have

⁴³² Burrows and Tapper, “Sexual Racism.”

⁴³³ Burrows and Tapper, “Sexual Racism.”

⁴³⁴ Burrows and Tapper, “Sexual Racism.”

discussed how the processes of colonisation in Aotearoa positioned wāhine Māori bodies within a sexual deviance discourse that used racial and gender images to control ‘subordinate’ populations inside the industrial core. I have examined how Pākehā subsequently transferred these techniques to the colony of New Zealand as a discourse underpinned by a fear of the perceived dangers believed to be associated with social degeneracy based on ‘racial contamination.’ I have argued that Pākehā thus policed wāhine Māori bodies and silenced their voices, creating a void that is understood to be part of imperial formations existing in imperial practices in their conceptual, epistemic, and political design.

I have also demonstrated how commodity racism on the colonial frontier and the sexual visualisations of wāhine Māori provided a way to capture and frame wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori in a powerfully effective form of organised racism. I have also discussed the role representations of wāhine Māori bodies played in the construction of New Zealand’s national identity through a unified system of cultural representation and, therefore, necessarily, the formation of the Pākehā identity. Here, the colonial cult of domesticity, specifically the home and the ahistorical patriarchal family, is noted as a central position from which the various discourses of state and whānau were redefined. The Victorian imagery discussed included internal and external advertising of products, resources, land, and wāhine Māori, including postcards, photographs, British imperial exhibitions, and the fine arts. Europeans could read the images discussed as commodifiable images of commodifiable bodies. In this sense, we could consider them as a form of Victorian pornography set under the male colonial gaze, where skin tone and other anatomical features stood as signifiers of ‘Otherness’ and as distinct locations of pleasure and desire. I have shown that the history of visual media in New Zealand is non-detachable from the history of colonialism. The need to trace the myriad facets of colonialism in Aotearoa and how it continues to inscribe our present is understood as critical. Thus, the need to challenge, subvert, re-imagine, and re-configure the various representations of wāhine Māori, historically constructed as the sexually deviant ‘Other,’ both as desirable and dangerous, profitable and expendable, remains urgent. As a decolonising project, I recognise these representative paradigms as structural, and therefore, their material histories have been addressed.

CHAPTER 5

MANA WĀHINE STATE DISCOURSE

Hine Te Iwaiwa

is the principal goddess of te whare pora -
the house of weaving.

She represents the arts pursued by women.

Hine Te Iwaiwa is also a guardian of childbirth.

In the past,

all female children were dedicated to her.⁴³⁵

Smith explains that the Mana Wahine colonial state discourse is a structural analysis that has enabled wāhine Māori to gain some understanding of the structural dimensions of our struggle.⁴³⁶ By locating “political and Pākehā-dominant structures at the core of the struggle,” Smith asserts that the current material conditions of the lives of wāhine Māori must be understood “not only against the background of colonisation but also against the construction, via various manifestations of the state, of wāhine Māori as an oppressed social and economic group.”⁴³⁷ Thus, to understand how racism figures in the development of the modern state, I explore the trope of degeneration as essential to the colonial discourse of racial deviance in Aotearoa and draw on Pacific exemplars. Here I will illustrate how concerns about degeneracy legitimised state interventions to control wāhine Māori sexuality and fertility in the nineteenth century. This chapter also consists of two sub-sections. In the first sub-section, “Flax and Sex: Colonial Control of Wāhine Māori Labour,” I examine the significance of white linen during the colonial period as a metaphor for imperialism. In my analysis, I bring to the fore the critical role of harakeke as a raw material for linen and the like, highlighting the economic and social implications of the burgeoning harakeke industry and the impact this had on wāhine Māori. In the second sub-section, “The Embryonic Pākehā on the

⁴³⁵ Māori Weaving/Te Whare Pora. <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/maori/maori-weaving?fbclid=IwAR1PPUaDgjY4H4-42x2kLPgo9HovCF2KPAvBAAXEXDOZiWm1K7jkwoXnj1Y>

⁴³⁶ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects, and Mana Wahine,” 44.

⁴³⁷ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects, and Mana Wahine,” 44.

Colonial Frontier,” I interrogate the invention of ‘Pākehā-ness’ through an analysis of various archival materials, such as poetry, cartoons, land acts, and journal entries, to examine the early colonial development of a Pākehā culture and identity. Furthermore, I examine how and why wāhine Māori were constructed in direct opposition to the Victorian woman ideal, that which was to be chaste, ‘clean,’ and bound to the domestic. To do this I provide a discussion on the factors that drove Pākehā, particularly women, to immigrate to Aotearoa. I also provide an insight into the reality of the daily lives of these early immigrants and how this might have shaped their perceptions of wāhine Māori.

McClintock contends: “Body boundaries were felt to be dangerously permeable, and demanding continual purification, so that sexuality, in particular women’s sexuality, was cordoned off as the central transmitter of racial and hence cultural contagion.”⁴³⁸ The notion of cultural contagion is linked with the idea of racial hygiene as demonstrated in the scrapbook cutout below. Figure. 30 shows a black infant dressed in a white linen frock and bonnet, in Victorian fashion. The text reads, “So Clean and White,” making a subliminal, yet unmistakable, reference to the baby’s Victorian clothing, rather than she herself, as being that which is clean. A black woman doll lies face down in front of the baby, dressed in white linen and wearing a yellow-lined apron with a large blue ribbon tied around her waist in a bow. Upon her head, she wears a red bonnet. The child is seated on a luxurious, gold-tasseled, patterned rug of deep red, shades of blue, and gold hues.

⁴³⁸ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 47.



(Figure. 30) Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

The discourse of degeneration indeed assaults the notion of evolutionary progress, McClintock contends, in the domestic space. Here, the desire to ‘move forward’ is haunted by the fear of regression, of moving backward along that continuum of degenerating. The *Blackie’s Standard Shilling* dictionary, a typical dictionary belonging to colonial Pākehā families in the latter part of the nineteenth century defines this condition accordingly:⁴³⁹

Degeneracy - n. A growing worse or inferior; decline in good qualities; departure from virtue of ancestors.

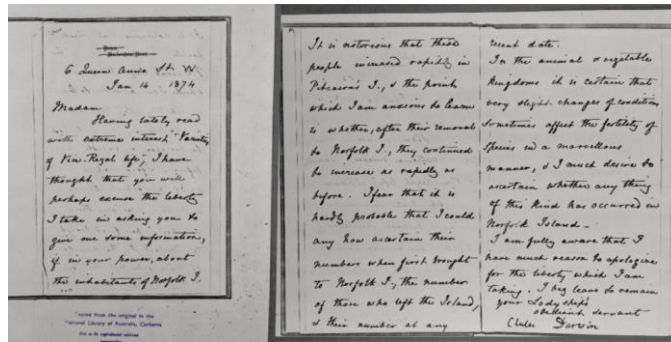
Degenerate - vi. To become worse than one’s kind; to decay in good qualities. - a. Fallen from primitive or natural excellence; mean; corrupt.

Degeneration then became a compelling and very potent explanatory framework for social crises. McClintock explains that colonialists understood the cause of why people commit crime, rebellion, revolt, and various other sorts of social ills as the result of degeneration.⁴⁴⁰ Degeneration became

⁴³⁹ Anon. *Blackie’s Standard Shilling Dictionary*. Blackie and Son Ltd, 68.

⁴⁴⁰ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 43.

the rationale to explain social ills, as opposed to social institutions, and thus colonialists understood the cause to be ‘bred’ in. Therefore, matters around indigenous fertility and fecundity became of great imperial concern, and the state acted accordingly to protect and preserve the empire. Hence, social policies became interested in managing and controlling the ‘breeding’ within and between the races. Scientific endeavours, like those of Darwin, were frequently drawn on and distorted to support this view. Figure. 31 shows a copy of a three-page letter, held in the Alexander Turnbull Archive manuscript collection, sent by Darwin in 1874 to Lady Caroline Denison, dated January 14, 1874.⁴⁴¹ This letter provides an example of the kind of works perverted to support pseudo-scientific arguments.



(Figure. 31) Darwin, Charles, Letter to Lady Caroline Denison, 14 Jan 1874, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0972.

In this letter, Darwin asks Lady Caroline Denison to collect information on the rate at which the people on Norfolk Island are reproducing, which he delicately refers to as ‘the people increasing.’ He is mainly concerned with the people who Pākehā had been transferred from Pitcairn Island. Darwin draws a parallel to other species in the “animal and vegetable kingdoms,” whose fertility

⁴⁴¹ The letter reads: Madam, Having lately read with extreme interest “Varieties of Vice-Regal Life,” I have thought that you will perhaps excuse the liberty I take in asking you to give me some information, if in your power, about the inhabitants of Norfolk Island.

It is notorious that these people increased rapidly in Pitcairn Island and the points which I am anxious to learn is whether, after their removal to Norfolk Island, they continued to increase as rapidly as before. I fear that it is hardly probable that I could any how ascertain their numbers when first brought to Norfolk I., the number of those who left the Island, and their number at any given recent date.

In the animal and vegetable kingdoms it is certain that very slight changes in conditions sometimes affect the fertility of species in a marvellous manner, and I much desire to ascertain whether anything of this kind has occurred in Norfolk Island.

I am fully aware that I have much reason to apologise for the liberty which I am taking. I beg leave to remain your Ladyship’s obedient servant. Charles Darwin.

he notes can change due to alterations in their conditions. Here, the displacement of a people is treated as a convenient opportunity to study a category of humans in which ‘scientific’ observation of their fertility should be noted and recorded. It also shows how Western scientists understood race and the environment to be factors in fecundity. Interestingly, Sinclair provides Charles Darwin’s impression of New Zealand in 1835, which was not a positive one, particularly regarding the Pākehā; instead, Darwin said that it was “not a pleasant place”⁴⁴² and that “amongst the natives, there is absent the charming simplicity which is found in Tahiti, and of the English, the greater part are the very refuse of society.”⁴⁴³

Within the Pacific, Tahiti held a special place in the European imagination as an example of a special kind of innocence; as Brookes notes, referencing French naturalist Philibert de Commerson (1768), it provided the view of “the savage before the Fall... unconstrained by the restrictions of civilisation.” Evident, de Commerson asserted, in their “simplicity of moral code, which was marked by the fairness of their treatment of women, who are in no way oppressed...”⁴⁴⁴ Thus, the oppression of women here is seen as a marker of civilisation. Indeed, the *Imperial Magazine* published an article in 1829 titled *New Conquest by France in the Pacific*, published six decades after de Commerson’s report, which described Tahiti as “the fairest isle in the South Seas.”⁴⁴⁵

The English arrived on Tahiti’s shores in 1767, a year before the French, with the circumnavigator, Captain Wallis, whose account of an “interview with the natives [of] their customs and peculiarities, together with his observations on the island... were relayed back to the metropole in the published works of Hawkesworth’s voyages.”⁴⁴⁶ Captain Cook followed Wallis in 1769, 1773, and 1774, then by Captain Bligh in 1788 and 1789, Captain Vancouver in 1792, and Captain New in 1793. In 1804, Joseph Dufour, who had studied such voyages, produced a French scenic

⁴⁴² Charles Darwin, “Letter to Lady Caroline Denison,” (Alexander Turnbull Library, 1874), MS-Papers-0972.

⁴⁴³ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*. (Middlesex: Penguin Books Inc., 1959), 44-45.

⁴⁴⁴ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 23.

⁴⁴⁵ “New Conquest by France in the Pacific,” *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, (Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1829), 1.

⁴⁴⁶ “Cession of Matavai, in Otaheite, to Captain Wilson, for the Missionaries, in the Year, 1797,” *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, (Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1829), 767.

wallpaper titled *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*, satisfying the widespread interest in the topic at the time.

In retort to Dufour's wallpaper scene, internationally acclaimed wahine Māori artist Lisa Reihana created an installation in 2015 titled *In Pursuit of Venus [infected]*, where she intertwined digital technologies to animate the scenic wallpaper and challenge its Eurocentric narrative by making visible the original wallpaper's silenced historical narratives. Reihana skilfully incorporated sights and sounds that she imagined would have been present during the various points of cross-cultural exchange.⁴⁴⁷ I draw on the following image (Figure. 32) to highlight its Eurocentric narrative, highlighting the imperial white linen fetish and the notion of racial purity represented by the white women and children depicted dressed in white linen.

In 1791, Captain Robert Wilson, commander of the *Duff*, arrived with a team of missionaries, consisting of thirty men, six women, and three children, contracted by the London Missionary Society to convey to their postings in Tahiti, Tonga, and the Marquesas Islands.⁴⁴⁸ The *Imperial Magazine* claimed:

“By nearly all of the above navigators, some accounts have been published respecting the interesting portion of the human family, but it has been reserved for the Missionaries of more modern days to furnish amplified details of all that is important in the history and ancient manners of these uncultivated children of nature, and from their accounts, we shall draw our information respecting the sense in the plate, and an explanation of the various figures which appear.”⁴⁴⁹

The plate to which the article refers is presented below (Figure. 32), is of an engraving by Francesco Bartolezzi, titled *The Cession of the District of Matavai in the Island of Otaheite to Captain James Wilson for the use of the Missionaries Sent Thither by that Society in the Ship Duff*.

⁴⁴⁷ “In Pursuit of Venus – About the Work,” <https://www.inpursuitofvenus.com/about>

⁴⁴⁸ John Wilson, “History – Liberal to Labour,” *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, (2020), 5. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/history/page-5>.

⁴⁴⁹ “Missionary Sketches,” *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, (Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1829), 769.

The article states: “It exhibits not only the rich luxuriance of the scenery, but the complexion, expression, dress, and tattooing of the natives, with remarkable fidelity and spirit.”⁴⁵⁰



(Figure. 32) Smirke, Robert, *The Cession of the District of Matavai in the Island of Otaheite to Captain James Wilson for the use of the Missionaries Sent Thither by that Society in the Ship Duff*, engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi, 1801, Alexander Turnbull Library, D-016-005.

Within the image are numerous people of significance, including the King seated on the shoulders of another; standing beside him is his father, Pomare, and beside Pomare is the King’s grandfather, Hapai. Also in the image is the Queen, who, like her husband, is on the shoulders of another, and the King’s mother, Ida, standing behind the shirtless European man. However, when viewing the two English women in the image, both missionary wives, one could deduce that they appear somewhat frightened, if not ill at ease. Crouched down, near the centre of the image, is Mrs. Hassle, holding her baby in a protective stance. Over her shoulder, she stares with wide-open eyes, not with unbridled fear but perhaps with wariness, as she looks over at Haamanemane, a chief of Raiatea and the High Priest, who, by the report’s account, was “old and nearly blind, [and] appears in a crouching position, addressing Captain Wilson through the interpretation of Peter the Swede,

⁴⁵⁰ “Cession of Matavai,” 767.

and surrendering the district.”⁴⁵¹ Mrs. Hassle represents purity through the symbolism of white linen as pure. She is the only adult fully clothed in pure white, in a long, layered white dress with lace detailing on the short sleeves and bodice, as well as a white bonnet; the others also dressed in pure white are her infant baby and young child, standing to her left, and in between Captain Wilson and his nephew, Captain W. Wilson. The child appears relaxed and points as s/he inquisitively looks up at Captain Wilson. The second woman in the image, Mrs. Henry, also wears a white dress, a hat, and a long, dark-coloured shawl draped over her shoulders, meeting at her middle and falling past her waist. She is holding her husband, Mr. Henry, appearing as though she requires his protection in this setting, giving the appearance of anxiety; her sight is set on Haamanemane also.

As it was, the painting is understood to represent an accurate retelling of the event, a documentation of the transaction taking place. However, it is also laden with subtle markers that tell us what we are meant to know about the different bodies represented. For example, in it, we can read that the Swedish man, who is acting as interpreter, referred to as just ‘Peter the Swede’ is different from the Englishmen as it appears he has adopted the Tahitian manner of dress, wearing only a garment (perhaps made of bark cloth) wrapped around his waist, as well as showing a tautau design on his right leg (his left leg is not visible). Such a display would have been understood by many as a sign that he had transgressed backward, that he was living amongst the natives and had taken a degenerative approach in doing so. In contrast, the Englishmen’s bodies represent a rigidity to formality in costume that supports their believed superior imperial, civilised status and bears visual evidence of their continued progression of expansion. Another significant marker that stands out is the way that rope is employed to manage Tahitian bodies, a boundary marker discerning between those who belonged and those who did not; in this case, we find the Tahitian children are outside the boundary, and the English children are within. The report stated regarding the rope, however, that it [was]:

“drawn round the place of audience to keep off the people, and encircle the principal personages. Without the rope stands Mawrea, with other chiefs, and also a sister of Pomare, who in observance of certain rules of etiquette, were not permitted to enter the sacred enclosure.”⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ “Cession of Matavai,” 767.

⁴⁵² “Missionary Sketches,” 769.

This suggests that the rope was employed to create a boundary with both parties' etiquettes in mind, yet it is a foreign measure, placing one's body in space by rope. According to Frantz Fanon, "The first thing the colonial subject learns is to remain in his place and not to overstep its limits...The native is being hemmed in."⁴⁵³

FLAX AND SEX: COLONIAL CONTROL OF WĀHINE MĀORI LABOUR

Aitia te wāhine i roto i te Pā Harakeke
Bond with women who work with Harakeke.
(For she will prosper)

In this section, I examine the role of the colonial state in the social and economic oppression of wāhine Māori. I have drawn on colonial images and texts that demonstrate how the trope of degeneration was an essential element in the colonisation of wāhine Māori. I also expand this scope of inquiry to the Pacific Islands to show how this discourse was applied to the Indigenous Peoples throughout the Pacific. An examination of the colonial fetish of white linen was employed as a metaphor for imperialism providing a focal point from which I highlighted the critical role of harakeke as a raw material in the imperial quest to colonise Aotearoa. Within this colonial endeavour I considered the economic and social implications this had for wāhine Māori, drawing on an anecdote of a wāhine Māori, Ata-hoe, which demonstrates the ways that the flax trade, marriage with a Pākehā man, and the global sex market of Indigenous women, all intersect to frame Ata-hoe's story. I then explore how this colonial fear was used to legitimise state interventions to control wāhine Māori sexuality and fertility in the nineteenth century in an effort to preserve the 'purity' of the European race.

⁴⁵³ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 15.

Europeans first recorded Māori contact with the Pākehā during Abel Tasman's voyage in 1642, when he bestowed the country with another name, New Zealand. Over a century later, in 1769, with the goal of observing the transit of Venus across the sun and confirming the existence of the *Terra Australis Incognita*, James Cook followed behind. He did so via Tahiti, making his proclamations of discovery and declaring possession of the New Zealand territory in the name of King George the Third of Britain.⁴⁵⁴ Cook visited Aotearoa a further three times before he was to meet his demise in Hawai'i on the fourteenth of February in the year 1779.⁴⁵⁵ Professor Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, a historian from the University of Hawai'i, asserts that this date is still celebrated today by Hawai'ians and is known as "Hau'oli Lā Ho'omake iā Kapene Kuki/ Happy Death of Captain Cook Day." According to Kame'eleihiwa, the key reason for this celebration is the ridding of a man who brought venereal disease and tuberculosis to the Islands of Hawai'i.⁴⁵⁶

Cook's voyages to New Zealand, however, had made a significant impact, particularly his notes on New Zealand timber and 'flax,' so that when the British proposed in 1783, on the advice of Lord Sandwich and Joseph Banks who had accompanied Cook on his 1770 voyage to establish a settlement in New South Wales, Aotearoa became of interest.⁴⁵⁷ Four years later, a Royal Commission appointed New South Wales a Governor, Arthur Phillip, who defined in a sweeping proclamation that the colony's boundary extended from Queensland to Tasmania, encompassing all land west to 135 degrees longitude and 'including all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean,' thus including Aotearoa.

In the imperial project, harakeke/flax played a significant role in establishing colonisation in New Zealand as a valuable commodity.⁴⁵⁸ Indeed, Pākehā environmentalist and politician Catherine Delahunty and Kiddle have asserted that a quest for capital formed the basis of the colonial

⁴⁵⁴ Muriel Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand to 1939*. (Auckland: Collins, 1970), 7. 'Land-ho' cried his ship's lookout boy, Nick, and so the ancestral lands of my children were renamed 'Young Nick's Head.' He was not made welcome.

⁴⁵⁵ Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, "How the Foolish Rumour that Hawaiian at Cook began," *SBS News*, 2019.

<https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/how-the-foolish-rumour-that-hawaiians-ate-cook-began/xpl1a9z86?fbclid=IwAR1M3-nSe7xbj9jkGofB1eHzDf1PDqh3yIfvgHo4yFaagc0AjTYm7jbENsI>

⁴⁵⁶ Kame'eleihiwa, "How the Foolish Rumour."

⁴⁵⁷ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 7.

⁴⁵⁸ Muriel Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand to 1939*. (Auckland: Collins, 1970).

project.⁴⁵⁹ Thus, harakeke became the desired capital and was to be inserted into a capitalist system that came to underpin New Zealand's colonial history.⁴⁶⁰

Before it became known as flax to be milled by the Pākehā and exported overseas into the very lucrative flax market, the harakeke plant was greatly valued by Māori. It was valued so highly that life without it was unimaginable, as Te Kanawa writes of one colonialist's observation: "On my arrival in this country the Maoris... would often inquire after the vegetable productions of England; and nothing astonished them more than to be told there was no harakaeke growing there, On more that one occasion I have heard chiefs say, 'How is it possible to live there without it? [and- I would not dwell in such a whenua as that.]"⁴⁶¹ Harakeke was used by Māori for numerous purposes, from clothing to ropes, fishing lines, rafts, gum, and nets. Māori also used harakeke for medicinal purposes, and nectar was used to make sweeteners. Te Kanawa explains that our tīpuna held a depth of knowledge in identifying harakeke cultivars, such as 'Huiroa' in Taranaki, 'Oue' in Te Tairāwhiti, and 'Tāpotō' in the Hawkes Bay.⁴⁶² Identifying these harakeke cultivars enabled an experienced kairārangā to know "the different characteristics, by colour shade, growth structure and fibre content, before harvesting begins."⁴⁶³ Māori, harakeke was not a commodity; it was a taonga that came to represent whānau, and there were tikanga involved that adhered to particular cultural and spiritual practices associated with harakeke, its harvesting, and its use, that "protected the welfare of both the harvester and the harakeke plant itself."⁴⁶⁴ Māori respected the process of raranga/whatu (the weaving of harakeke) as having its own life force, and the weaver possessed her own mana in relation to it.⁴⁶⁵ According to noted weaver Erenora Puketapu Hetet, "Māori weaving is full of symbolism and hidden meanings. Embodied within are the spiritual values and beliefs of the Māori people."⁴⁶⁶ However, the impact of colonisation and capitalism via the 'flax' trade led to the demise of the practices and passing of knowledge on harakeke. In 2022, the Nelson

⁴⁵⁹ Rebecca Kiddle, "Colonisation Sucks for Everyone, in *Imagining Decolonisation*." *Imagining Decolonisation*, ed. Anne Hodge, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020), 96.

⁴⁶⁰ Kiddle, "Colonisation Sucks," 96.

⁴⁶¹ Te Kanawa, "Taonga Tuku Iho," 40.

⁴⁶² Te Kanawa, "Taonga Tuku Iho," 39.

⁴⁶³ Te Kanawa, "Taonga Tuku Iho," 38.

⁴⁶⁴ "Harakeke," *Christchurch City Library*, <https://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/harakeke/>

⁴⁶⁵ Te Kanawa, "Taonga Tuku Iho."

⁴⁶⁶ Kathryn Ryan, (2019, November 3). Leo Haks and Colleen Dallimore. *RNZ From Nine To Noon*.

<https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/ninetonoon/audio/201777158/leo-haks-and-colleen-dallimore>

Provincial Museum’s Kaitiaki Taonga Māori (Māori Taonga Collections Manager) Hamuera Manihera, shared his expertise on Māori textiles, such as the piupiu, korowai kārure, kahu ngore and kahu huruhuru, highlighting the impact of colonisation on the language relating to them.⁴⁶⁷ Manihera argues that colonisation caused an oversimplification of many words that led to a loss of knowledge, which is still actively sought and reclaimed by Māori.⁴⁶⁸

Harakeke is native to Aotearoa, Tasmania, and Norfolk Island. Europeans recognised its superior value as a fibre mislabelling it as flax, a bast fibre of the genus *Linum*, and no relation. In 1791, based on Cook’s observations, Lieutenant Governor King of Norfolk Island was keen to capitalise on the flax industry.⁴⁶⁹ He had written instructions that in order to establish a clothing industry, he believed it would be advisable to use ‘New Zealand flax.’⁴⁷⁰ Orders were then made to early Governors “to take a flax-dresser or two’ from New Zealand to show the convicts how to prepare it,”⁴⁷¹ offering some whalers up to £100 for the mission, proclaiming he would: “Very soon clothe the inhabitants of New South Wales.”⁴⁷²

Two years later, in 1793, this plan was indeed put into action, and two Māori, Huru and Tuki-Tahua, were kidnapped and taken to Norfolk Island by the British warship *Daedalus*, which reportedly had: “sailed off hurriedly with two young chiefs.”⁴⁷³ Governor King drew the following account of “Two New Zealanders left in Doubtless Bay,” whom he referred to as Hoodoo-Cocoty Towahamahowey (son of a rangatira) and Toogee Teterrenue Warripedo (son of a tohunga):

“At this time, the ship made sail. One of them saw the canoes astern, and when they perceived that the ship was leaving them, they both became frantic with grief; and broke the cabin windows, with an intention of leaping overboard, but were prevented.”⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁷ Barnaby Sharp, “From Korowai to Kākahu: Expanding te Reo Māori supports Revitalisation of Weaving,” *Stuff News*, September 30, 2022. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/pou-tiaki/300701297/from-korowai-to-kkahu-expanding-te-reo-mori-supports-revitalisation-of-weaving>

⁴⁶⁸ Sharp, “From Korowai to Kākahu.”

⁴⁶⁹ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 8.

⁴⁷⁰ John Bell Condliffe and William Thomas Airey, *A Short History of New Zealand* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., 1960), 20.

⁴⁷¹ Condliffe and Airey, *A Short History*, 20.

⁴⁷² Prichard, *An Economic History*, 8.

⁴⁷³ John Liddiard Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*. (Auckland: Wilson and Horton Ltd, 1817), 355-356.

⁴⁷⁴ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 355-356.

King appears astonished at both men's apparent anguish at being separated from their whānau. Huru, he notes, had “two wives and one child about whose safety he seemed very apprehensive”⁴⁷⁵ and Tuki -Tahua, he stated, left his father, “who is a very old man,”⁴⁷⁶ as well as “a wife and child, about all of whom he is very anxious and uneasy.”⁴⁷⁷ King also made the following remark:

“Almost every evening, at the close of the day, he [Huru], as well as Toogee, lamented their separation in a sort of half crying and half singing, expressive of grief, and which was at times very affecting.”⁴⁷⁸

Pākehā captured the men through trickery, but it did not prove a fruitful scheme, as working with the harakeke was predominantly a woman’s domain, and Huru and Tuki-Tahua were not only men but also Rangatira.⁴⁷⁹ Thus, the demand for flax was so great that it was the impetus for some to request the colonisation of New Zealand. In 1810, Governor Macquarie wrote to the British Government from Sydney, informing them that a settlement proposal by Simeon Lord and other merchants had been made as they were keen to collect the flax plant to manufacture cordage and canoes.⁴⁸⁰ The request was repeated in 1814 and then by Robert Williams in 1817. Williams was a rope maker who stated that to manufacture ‘flax,’ establishing a settlement was necessary for his protection.⁴⁸¹ That year, Marsden approved, suggesting that the colony be composed of agriculturalists and mechanics under missionary control.⁴⁸² Although, according to Pākehā historian Michael King, it was not until the early 1820s that the New South Wales Governor made concerted efforts to develop the New Zealand flax trade that led to a boom in the industry between the early 1820s and early 1830s when harakeke exports peaked.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁵ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 356.

⁴⁷⁶ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 356.

⁴⁷⁷ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 356.

⁴⁷⁸ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 354.

⁴⁷⁹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, “Getting Out From Down Under: Māori Women, Education and the Struggles for Mana Wahine,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joellee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 93.

⁴⁸⁰ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 12.

⁴⁸¹ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 12.

⁴⁸² Prichard, *An Economic History*, 12.

⁴⁸³ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2007), 115.

Despite these imperial formalities, the colonial relationship between Māori in Aotearoa and Europeans in Australia had thrived for decades, with many export shipping lines owned and operated by Māori merchants. During this period, European whalers, sealers, sailors, traders, and convicts were upon the shores of Aotearoa.⁴⁸⁴ And although sexual encounters had taken place in the century prior, with offspring as a result of some, it is with these men that sexual liaisons between the Māori and Pākehā began to reveal themselves in the archives.⁴⁸⁵ The flax industry appears in the very early coupling of a wahine Māori and a Pākehā man, of whom there is a record in a *Calcutta Monthly Journal* publication, during the year 1809. A fascinating account places a young wahine Māori, Ata-hoe, at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Bengal, India, another of the empire's colonial outposts.⁴⁸⁶ The article began: “A princess of New Zealand, one of the Daughters of Tippahee [*sic*], had arrived within these few days in Calcutta, accompanied by her husband, an Englishman of the name Bruce.”⁴⁸⁷

In 1819, the former convict George Bruce (guilty of petty theft as a ten-year-old) recorded a memoir on his deathbed in Greenwich Hospital, England. Bruce’s memoir tells of how, in 1806, he had tended to a Māori chief, Te Pahi, who had fallen ill onboard the ship *Lady Nelson*, returning to New Zealand from Sydney. Te Pahi had met with Lieutenant King two years prior and King had recorded the meeting saying that he had paid every attention to Tip-pa-he [*sic*], as the sailors highly regarded him.⁴⁸⁸ On arrival at the Bay of Islands, Bruce disembarked with Te Pahi. By his account, he became a high-ranking warrior, received moko, mediated between Pākehā traders and Māori, and was ‘given’ a wife named Ata-hoe, daughter of Te Pahi, who became known as Mary Bruce.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁴ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 10.

⁴⁸⁵ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 26.

⁴⁸⁶ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 59. Prichard asserts that Māori were recognised as “keen traders and ... notably hard workers, exceptionally skilled as sealers, arborists and so on [and] as such came into contact with many people of varying nationalities and backgrounds, in New Zealand, on the sea or overseas.”

⁴⁸⁷ Carol Legge, “Atahoe c.1790-1810,” In *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui ma te Kaupapa*, ed. Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), 23.

⁴⁸⁸ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 9. Prichard notes that King had also tried to convince Te Pahi to send Māori to Sydney to work as shepherds, but Te Pahi did not take up his suggestion.

⁴⁸⁹ Legge, “Atahoe c.1790-1810,” 23. Also referred to in various sources as Aetockoe, Etoki, and Atahoe

New Zealand history documents that early Pākehā heavily relied on Māori for food, shelter, and protection and that, for most, it was a matter of survival.⁴⁹⁰ As Sarah Pratt journaled in the early 1850s:

“...almost every day we had Maories coming to sell potatoes, mellons, vegetable-marrow, pumpkins, Pigeons, Kakas and fish the boys [her brothers] could shoot plenty of birds but with road work and assisting with the house it leaves no time for sport the natives understand the value of their produce and would not sell it cheaply, they like best to get some of your clothing, but we know it will be a long time before we get any more and don't want to part with any. Father charged away a pair of Breeches and top boots to etpeko a chief and he was very proud of them they do not mind what garment you can spare wether [sic] it is suitable and will gladly take and wear them sometimes back to front and looking most ludicrous figures and so unconscious of it too... the women are fond of gay colours and will often bring me a piece of print to make a round-about or frock for them...”⁴⁹¹

Māori, for the most part, had welcomed Pākehā as they were keen to trade and believed that the two peoples could co-exist comfortably together.⁴⁹² As Māori academic Mike Ross asserts:

“The Māori neighbours believed that the homes could coexist, in the way that neighbouring tribes had coexisted for centuries. Māori also saw mutual advantages in sharing and trading resources with a neighbour who brought benefits such as new crops, tools, animals, and technologies into their communities.”⁴⁹³

Unions between wāhine Māori and Pākehā, like Bruce's, were typical of the sorts of sexual relationships that formed, whereby the Pākehā men integrated into the Māori community. Some of these relationships were long-standing. However, many were temporary yet mutually beneficial, with Māori wives receiving dresses and other goods from their sailor 'husbands,' and the Pākehā husbands often had access to land and had their domestic and sexual demands attended to.⁴⁹⁴ Such

⁴⁹⁰ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 33.

⁴⁹¹ Pratt, *Journal*, MSX-3895.

⁴⁹² Condliffe and Airey, *A Short History*, 34. Trading with Māori was technically restricted until the Acts of 1813; however, crews from whalers' ships and others exchanged goods with Māori regardless. Māori was very keen to obtain iron and would exchange kete of potatoes, flax, timber, whale oil, sealskins, pork meat, Upoko Tuhituhi, and women. Other than iron, Māori liked to acquire blankets, clothing, seeds, tobacco, muskets, powder, and shot.

⁴⁹³ Mike Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” in *Imagining Decolonisation*, ed. Anne Hodge, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020).

⁴⁹⁴ Jan Jordan, “Sex Work,” *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 2011, 2018 (revised). <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/sex-work/print> (accessed 11 May 2023)

men were often referred to at the time as ‘Pākehā Māori’⁴⁹⁵ or ‘white man blackwashed’ as referred to by Lieutenant-Colonel Munday in 1847.⁴⁹⁶ In his book, *Moko*, Robley provides three examples of Pākehā Māori, two of each of which were happily ‘married’ to wāhine Māori to whom they were ‘tenderly attached.’ The other, by the name of Thomson, who was ‘fully tattooed,’ returned to England for a visit and, while there, “acted the part of a New Zealand savage in several provincial theatres”⁴⁹⁷ and opted to marry an Englishwoman. However, on his return to Aotearoa, his English wife “eloped with a Yankee sailor, because the tattooed actor’s former Māori wife met him and obtained over him an influence the white woman could not combat.”⁴⁹⁸ Pākehā Māori were to play an important role as trade agents, advisors, and liaisons between the missionaries and Māori.⁴⁹⁹

Indeed, an extract from the English seaman John Turnbull’s *Voyage Round the World*, between the years 1801 and 1804, reported of Bruce that,

“Six or eight months after his marriage, the ships Inspector, the Ferret, a South Sea whaler, and several other English vessels, touched at New Zealand for supplies, and all of them found the beneficial influence of having a countryman and friend at the head of affairs in that island. They were liberally supplied with fish, vegetables [etc.].”⁵⁰⁰

Turnbull also comments on Atahoe’s appearance, in particular her moko kauae, which he claimed detracted from her beauty:

“Aelockoe [Ata-hoe] a maiden of fifteen or sixteen years of age, whose beauty had probably been great, but which has been so much improved by the fashionable embellishments of art, that all the softer charms of nature, all the sweetness of expression, are lost in the bolder traits of tattooing.”⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁵ Trevor Bentley, *Captured by Māori: White Female Captives, Sex and Racism on the Nineteenth-century New Zealand Frontier* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2004).

⁴⁹⁶ Horatio Robley, *Moko, or Māori Tattooing*, (London : Chapman & Hall, 1896). Reprinted 1987, 105.

⁴⁹⁷ Robley, *Moko*, 105.

⁴⁹⁸ Robley, *Moko*, 105.

⁴⁹⁹ Condliffe and Airey, *A Short History*, 34.

⁵⁰⁰ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 375.

⁵⁰¹ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 375.

Of course, not all wāhine Māori were high ranking, like Ata-hoe, and not all the wāhine Māori who engaged in these sexual liaisons had access to land. Additionally, Māori did not assume that all sexual liaisons with Pākehā men were confined to Māori females. This became evident to a sailor of Joseph Banks, who paid for sexual services with a Māori girl but who, he later discovered, turned out to be a Māori boy. Aspin reports that on this discovery, the man complained and was provided with another Māori girl, only to find that she was, in fact, another Māori boy and that when he returned to complain again, the whānau laughed at him.⁵⁰² This was when Sydney was known as the ‘Sodom of the South Seas.’ Furthermore, it was known and recorded (although occluded through refusal to archive or the refusal to investigate the matter further, as was the case with the Church Missionary Society) that the English missionary, William Yates, had had numerous sexual and romantic relationships with several Māori boys and young men.⁵⁰³ Yates was known to have lived with one of his male Māori lovers for two years in the Māori village of Waimate.⁵⁰⁴ Indeed, Australian historian Robert Aldrich notes that “the colonies provided many possibilities of homoeroticism, ‘homosociality,’ and homosexuality.”⁵⁰⁵ For many sailors, it lured them to a sailor’s life.⁵⁰⁶ Interestingly, Māori had observed that European crews lacked females, noting it as odd.⁵⁰⁷ Still, sexual liaisons with Māori females came with it the potential of offspring and, therefore, as noted, the potential to access Māori land. However, as Brookes affirms, these alliances were based on Māori terms, whereby men’s entitlement to land came through their wives and children; they had no right to alienate the land.⁵⁰⁸

Bruce’s memoir included the story of how he and Ata-hoe ended up in India, as it had not been their intention to do so, and how Ata-hoe was never to return home. Bruce stated that in 1807, at the Bay of Islands, he was assisting Captain Dalrymple of the *General Wellesley*, in loading a cargo of timber (spars). Dalrymple had travelled from Sydney, via New Zealand, to Penang for

⁵⁰² Clive Aspin, “Hōkakatanga - Māori sexualities - Early Māori sexuality,” *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, (2019). <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/hokakatanga-maori-sexualities/page-2>

⁵⁰³ Judith Binney, Whatever Happened to Poor Mr Yate? An Exercise in Voyeurism, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 38 no.2, (2004), 119. https://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/docs/2004/NZJH_38_2_04.pdf

⁵⁰⁴ Aspin, “Hōkakatanga - Māori Sexualities.”

⁵⁰⁵ Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, London: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 2002, 3.

⁵⁰⁶ Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, 3.

⁵⁰⁷ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 41.

⁵⁰⁸ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 27.

this purpose but, enticed by the prospect of gold dust, had asked Bruce if he could accompany him to the North Cape. Bruce agreed with the understanding that he and Atahoe, who would accompany him, would be returned afterward.⁵⁰⁹ Turnbull stated:

“With reluctance, and after many entreaties, Bruce consented to accompany Captain Dalrymple, under the most solemn assurances of being safely brought back and landed at the Bay of Islands. He accordingly embarked with his wife on board the General Wellesley, representing at the dangerous consequences of taking the king’s daughter from the island, but that fear was quieted by the solemn and repeated assurances of Captain Dalrymple, that he would, at every hazard, re-land them at the Bay of Islands, the place from which they embarked.”⁵¹⁰

However, this was not to eventuate as after the unsuccessful gold dust hunt, Dalrymple, not wanting to waste time, decided to sail on to India via Malacca instead. In December 1808, after arriving on the Malaysian peninsula, Bruce went ashore to lay a complaint against Dalrymple to the Governor at Malacca; however, while doing so, Dalrymple lifted anchor and left Bruce behind. Ata-hoe was still on board. Bruce wrote that a few weeks later, he was informed that Ata-hoe had been bartered to Captain Ross in Penang. Thanks to the Governor's intervention, Ata-hoe was returned to Bruce sometime after this. A few days after leaving Bengal in 1810, Ata-hoe gave birth to their daughter. En route home, Ata-hoe died, reportedly of dysentery, a month after arriving in Sydney. Bruce left their baby daughter at a Female Orphanage School in Sydney and returned to England.⁵¹¹

It is in Ata-hoe’s death notice from the Sydney Gazette that one is alerted to her connection with the flax trade, as well as drawing one’s attention to Sydney’s interests in the commodification of New Zealand’s resources, made clear as the central concern of the obituary. It reads:

“DIED, On Sunday morning last, at four o’clock, at the house of Mr. Francis McKuan, in Sydney, a Princess of New Zealand, and daughter of Tip-Pa-Hee, whose first name was Atahoe, but which at the age of 14 was changed to that of Mary Bruce by her marriage with a European of that name who had resided several years in her father’s dominions, from whence he went to India in the General Wellesley, accompanied by his royal bride. From

⁵⁰⁹ Legge, “Atahoe,” 23.

⁵¹⁰ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 376.

⁵¹¹ Legge, “Ata-Hoe,” 727.

India Mr. and Mrs. Bruce arrived lately here in the Union, on their return to New Zealand, for the valuable purpose of collecting & cultivating the flax, to which that soil is so favourable; at the same time that the no less essential object was in view of improving the good understanding that has hitherto subsisted between our whalers and the native chiefs, which may hereafter prove of considerable interest to this Colony. In this intention Mr. Bruce has been encouraged by the countenance of HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR and the bid of several Gentlemen of character and opulence, whose minds of speculating on a universal rather than on a private benefit; and that they're united efforts may become successful is most sincerely wished - The deceased Princess has [left?] a fine [ineligible due to condition of typeface], which Mr. Bruce intends to take with him in the Experiment."⁵¹²

In Bruce's story, we have witnessed how Ata-hoe, daughter of the respected Rangatira, Te Pahi, had been kidnapped twice and then sold by Dalrymple. One can only imagine how she felt and the kind of treatment she might have received at the hands of Dalrymple and Ross. We learn that Ata-hoe then dies of an illness that she had contracted not long after bringing her daughter into the world. We witness the loss of Ata-hoe's baby, who then became lost to her whānau and left to live a life without her Māori heritage and standing amongst her people. It also provides an example of how a wahine Māori's body was inserted into the sex trade of women in the imperial global market. Smith asserts that the imperial global sex trade market, involved the sexual commodification of Indigenous women's bodies that were transported to and fro across the empire. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century this empire included most of Africa, South, and Southeast Asia and the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans as well as the Caribbean.⁵¹³ These colonial outposts, Aldrich claims, "provided a haven for Europeans whose sexual inclinations did not fit neatly into the constraints of European society."⁵¹⁴ We also witnessed in Ata-hoe's death notice her reduction to a commodity interest in flax for, in this case, the colonies of Australia. As Smith contends, in the early beginnings of New Zealand capitalism, wāhine Māori were seen as valuable to the colonial economy primarily due to the land and resources they had access to and their labour.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹² "Death notice for Te Atahoe," *Sydney Gazette*, (March 3, 1803), 2.

<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/627941>

⁵¹³ Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, i.

⁵¹⁴ Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, i.

⁵¹⁵ Smith, "Māori Women: Discourses, Projects, and Mana Wahine," 47.

The oil painting below (Figure. 33), 1880, by colonial artist and member of the Armed Constabulary John Philemon Backhouse, demonstrates this intense focus on flax centred on a Māori mother with an infant, who the audience presumes is her own. In it, flax is featured as clothing on the wahine Māori, as a carrier for the infant, and as a kete to carry her freshly harvested produce that appears, based on its distinctive hues, to be kūmara, and as a living plant situated behind her, in the lower corner of the frame.⁵¹⁶ In my wahine Māori visual analysis of this oil painting, I apply the ‘wahine rangatira’ principle to examine how the Māori woman’s ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ are being portrayed. The wahine Māori in this image is depicted as looking directly at the viewer; she is represented as living within her whānau, hapū, and iwi, which are included in the background in waka and on the land beyond the river. So it can be assumed that her individual power and self-determination are still being recognised and honoured. However, she is also portrayed as a singular woman with a child. Within this trope, the position of the wahine Māori is framed within the Western notion of the nuclear family. An oppressive patriarchal structure that directly impacted on a Māori woman’s ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere.’ The whānau structure that upholds her mana is dismantled and assimilated out at all costs within the imperial project of colonisation. The principle of ‘te reo’ highlights that she is an unnamed figure; she is just a wahine Māori with a child who looks to be interrupted by the artist as she walks back to her kainga after harvesting kumara.

⁵¹⁶ Kūmara is a significant plant as it provides evidence of early Māori movement around the globe, in trade and other activities, as well as Māori expertise as gardeners to develop methods of growing the plant in New Zealand’s climate.



(Figure. 33) John P. Blackhouse, Māori Woman and Child, ca.1880. Alexander Turnbull Library, E-053-017⁵¹⁷

The ‘ako Māori’ principle recognises in the image the knowledge of gardening, childcare, and rārangā skills that have been passed down to this wahine Māori from her elders and ancestors. Using the ‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga’ principle, I analyse the image as a portrayal of domesticity in that these skills are framed in a way that she can be seen as participating in the domestic labour of a colonial woman. Additionally, there is a hyper-focus on harakeke, within which she is centrally situated. In this way, the commodification of harakeke is tightly linked with the bodies and lands of wāhine Māori. The ‘whānau’ principle draws my attention to the fact that although whānau exist in the image, they appear in the background and out of focus. Hence, they appear dismissable. The ‘kaupapa’ principle draws my attention to the fact that there is no way to ascertain her position within her whānau, hapū, and iwi based on this representation as it is not important to the message the artist is portraying. Thus, she is represented as belonging to a homogenous group of Māori mothers.

Another example of this commodification is presented in the postcard below (Figure. 34); one of a series titled the *Children of the Empire Series* is described by the Canterbury Museum as

⁵¹⁷ With the description “A young Māori woman, her child inside her cloak on her back, a flax kete of perches in her hand. Beyond her is a flax bush in flower and a lake or wide river with several kāinga in the distance, probably in the Waikato Region. The text on the previous page describes meeting a young woman like this.”

consisting of a colour image of a woman wearing traditional Māori clothing and a printed poem below titled “New Zealand.” The poem reads: “Wool, frozen meat, flax, grain and flour/ New Zealand gives us these/ She also sends us leather, gold / Nice butter, too, and cheese.”⁵¹⁸

The Māori figure, referred to as a woman in the Canterbury museum collection, has curly hair cut in a bob style, adorned with a single feather. She appears very childlike, with full, naturally rosy cheeks, large eyes, cherry red lips, and what appears to be an underdeveloped body, like that of a pre-pubescent girl. Throughout my research, I found such mislabelling to be a repetitive feature of the archives - that is, Māori females, who appear to be girls, are referred to as women. This may be the archivist’s response to the fact that girls were deemed marriageable at a very young age. Indeed, before 1896, the age of consent in New Zealand was twelve years old, allowing men to take sexual advantage of girls.⁵¹⁹ She is dressed in a korowai, wearing a necklace (perhaps pounamu), and sitting on a bench seat with two carved ends, a crude imitation of whakairo. Surrounding the seat is long grass and another smaller, carved object.



(Figure. 34) A *Children of the Empire Series* postcard, circa 1900, Canterbury Museum Collection, id562. 2004.39.18090

In my wahine Māori visual analysis of this postcard, I observe that the Māori girl’s ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ are not depicted in this representation as she appears to be a Victorian

⁵¹⁸ A *Children of the Empire Series* postcard, circa 1900, Canterbury Museum Collection, id562. 2004.39.18090 <https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/1077906/postcard-new-zealand>

⁵¹⁹ Anne Else, “Gender inequalities – Sexuality,” *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/gender-inequalities/page-2>.

child in Māori dress, with a light brown complexion. It is hard, therefore, to apply the concept of mana to her representation. Instead, the kōtiro Māori appears more like one of the commodities on offer, as described in the poem provided. Indeed, even how she is depicted as holding out the pendant necklace worn around her neck as if it is a commodity on offer indicates this commodifying trend. Applying the 'te reo' principle, I draw on the title of the postcard series that labels the kōtiro Māori as a 'child of the empire.' The paternalising notion of colonisation is at once at play in framing the Indigenous Peoples as the empire's children who require the empire to colonise them and who, in return, have much to offer. In the case of Aotearoa, these offerings, as outlined in the short poem, came in the form of wool, frozen meat, flax, grains, flour, leather, gold, butter, and cheese. Applying the 'ako Māori' principle to this image shows that wāhine Māori knowledge is not the focus, but their bodies and labour are. When applying the 'kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga' and 'kaupapa' principles to my visual analysis I recognise that the kōtiro Māori is framed as a domestic commodity. She represents not only an offering but a symbol of the 'willingness' of Māori to be colonised, despite evidence showing otherwise. The whānau principle highlights the absence of the significance of whānau in this frenzy of commodities on the colonial frontier.

In her book *Our Maoris*, the wife of New Zealand's first Chief Justice (1841-1857), William Martin, Mary Ann Martin, provides her observation of the impacts on Māori health from their adoption of Pākehā clothing materials over their own textiles. Martin states:

“The Maoris suffered much from the change of dress brought in by contact with the English. Their own native mats were warm and waterproof. It is wonderful to see what a beautiful fabric can be produced from so rough a loom. But formerly, they had not only the kaitaka, made of the finest flax and ornamented by a handsome border, but a rough garment made of the coarse fibre of the flax and dyed black, through which no wet could penetrate. When blankets could be bought, these native manufacturers almost ceased. The women grudged the time for weaving, when they could be growing corn and potatoes for sale, and the woollen garments seemed a great improvement on their own. The result was that the one blanket, obtained with difficulty, was worn by night and day in all weathers, to the great increase of disease.”⁵²⁰

⁵²⁰ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 18.

Pākehā historian Lloyd Pritchard noted that Māori were ardent traders with particular interests in firearms, axes, and other steel tools.⁵²¹ However, referring to the records of New Zealand ethnologist Raymond Firth, he also noted that the European's high demand for flax led some Māori to relocate their communities from "the hill sites of their villages to be near swampy land where the flax abounded, with consequent bad effects on their health."⁵²² No doubt the diseases the Pākehā introduced only compounded the matter. Nicholas made the following observation of a wahine Māori suffering from one of the sexual diseases introduced:

"I observed here a most deplorable looking object, that I believe was a woman, though the dress and disfigurement the sex appeared doubtful; her face, hands, and indeed her whole body, seemed one mass of running sores and fetid ulcers, the effect, most probably, of the venereal poison, which unfortunately has been communicated to these poor natives by that unfeeling description of characters whose conduct has been so often the subject of my reproach, the crews of European vessels."⁵²³

The labour of wāhine Māori was so heavily relied upon by Pākehā that exports of 'flax' declined after 1832, and the industry almost died as "the Maoris became unwilling to dress the hemp and the quality deteriorated."⁵²⁴ The demand for wāhine Māori labour was ever pressing for a time. In 1843, the Sydney traders were "dependent on native women who scraped the leaves with shells to produce the fibre producing half a hundredweight a week."⁵²⁵ One notable example of this need is demonstrated a decade later in the failed attempt to upskill Pākehā in the labour required to process harakeke for the market. In 1844, at a time when employment amongst the colonisers was high, 'Huguenot, sealer, trader, Government interpreter'⁵²⁶ and husband to Raiha Kenehuru, Edward Meurant and Mr. Clarke, the Protector of Aborigines, attempted a scheme in Nelson to "instruct the labouring class in the preparation of flax for export."⁵²⁷ Meurant wrote:

⁵²¹ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 34.

⁵²² Prichard, *An Economic History*, 34.

⁵²³ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 38-39.

⁵²⁴ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 16.

⁵²⁵ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 65.

⁵²⁶ Leslie G. Kelly, "Edward Meurant – Figure of the Early Colonial Days." *New Zealand Herald*, LXXI. No. 21960, 1934. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19341117.2.202.6?end_date=31-12-1934&items_per_page=10&query=Meurant&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1934

⁵²⁷ Kelly, "Edward Meurant."

“I got some Maoris to show them [the Pākehā] how to scrape the flax. I appeared with Maoris and harakeke (flax) ... No labouring class appeared...The inhabitants and settlers here are very desirous of turning their attention to the forwarding of the flax trade, but they cannot get the labouring class to turn their attention to the work, although they complain of starvation and can with ease earn 2s per (hour?) at the work.”⁵²⁸

However, during the early colonial frontier period, wāhine Māori labour extended beyond working with flax to involving all manner of works, including various agricultural pursuits, trade in goods, and the running of make-shift stores and accommodations.⁵²⁹ Brookes notes that wāhine Māori were active participants in the emerging trade opportunities that European settlement brought in, such as controlling timberlands, involvement in kauri-cutting contracts, providing laundry services for local Pākehā, as well as participating in the establishment of various trading posts.⁵³⁰ Indeed, Brookes claims that “from the start of European colonisation, Māori women were quick to supply newcomers with items for trade, from flax fibre to potatoes, fish and fruit.”⁵³¹ Additionally, the Pākehā sought wāhine Māori for domestic labour as it was central to the economy of whaling and sealing. Colonialist, Edward. J. Wakefield, son of Edward. G. Wakefield reported that the girls that Pākehā wanted for domestic work were bargained for with the girls’ relations, stating that they expected the girls to “get up an hour before daybreak, cook the breakfast, and arrange what her lord means to take in the boat... wash and mend his clothes, keep the house in order, and prepare his supper for his return.”⁵³² And that if she: “fell down on her duties of cooking, mending, and washing, her relations would recall her and provide a more satisfactory ‘helpmate’ to fulfill their side of the bargain.”⁵³³

However, one of the most significant areas of employment for wāhine Māori was in the trade of sex with Pākehā men. As noted earlier, from the first arrival of Europeans to Aotearoa, various sexual liaisons with the Māori people had ensued, and it was also when Europeans introduced the notion of prostitution, defined by the *Miriam Webster* dictionary as ‘the act or practice of engaging

⁵²⁸ Kelly, “Edward Meurant.”

⁵²⁹ Prichard, *An Economic History*.

⁵³⁰ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 37.

⁵³¹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 65.

⁵³² Edwards Jenningham Wakefield, *In New Zealand from 1839 to 1844; With Some Account of the Beginning of the British Colonisation of the Islands*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1845), 323.

https://archive.org/stream/adventureinnewze01wakeiala/adventureinnewze01wakeiala_djvu.txt

⁵³³ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 27.

in promiscuous sexual relations, especially for money⁵³⁴ was introduced by Pākehā into the embryonic economy. As New Zealand criminologist Jan Jordan notes:

“Prostitution is often referred to as ‘the oldest profession,’ but it is not found in all human societies. There is no evidence of prostitution among Māori before European seafarers and traders came to New Zealand.”⁵³⁵

Instead, it was the:

“Sailors arriving in New Zealand coastal waters in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries [who] were starved of female company and interested in buying sexual services...[they were] quickly followed by whalers, sealers, and other traders.”⁵³⁶

These trading and sealing ships came to the Bay of Islands from the United States, Canada, New South Wales, France, England, Portugal, and Tahiti. Thus, budding brothels offering sex began to flourish throughout the colonial frontier, starting at the largest pre-1840 mercantile centre and European settlement of Kororāreka, famously referred to as the ‘Hell Hole of the Pacific,’ where prostitution was to become one of the leading industries in the Bay of Islands.⁵³⁷ Indeed, Kororāreka was referred to at its founding as:

“A marine Alsatia, a Bohemia of villainous licence... where, on occasion, as many as a thousand whites indulged in unbridled and brutalising debauchery, no fewer than thirty-five large whaling ships at a time lying off its beach in the Bay.”⁵³⁸

It was to combat what was perceived by Christians as sin and, therefore, to convert Māori to Christianity that missionaries began arriving in New Zealand in late 1814.⁵³⁹ Of the state of Kororāreka, the missionaries were filled with horror, remarking that the Māori were ‘demoralised’ not only on account of the supply of muskets and alcohol streaming through, and the numerous

⁵³⁴ *Miriam Webster*, “prostitute (*n*),” accessed February 10, 2023, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/prostitute?utm_campaign=sd&utm_medium=serp&utm_source=jsonld

⁵³⁵ Jordan, “Sex Work.”

⁵³⁶ Jordan, “Sex Work.”

⁵³⁷ “Frontier of chaos?,” *Ministry for Cultural Heritage*: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/pre-1840-contact/frontier-of-chaos>.

⁵³⁸ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 16.

⁵³⁹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 29.

diseases (such as tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, and syphilis) they introduced but “through [the] example of their evil ways.”⁵⁴⁰ Despite Kororāreka’s infamous reputation, the sex trade was not unique to it; indeed, by 1869, there were twenty-eight known ‘houses of ill-fame’ in Christchurch and, in Dunedin, twenty-six. ‘Red-light’ districts that offered sex services also bloomed in Te Aro in Wellington and Upper Queens Street in Auckland. Later in the nineteenth century, popular brothel sites included concealed back rooms behind shopfronts, such as a vegetable shop, an oyster saloon, and a lolly shop in Christchurch.⁵⁴¹

Pākehā had reported Māori girls and women to have been prostituted by Māori men in exchange for a variety of items and favours. Indeed, not long after her arrival to New Zealand, Mary Ann Martin lamented “great pity” for wāhine Māori due to the effect of the thriving sex trade, noting: “Their state is degraded indeed.”⁵⁴² However, this interpretation is somewhat skewed as even though Māori men may well have participated in managing some of the sexual transactions between Pākehā men and wāhine Māori, particularly as Pākehā men tended to only deal with other men, it is evident that wāhine Māori who received an item or favour as a result of their sexual service would have done so because a) it was consensual, and they wanted to have sex with the person, or b) it was consensual, and they wanted an item/favour, understanding and accepting that sex was a way to achieve it, or c) both a and b or d) they were under the instruction of somebody (male or female) who outranked them.

The sexual freedom of wāhine Māori set them far apart from the Pākehā women of that time. However, under the patriarchal, colonial, male gaze, Pākehā continuously placed wāhine Māori within the European construct of gender binaries. Instead, wāhine Māori were, in fact, free to relish their sexuality, the extent of which was determined by their position in their whānau, hapū, and iwi, as opposed to the Western concept of gender.

One case in point is shared by Māori academic Margie Hohepa, with the story about one of Hokianga’s highest-ranking women in the early nineteenth century, Maraea Kuri. When Maraea

⁵⁴⁰ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 14.

⁵⁴¹ Jordan, “Sex Work.”

⁵⁴² Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 39.

was accompanying her father, Moka, on a trip to Sydney to purchase muskets, she came across a fifteen-year-old convict (approximately the same age as she) by the name of Cassidy, who came to be known as Katete (or Waima's Pākehā). Cassidy was the son of an Irish doctor, accused of spying for the Sinn Fein and sentenced to five years of hard labour.⁵⁴³ Maraea decided she wanted Cassidy and asked her father to buy him for her. Thus, he was to marry Maraea at the end of serving his time. She would eventually kill him after learning of his adultery with a Pākehā widow.⁵⁴⁴ However, Māori sexual attitudes did change over time, notably as the Pākehā population increased to the point of outnumbering Māori as Victorian concepts of morality started to take hold of the Māori population. The increase in the Pākehā population led to the active promotion of monogamous, heterosexual relationships as the only correct dynamic in a coupling, as well as the notion that sex only takes place within the parameters of marriage for the purposes of procreation. According to Brookes, cleanliness and European clothing were "the first step(s) in this process, followed by attempts to inculcate a domestic work ethic."⁵⁴⁵

Missionaries played a crucial and fundamental role in all facets of the colonisation of New Zealand, from the outset, in both the public and private spheres. Their influence was relied upon for the project of colonisation, even when they disagreed with the many injustices they witnessed as part of it. Wesleyan missionary William White, based in Hokianga, provided an example of this opposition to the 'sale' of Māori land and made it his business to obstruct the un/settler's intentions. I refer to Jackson's term of the 'un/settler here to acknowledge that while the coloniser's were settling into our country, they did so at the cost of unsettling Māori.⁵⁴⁶ White's wife, Eliza, noted in her journal the reaction of the un/settlers to her husband:

"[they] seem most inveterate against Mr. White because he has much influence with [the] Native, who he had advised not to sell their possession, but keep them for their children... if it were not for this advice the white people would try to make them sell their lands for

⁵⁴³ Margie Hohepa, "Hokianga Waiata a Nga Tupuna Wāhine: Journeys through Mana Wahine, Mana Tane." in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 112.

⁵⁴⁴ Hohepa, "Hokianga Waiata," 112.

⁵⁴⁵ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 39.

⁵⁴⁶ Jackson, "Where to Next?" 146.

nought, and soon treat them as they have been used to do to the aborigines of New South Wales and Van Diemen's land."⁵⁴⁷

However, the resentment held towards Mr. White was more complicated than Eliza outlines here, as in 1838, Mr. White was dismissed from the Wesleyan ministry due to being found to have conducted inappropriate commercial activity while in charge of the missions. The ministry also reported that White had a terrible temper and a most disagreeable character, accused of numerous accounts of adultery, as well as the rape of wāhine Māori.⁵⁴⁸

Regardless of how individual missionaries were received, their collective moral drive was fundamental in the development of the cultural and social psyche of the early colonialists, as was evident in the largely public-led approach to policing sexuality. Pākehā society called for the state to pass legislation to control women doing sex work.⁵⁴⁹ According to Stoler, from as early as the 1600s, the "sexual sanctions and conjugal prohibitions of colonial agents were rigorously debated and carefully codified"⁵⁵⁰ and it is precisely in the debates over matrimony and morality that those, like missionaries, and "investment bankers, military high commands, and agents of the colonial state, confronted one another's visions of empire and the settlement patterns on which it would rest."⁵⁵¹ Responding to public pressure, the state intervened, yet the legislation created did not make prostitution work illegal. However, the bodies of wāhine Māori had become a contested site. As a reactive measure, the state could control women's bodies via Acts such as the Contagious Diseases Act (1869) and the Vagrancy Act (1866). Jordan notes that the Vagrancy Act was replaced in 1884 by the Police Offences Act which made it an offence for 'common prostitutes' to seek business in public.⁵⁵² Thus, they were to remain at hand but in the shadows.

Furthermore, missionaries were vital in establishing the first native schools that for wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori were aimed at teaching domestic skills and 'proper' mannerisms, to playing

⁵⁴⁷ Sandra Coney, "Eliza White 1809-1883," *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui ma te Kaupapa*, ed. Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), 727.

⁵⁴⁸ Coney, "Eliza White 1809-1883," *The Book of New Zealand Women*, 724.

⁵⁴⁹ Jordan, "Sex Work."

⁵⁵⁰ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 47.

⁵⁵¹ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 47.

⁵⁵² Jordan, "Sex Work."

instrumental roles in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi; as well as in land dealings and its associated affairs. At the gathering to discuss the Treaty of Waitangi on February 5th, 1840, the first speaker, Te Kemara, rangatira of Ngāti Kawa, expressed the following concerning the missionaries and his land:

“O Governor, my land is gone, gone, all gone. The inheritances of my ancestors, fathers, relatives, all gone, stolen, gone with the missionaries. Yes, they have it all, all, all. That man there, the Busby, the Williams, they have my land. The land on which we are now standing this day is mine. This land even under my feet, return this to me. O Governor, return me my lands. Say to Williams. ‘Return to Te Kemara his land’. Thou thou thou, thou baldheaded [*sic*] man, thou hast got my lands. O Governor, I do not wish you to stay. You English are not kind to us like other foreigners. You do not give us good things. I say, go back Governor; we do not want thee here in this country. And Te Kemara says to thee, go back, leave to Busby and to Williams to arrange and settle matters for us natives as heretofore.”⁵⁵³

The relationship between Māori and the missionaries on the colonial frontier was complex. Archival scrapings reveal traces of sex acts deemed as immoral, committed by missionaries with wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori through adultery, such as that of William White, and, as noted previously, homosexuality with Māori men and boys.⁵⁵⁴ Missionaries also often developed the most trusted and loving relationships with Māori. However, Mikaere claims, their agenda upon arrival was to domesticate wāhine Māori in the mould of the colonial housewife, subservient and obedient to her husband, adopting the “values of the new regime.”⁵⁵⁵ For this reason, missionaries refused to tolerate ‘Māori marriage,’ a form of union that brought much despair to the missionaries. As Mikaere asserts: “They made it a high priority for its elimination, and they preached hellfire and brimstone to the sinful pagans who continued to practice it.”⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵³ William Colenso, *The authentic and genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, 18. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Stout69-t3-body-d2-d1a.html>

⁵⁵⁴ Judith Binney, ‘Whatever Happened to Poor Mr Yate? An Exercise in Voyeurism,’ *New Zealand Journal of History*, 38 no.2, (2004), 114. https://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/docs/2004/NZJH_38_2_04.pdf

⁵⁵⁵ Ani Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joellee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 9.

⁵⁵⁶ Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition,” 9.

Missionaries viewed Māori sexual practices to be at the heart of uncivilised behaviour, particularly regarding wāhine Māori and their proximity to Pākehā men. With a lack of white women on the colonial frontier, Stoler points out that “there existed an unspoken norm that European men should ‘take on’ native women not only to perform domestic work but to service their sexual needs, psychic well-being, and physical care.”⁵⁵⁷ Brookes refers to the New Zealand Company naturalist Ernest Dieffenbach, who noted that Māori ‘wives’ did “all the domestic labour, and excel European husbands in sobriety and quiet disposition.”⁵⁵⁸ Edward Wakefield believed that the presence of wāhine Māori in the whaling stations in Otago exerted a “strong influence over the wild passions of the men and whose ‘habits of order and cleanliness’ raised living standards.”⁵⁵⁹ Further to these benefits, the British colonial administration recognised that such couplings with native women also provided an effective way to learn Indigenous languages. Colonialists referred to these Indigenous women as ‘Sleeping Dictionaries,’ and in this racial and sexual trope, the native woman’s body was seen as “a text to be open and closed at will.”⁵⁶⁰ English associate professor Rosemary Weatherston asserts that the primary function of such tropes was the “deployment and legitimization of colonial power relations,”⁵⁶¹ where she refers to Indian British scholar and critical theorist Homi Bhabha’s observation to argue that the strategic value of such a discourse lay in their ability to create: “a space of a ‘subject peoples’ through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised, and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited.”⁵⁶²

As with the colonial New Zealand population, Australian colonial communities mainly comprised of white males. Australian historian Kate Bagnall notes in her thesis, an exploration of the lives of white women who partnered Chinese men and their children in southern Australia (1855–1915), that the number of convict females transported to New South Wales was comparatively low, with

⁵⁵⁷ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 1.

⁵⁵⁸ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 29.

⁵⁵⁹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 29.

⁵⁶⁰ Rosemary Weatherston, “When Sleeping Dictionaries Awaken: The Re/turn of the Native Woman Informant,” *Ann Arbor Publishing, University of Michigan Library*, 1 no. 1, 1997.

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/postid/pid9999.0001.106/--when-sleeping-dictionaries-awaken-the-return-of-the-native?rgn=main;view=fulltext#:~:text=spo.pid9999.0001.106->

,When%20Sleeping%20Dictionaries%20Awaken%3A%20The%20Re%20Fturn,of%20the%20Native%20Woman%20Informant&text=In%20June%20of%201995%2C%20100%2C000,to%20the%20film%20was%20overwhelming.

⁵⁶¹ Weatherston, “When Sleeping Dictionaries Awaken.”

⁵⁶² Weatherston, “When Sleeping Dictionaries Awaken.”

men outnumbering women, in 1841, by two to one.⁵⁶³ The gender imbalance in Australian colonial communities caused great concern amongst politicians and social critics as, Bagnall explains, it “contradicted the ideal of a society based on the Christian nuclear family, where both men and women had specific roles to play in ensuring that society remained ordered and controlled.”⁵⁶⁴ Indeed, colonialists saw the shortage of women in the colonial frontier as the cause of unwed men’s particular ‘vices,’ such as drunkenness, prostitution, and the “most abhorred of all, homosexuality.”⁵⁶⁵ The threat of carnal relations between men and men was perceived as particularly dangerous to the Christian nuclear family, that, Stoler remarks, meant that “heterosexual unions based on concubinage and prostitution across the colonial divide were defended as a ‘necessary evil’”⁵⁶⁶ to counter that threat. However, Aldrich refers to Robert C. Young, who remarked that colonial administrators and commentators were concerned about racial amalgamation and, therefore, “tended, if anything, to encourage same-sex sex,”⁵⁶⁷ noting that “playing the imperial game was, after all, already an implicitly homo-erotic practice.”⁵⁶⁸ Stoler argues that the question to ask here is not whether the claims of danger were true or false but rather “to identify the regimes of truth that underwrote such a political discourse and a politics that made a racially coded notion of who could be intimate with whom - and in what way - a primary concern in colonial policy.”⁵⁶⁹

In Australia, the anxiety over the gender imbalance fuelled parliamentary debate with concerns over Chinese male immigration, as Australian historian Ann Curthoys outlined, and whether the colonialists could assimilate Chinese into colonial society or whether they posed a threat to British nationality and the purity of the ‘European’ race. Poignantly, they questioned, “What was to be done about the problem of immorality and [the] threat of moral as well as racial degradation?”⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶³ Kate Bagnall, “Golden Shadows on a White Land: An Exploration of the Lives of White Women who Partnered Chinese Men and their Children in Southern Australia, 1855-1915” (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2006).

<https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/1412>

⁵⁶⁴ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 63.

⁵⁶⁵ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 63.

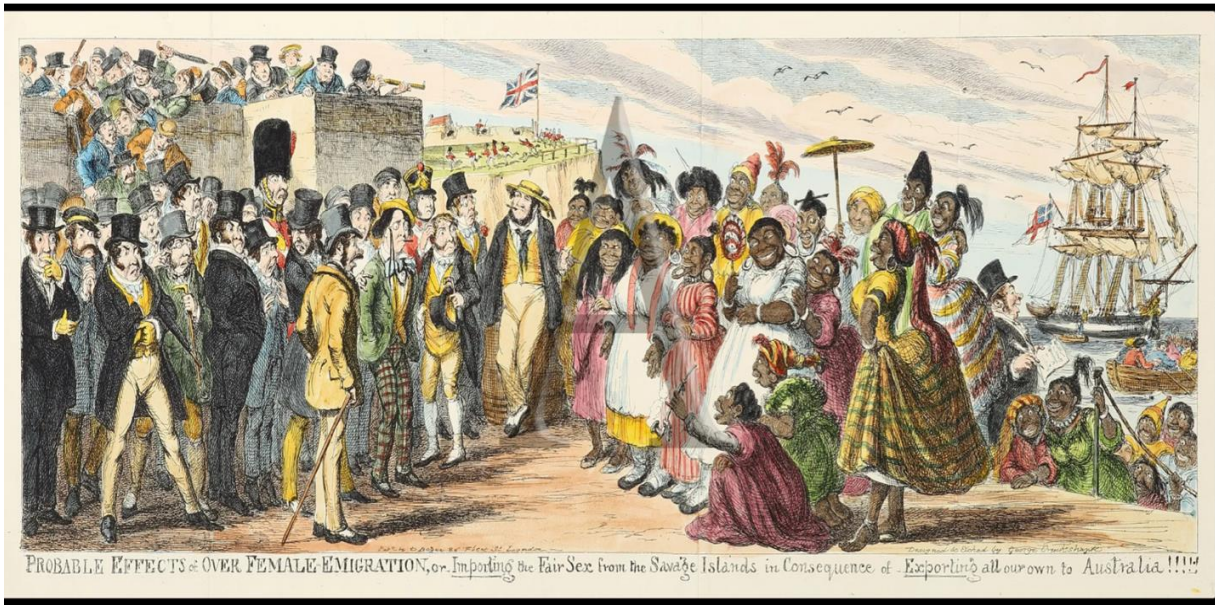
⁵⁶⁶ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 2.

⁵⁶⁷ Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, London: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 2002, 4.

⁵⁶⁸ Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, 4.

⁵⁶⁹ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 2.

⁵⁷⁰ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 70.



(Figure. 35) George Cruikshank, *Probable Effects of over Female Emigration, or Importing the Fair Sex from the Savage Islands in Consequence of Exporting All Our Own to Australia*, 1820. Alexander Turnbull Library, B- 021-047.

The illustration above (Figure. 35) demonstrates the ‘contact zone’ of the intimate frontiers of empire as it provides commentary on racial anxiety as the contamination of savage blood becomes an imagined threat to their racial integrity and purity. The image imagines the desperation of British men in need of wives, apparently due to the displacement of their ‘own’ British women to the colonies (in this case, the penal colony of Australia). Instead, the ‘gentlemen’ and soldiers, having raced down the hill, clamber about (some even fighting in the congestion) to see the women who have arrived. They soon discover that the ‘fair sex’ is from the ‘Savage Islands,’ and they are visibly annoyed, upset, horrified, and confused by this. On the other hand, the women appear comfortable in their surroundings and eager to unite with the British men. The women are dressed in various cultural attire, suggesting they have come from multiple places. Additionally, their bodily features present the audience with what McClintock would refer to as a “grotesque caricature of the stigmata of racial degeneration”⁵⁷¹ such as their lips, noses, hands, and feet being exaggerated in size. Caricatures such as this are a common feature when an artist wants to portray the ‘Other’ woman as masculine, far from the Victorian ideal of femininity. Indeed, McClintock notes that hands were a way to express one’s class by demonstrating one’s relation to labour,

⁵⁷¹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 105.

“dainty hands were hands the were unstained by work.”⁵⁷² The notion of the masculine Indigenous woman is also reflected in John Liddiard Nicholas’ narrative of his journey to Aotearoa, in company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden,

“The village was situated on the southern side of the entrance into the bay, and our landing, the women, who were here quite as hospitable as we found them in the other parts, gave us the customary welcome with no less cordiality. We were now introduced to the queen of Parro, (for so I must designate Korra-korra’s head wife,) as also to her sister; and the former was a lady of no very delicate appearance, but, on the contrary, had all the masculine roughness of the other, sex. She had an infant at her breast that looked the picture of rude health.”⁵⁷³

With very few Pākehā women in Aotearoa during the early to mid-nineteenth century, the demand for wives was high, as noted here in the 1940s by Pākehā journalist, gold miner, and historian Frederick Miller, commenting on the situation in Arrowtown in the 1860s:

“All that was needed to turn the Arrow township into a community after the first wild excitement of the rush had died down was the presence of women... Women, as they arrived, were met by crowds of miners in their best clothes, and most of them were married off within a week. One woman claimed to have had fifty offers in a week, so even the homeliest of them was in a position to pick and choose. One publican, desperate at the continual drain on female helps who hardly started work before they were married, said: ‘Bring me up the ugliest woman you can find’. His emissary did so and the woman lasted a whole fortnight before she was married.”⁵⁷⁴

The Pākehā in the early Goldfield communities demonstrated a lack of the civilising force thought to be brought by white women as their insatiable demand for prostitution services caused a dramatic rise in the industry.⁵⁷⁵ Jordan affirms that in the industry, there were small ‘rushes’ that occurred in Coromandel and Nelson in the 1850s, with the most ‘frenzied’ in Otago from 1861, and that in these areas, keen entrepreneurs set up services for food and alcohol, and women to meet the inevitable demand:

“The miners realised at once that they would be living there possibly for years, and even those who formed the floating population - the wanderers, the drifters, the ne’er-do-wells,

⁵⁷² McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 99.

⁵⁷³ Nicholas, *Narrative of Voyage*, 170-172.

⁵⁷⁴ Miller, *Golden Days of Lake County*, 53.

⁵⁷⁵ Jordan, “Sex Work.”

and the restless-footed explorers- demanded entertainment. And so it was that the first women who came to the Arrow were those whom the hotel proprietors imported as barmaids and dancing partners.”⁵⁷⁶

However, from 1840, a concerted effort was made to ensure that the numbers of Pākehā men and women immigrating were fairly equal, with the number of women in 1848 exceeding the number of men for the first time.⁵⁷⁷ Despite this, however, Brookes contends that wāhine Māori continued to be fiercely desired and contested partners for both Māori and Pākehā men. Noting that “the proportional number of Māori women was significantly lower than for Māori men in the later nineteenth century, owing largely to high maternal mortality,”⁵⁷⁸ and as discussed previously, this was duly noted by Pākehā. It was also a concern to Māori men, as was evident in the statement made in 1907 by the editor of the Māori newspaper, Te Pīpiwharauria, about the views of Dr. Maui Pomare:

“In the days of old, the Māori woman desired the Pākehā man, and this erroneous practice still continues in these times. We do not understand why Māori woman [*sic*] flock to the Pākehā, the men and women are from different races one has white skin, the other black, they speak different languages, so what are the things between that to form a relationship, that the Māori woman desires the Pākehā? From our point of view in Māori marrying another Māori is a different matter. These days, there are plenty of young Māori men who pursue Pākehā women. This is something that we the Māori people need to look at, that is the retention of our Māori complexion. Else the end result will be the assimilation of Māori by Pākehā... There is no law preventing intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā, but there is a law that has written in the heart of each tribe that they should hold steadfast to themselves...”⁵⁷⁹

Poignantly, the apparent lack of boundaries that Māori men showed towards Pākehā women caused much anxiety, as Pratt expressed in her journal:

“... two or three days after we moved mother unpacked some more thing(s) to make it more comfortable, one end of the long room was to be a bedroom; at present the bed stood in the corner the children on the upper floor a few days after this a Maorie [*sic*] came along mother and I were alone, he came in and looked about and was much interested in

⁵⁷⁶ Millar, *Golden Days of Lake County*, 54.

⁵⁷⁷ Prichard, *An Economic History*.

⁵⁷⁸ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 245. “Not necessarily a reliable indicator but the 1886 census showed the ratio of 8:10 which was to remain stable from the 1880s through to the early twentieth century.”

⁵⁷⁹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 245.

everything at last he spied mother's bed in the corner, admired it for a minuet [*sic*] or two but it was to [*sic*] much for him he threw off his blanket took a white, marcella counterpane put it around him and stalked up and down the long room for a few minuets [*sic*] we were Horrified but at last I said the cheek of the man and tried to pull it away but he held it so tight I eerily?[ineligible] and looked so angry and pointed to the cellar trap door which happened to be open in the middle of the long room, as much as to say he would put me down there I thought it best to run to the bank and cooe to Father and brothers when he heard that he took it off and went away.”⁵⁸⁰

This racially fuelled anxiety held by Pākehā appears to be expressed in the following cartoon postcard, held in the national archival collection. Dated in the 1910s, the postcard is a two-part cartoon where a young ‘half-caste’ woman is presented on the left side. She is wearing a white, high-necked shirt and white gloves. Like her clothing, her hair is Victorian-style, and she is wearing a hat with a large floral arrangement. In the image, she is talking on the telephone. In quotation marks below her right shoulder, the text reads, “Is that you lovey?” On the second half of the card, an elderly Māori man with a mischievous grin is shown, wearing European clothing (white long-sleeved blouse and straw hat), with Māori styled adornments (an earring and a Huia feather on his straw hat). The cartoonist also depicts him on the telephone, and below him (not in quotation marks) reads ‘The wrong number.’ The woman is presented here as being at risk of unintentional contact with a Māori man, who may, in turn, take advantage of her. Similarly, Bagnall argues, concerning Chinese men on the Australian colonial frontier, that colonialists felt that the physical proximity between these men and white women was dangerous on account of the Chinese men’s inability to control their physical urges, believing they would “use any opportunity to seduce and entrap white women.”⁵⁸¹

⁵⁸⁰ Pratt, *Journal*.

⁵⁸¹ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 61.



(Figure. 36) Lloyd, Trevor, *Is That you Lovey, The Wrong Number*, Auckland, Frank Duncan & Co., (1911-16?). Alexander Turnbull Library, A-279-029.

In my wahine Māori visual analysis, I apply the principle of ‘wahine rangatira’ to examine the ways in which the wahine Māori depicted in this image is represented as having ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere.’ In this image, the woman is represented as fully assimilating into colonial life, based on her comportment and dress. She, therefore, appears to be confined to the colonial ideologies that constructed women as dependent on men due to their perceived incapability to manage their own affairs. In this way, the Māori woman’s mana has been diminished. Thus, she is represented as finding herself in a dangerous predicament to which she is innocently unaware. The ‘te reo’ principle highlights that both Māori figures converse in English. Thus, we witness a representation of the Indigenous language as redundant even between two Māori; the language of choice is not te reo Māori but English. Applying the ‘ako Māori’ principle, it is evident that Western knowledge is represented through the technology of the telephone, a device that the wahine Māori confidently embraces despite the precarity of her situation. The ‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga,’ principle highlights in my visual analysis the colonial gender ideologies framing the wahine Māori as a Māori woman who has fully adopted a colonial lifestyle. Moreover, that as a ‘half-caste’ she is in danger of full-blooded Māori men who may trick her into degradation through association, or worse, sexual liaisons, and possibly offspring. She is represented as fully domesticated, and of good financial standing. Using the ‘whānau’ principle, I focus my attention

on how the Māori man represents the threat of whānau to the successful assimilation of mixed blood Māori. The ‘kaupapa’ principle highlights that she belongs to a homogenous group of assimilated ‘half-castes,’ her position within her whānau, therefore, is avoided.

According to Pākehā historian Professor Angela Wanhalla, sexual violence crimes discussed in the colonial press revealed “a high level of anxiety about Māori masculinity and sexuality.”⁵⁸² Of particular concern to Wanhalla were cases that involved the assault (including kidnapping and sexual) of Pākehā women by Māori men. Wanhalla asserts that, in this, Aotearoa shares “a trans-colonial culture of anxiety with the United States, Canada, and Australia, where fears about white women’s virtue reflected both colonial and metropolitan fascination with the dangers of the colonies.”⁵⁸³ However, what is pertinent to acknowledge here is that wāhine Māori presented a challenge to the typical colonial trend in that the Pākehā held the virtue of some wāhine Māori to be considered a worthy cause for anxiety, that is, those who were married to respectable colonialists and those who owned land. Here, Wanhalla asserts, “Politicians and the settler press stretched the definition of respectable femininity.”⁵⁸⁴ Claiming that those who invoked the “greatest fear were lawless ‘native districts’ and the unwillingness of some Māori communities to bend to colonial authority.”⁵⁸⁵ Communities, Wanhalla claims, that Pākehā believed to be “sites of possible outbreaks of violence.”⁵⁸⁶ Furthermore, articles in the press and popular media “shaped knowledge about performed brutality and the potentiality for it.”⁵⁸⁷

The issue of white female immigration, Jordan reports, had by the 1860s become a source of widespread concern, a reflection of the anxiety around the perceived threat to civilisation on the colonial frontier, illustrated above in (Figure. 36), and due to this high demand for women and girls in the colony as wives and maids, the state became dedicated to an intense campaign to entice single females to immigrate to New Zealand. Even if the state’s justification for the policy was based on the need for domestic servants, the stabilising effect of wives was at the forefront of

⁵⁸² Angela Wanhalla, “Interracial Sexual Violence in 1860s New Zealand,” (*New Zealand Journal of History*, 45(1), (2011), 74. https://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/docs/2011/NZJH_45_1_05.pdf

⁵⁸³ Wanhalla, “Interracial Sexual Violence,” 74.

⁵⁸⁴ Wanhalla, “Interracial Sexual Violence,” 74.

⁵⁸⁵ Wanhalla, “Interracial Sexual Violence,” 74.

⁵⁸⁶ Wanhalla, “Interracial Sexual Violence,” 74.

⁵⁸⁷ Wanhalla, “Interracial Sexual Violence,” 74.

demand.⁵⁸⁸ Australian historian Penny Russell affirms the importance of wives to colonisation, writing: “marriage was central to colonisation because colonisation was about making families.”⁵⁸⁹ Many of these young single women and girls, presented with the opportunity of free passage and ‘good’ employment as maidservants, illustrated in the posters below (Figures. 37 and 38), were indeed willing to take the risk to sail out into a future largely unknown, as their prospects in England (where the majority of Pākehā emigrated from), Ireland, or Scotland were bleak.⁵⁹⁰ One case in point is that of Mary Muller, who came to the colony with her two children in 1850 to flee her violent husband in England.⁵⁹¹

The posters below also show the types of immigrants that colonial administrators preferred. The posters demonstrate a selection process that had become meticulously navigated, as opposed to the manner of earlier Pākehā arrivals. The colonialists deemed it necessary for the successful colonisation of Aotearoa to obtain people who possessed particular skill sets, such as mechanical engineering and farming.

⁵⁸⁸ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 71.

⁵⁸⁹ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 65.

⁵⁹⁰ Julia Millen, *Colonial Tears & Sweat: the working class in the nineteenth-century New Zealand*, (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1984), 2.

⁵⁹¹ Nancy Swarbrick, “Domestic Violence – Domestic Violence in the 19th century,” Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/28285/mary-muller>.



(Figure. 37) A New Zealand Company advertisement calling for agricultural workers, mechanics, farm labourers, and domestic servants to come to New Zealand (n.d). (Figure. 38) A Church Missionary Society advertisement (1862) of a lecture on New Zealand to be given by the Rev. E. Garbett, M.A., also included numerous drawings held at the St Peter's Infant School Room.

However, just as gender, marriage status, and skill set were considered critical factors for immigration, so was nationality. In 1883, an article in the *New Zealand Herald*, titled *Proposed Emigration From Ireland under the Arrears Act*, reported that:

“It is understood that the nationalities of the immigrants to be introduced shall be watched and regulated so that as nearly as is possible, one-half shall be English, and that in making up the other half, there shall be four Irish to three Scotch.”⁵⁹²

The year prior, in 1882, the following newspaper article from the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* shared this sentiment.⁵⁹³

Britain's attitude towards the colony had been unfavourable, mainly because the British saw it as just a useful place to dump convicts.⁵⁹⁴ However, Prichard claims, opinions started to turn as the early nineteenth century saw the disintegration of the old ways of living, as enclosures denied

⁵⁹² “Proposed emigration from Ireland Under The Arrears Act,” *New Zealand Herald*, no.6767, (1883), 5.

⁵⁹³ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* 20, no.160, (1842), 2.

⁵⁹⁴ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 22.

labourers common land in the countryside and machines replaced hand workers and craftsmen.⁵⁹⁵ Food shortages were also threatened due to poor harvests, towns felt pressure as their populations increased, and the new industrial order broke down employer-employee relationships. Additionally, the upper classes felt threatened by the French Revolution, and the employing classes began to see the virtues of overseas fortunes that could be made.

THE EMBRYONIC PĀKEHĀ ON THE COLONIAL FRONTIER

Pākehā

1. (verb) (-tia) to become Pākehā
2. (modifier) English, foreign, European, exotic - introduced from or originating in a foreign country.
3. (noun) New Zealander of European descent - probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Despite the claims of some non-Māori speakers, the term does not normally have negative connotations.⁵⁹⁶

This section is dedicated to a discourse on race that interrogates the invention of ‘Pākehā-ness’ rather than, as hooks encourages, considering its invention as the invisible norm. Indeed, hooks has suggested that perhaps whiteness is the problem we should investigate. I use various archival materials, such as poetry, cartoons, land acts, and journal entries, to examine the early colonial development of a Pākehā culture and identity. I do this to garner an understanding of how colonial discourses of desire for wāhine Māori were conveyed, negotiated, and transformed by Pākehā encounters with difference and the different. As I have identified, wāhine Māori were constructed in direct opposition to the Victorian woman ideal, that which was to be chaste, ‘clean,’ and bound to the domestic. In this section, I am particularly interested in examining the ideologies that created this ideal and how they were transferred from the imperial core to the colony of New Zealand. To do this I provide a discussion on the factors that drove Pākehā, particularly women, to immigrate

⁵⁹⁵ Prichard, *An Economic History*, 22.-23.

⁵⁹⁶ Te Aka Māori Doctionary. “Pākehā (*n*), <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?keywords=pakeha>

to Aotearoa. I also provide an insight into the reality of the daily lives of these early immigrants and how this might have shaped their perceptions of wāhine Māori.

To gain an understanding of the colonial social culture in Aotearoa, we need to be aware of who the colonialists were, where they came from, and why they came to Aotearoa. Moreover, of particular interest to this research is who they became. According to Jackson, when the ‘different ones’ came:

“They were moving into the law of our land and the land of our stories. They were also coming into our home and on our collective marae. Certain borders had to be crossed and certain kawa laid down so that a relationship might be established...But the newcomers came as colonisers...⁵⁹⁷ [and] colonisation had no time for the niceties of tikanga... Instead, colonisation fomented injustice: a systematic privileging of the Crown and a relationship in which it assumed it would be the sole and supreme authority.”⁵⁹⁸

Pākehā, Jackson asserts, found ways to justify their taking of power, but that this could not give them comfort when “the descendants of those who had been killed were never far away, and the smoke of the battlefield still lingered in the smoke of the forests that were being burned.”⁵⁹⁹ Indeed, one colonialist exclaimed, “It is not out of place to say that all that stood between the Māori cooking pot and my mother when she was a child was my grandfather’s gun.”⁶⁰⁰ Instead, Jackson claims, “colonisation became a wayward and uncertain search for identity.”⁶⁰¹ However, over time, Jackson notes, the Pākehā “sense of security, if not comfort [grew, and] eventually the colonisers morphed into settlers and then ‘Kiwis’ ... [where] they still saw the land as a better Britain in the Pacific, but they increasingly claimed a certain permanence - while turning away from the fact that in settling themselves they were continually unsettling us.”⁶⁰² Feminist and political geographer Amanda Thomas also makes this connection, as a Pākehā, between the forging of a Pākehā sense

⁵⁹⁷ Jackson, “Where to Next?” 143.

⁵⁹⁸ Jackson, “Where to Next?” 145.

⁵⁹⁹ Jackson, “Where to Next?” 145-6.

⁶⁰⁰ Norman Millar, *Stories*. Private collection, (1860).

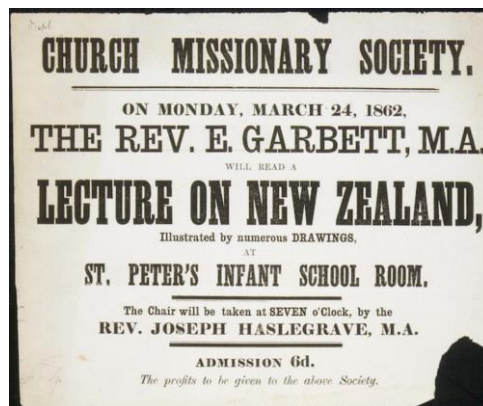
⁶⁰¹ Jackson, “Where to Next?” 146.

⁶⁰² Jackson, “Where to Next?” 146.

of identity and the Pākehā focus on a connection to the land but “also based in actively ignoring how we came to be connected to that land.”⁶⁰³ Furthermore, Thomas contends:

“For many Pākehā, we’re almost proud if we don’t know who our ancestors are and how they came here. There are a number of white nationalist groups that seek to elevate British and European cultures as part of their claims of white superiority, but many Pākehā are proud *not* to be European and understand that we are culturally very different to Europeans, although we share common roots. Connections to Europe aren’t seen to be important because we belong here now. But while we know where we are and who we are not, we’re not at all sure who we *are*.”⁶⁰⁴

When the call went out for those to immigrate to New Zealand, it occurred, Smith claims, “through the popular press, from the pulpit, in travel brochures which advertised for immigrants,”⁶⁰⁵ as shown previously in Figures. 37 and 38, and through oral discourse, such as the lecture advertised below by the *Church Missionary Society* in 1862.



(Figure. 39) Garbett, E., A Church Missionary Society advertisement, 1862, Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-A-LECTURE-1862-01.

Such calls to immigrate to the colonies, Smith asserts,

“appealed to the voyeur, the soldier, the romantic, the missionary, the crusader, the adventurer, the entrepreneur, the imperial public servant, and the Enlightenment scholar. They also appealed to the downtrodden, the poor, and those whose lives held no

⁶⁰³ Amanda Thomas, “Pākehā and Doing the Work of Decolonisation,” *Imagining Decolonisation*, ed. Anne Hodge, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020), 109.

⁶⁰⁴ Thomas, “Pākehā,” 109.

⁶⁰⁵ Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies* (2nd ed.), 9.

possibilities in their own imperial societies and who chose to migrate as settlers. Others, also powerless, were shipped off to the colony as the ultimate prison. In the end, they were all inheritors of imperialism who had learned well the discourses of race and gender, the rules of power, the politics of colonialism. They became the colonisers.”⁶⁰⁶

Although the colonialists primarily originated from England, Ireland, and Scotland, a smaller number came from other European countries, particularly Scandinavia and Germany, and those from other colonies, such as America, Canada, and India.⁶⁰⁷ In 1875, the *Western Star* reported in an article titled, *Miss Faithful And Female Emigration To New Zealand*, that on the first of December, at the Quebec Institute in Montreal, a Miss Faithful read “a most interesting paper on female emigration to New Zealand.” In it, Faithful outlined the advantages of immigrating to New Zealand as opposed to other colonies, particularly the United States, noting high wages for female labour (as much as £30 or £50 a year for cooks) and practically guaranteed employment, “situations are so easily obtained that when a ship arrives there, the women are generally engaged in a few hours.”⁶⁰⁸ Furthermore, she claimed that the less experience one had as a domestic servant in England, the better; they “generally turned out to be the most successful in the colonies.”⁶⁰⁹ The following cartoon by Punch, in 1868 (Figure. 40), shows a mistress in her parlour interviewing a prospective female servant. It provides commentary on the demand for domestic workers and the perceived position of power it puts them in. The cartoon refers to the fact that women could secure better terms in Aotearoa instead of the stagnant wages for female domestic servants in rural England.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁶ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 9.

⁶⁰⁷ Millen, *Colonial Tears*, 2.

⁶⁰⁸ “Miss Faithful and Female Emigration to New Zealand,” *Western Star* no. 67, (1875), 6.

https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WSTAR18750220.2.20?end_date=31-12-1875&items_per_page=10&query=Miss+Faithful+and+Female+Emigration+to+New+Zealand&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1875

⁶⁰⁹ “Miss Faithful,” 6.

⁶¹⁰ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 70.



(Figure. 40) Cartoonist unknown, *Colonial Servant-Galism*, 1868, Alexander Turnbull Library. J-065-001. It reads, Lady – ‘Very well, and what wages do you require?’ Jemima Ann – ‘Wages! Beg parding, Mim, my onner-raryum is Forty Puns per hannum, and I 'lways hattends the Bread and Butter Balls.’ A5 size bromide from newspaper (engraving)

In 1903, colonialist Adela Stewart described the common plight of the colonial wife and the newly arrived housemaid:

“For some little time I had had no help and was feeling quite ill, when by coach, from a registry office in Auckland, came Polly Harris at 12s. a week. I went out to meet her.

‘Have you had a pleasant drive?’

‘We’ve been a bit shook oop.’

‘You are not a Colonial?’

‘No, on’y landed one week from Lanc’shire.’

‘Have you ever been in service before?’

‘No, I’m a cotton spinner; my husband is an iron-worker; he’s cum to New Zealand for shootin’, fishin’, and football.’

‘Where is he now?’

‘Looking for a job. I took the first that cum.’

Poor Polly was simply in despair when she saw the open wood-fire and colonial oven. Also, kerosene lamps. She said she had never lit a fire or trimmed a lamp in her life, had always lived at Bury, with gaslight and cooker, and began to cry sadly. I felt so sorry for her, remembering my early homesickness, and did all the work for a few days, begging her at least to watch me. But she grew more and more depressed, until a happy thought occurred to me. “Will you make a cake?” Then she smiled at last, and with hands in flour (she was very clean) was transformed into a busy, bustling little woman, only bargaining that I

should keep up the fire and attend to the baking, “because I can’t remember to pit on !” She made excellent scones, currant buns, and Simmel cake.”⁶¹¹

Millen reports,

“Of the people who came [to New Zealand], by far the largest number were not wealthy, not well educated and without property. Most had brought their world with them: a few personal belongings, their children, and relatives. Their chief resource, their capital, was youth, health and strength combined with some training and skills which might or might not be useful in a new environment...”⁶¹²

Minister of New Zealand Parliament (2008-2017) Catherine Delahunty reflects on the history of marginalisation that, she asserts, was experienced by many Pākehā ancestors - peoples who were propelled to come here due to the marginalisation they experienced in their original homes. Marginalisation that Millen describes as having “little to leave but bad memories: strikes, lockouts, closures.”⁶¹³ However, Delahunty asserts that when leaving their own countries, they turned their backs on their roots, which she claims is “surely having some relationship to intergenerational trauma.”⁶¹⁴ Delahunty asserts:

“The Pākehā contradiction comes from our origins ... We, the children of cannon fodder and global capitalism, can barely acknowledge the loss of bones and sacred places left on the other side of the world. The severing from ancestors and from the land has brought us material advantage and spiritual emptiness. Denying this condition assists us in our denial of the tangata whenua Indigenous reality and justifies our control of resources. However, it has required a weird forgetfulness.”⁶¹⁵

The predicament of the Pākehā is illustrated in Figure. 41, a Punch cartoon titled *Here and There, or Emigration as a Remedy*. The Alexander Turnbull archives provide the following description: “The cartoon presents two contrasting scenes. The first scene is of a vagrant English family, barefooted, ragged with smokestacks in the background. The other is a family that has emigrated to one of the colonies, an interior scene with well-fed children and the parents at a full table, with

⁶¹¹ Adela Steward, *My Simple Life in New Zealand*. (Auckland: Wilson and Horton Ltd., 1908), 183.

⁶¹² Millen, *Colonial Tears & Sweat*, 2.

⁶¹³ Thomas, “Pākehā,” 87.

⁶¹⁴ Thomas, “Pākehā,” 87.

⁶¹⁵ Thomas, “Pākehā,” 87-88.

hams and an animal carcass hanging above and the mother just serving a dish, while the father carves. A dog is seated at the table and a dark-skinned native is being served a dish by the oldest daughter of the family.”⁶¹⁶



(Figure. 41) Punch: *Here and there; or, Emigration a Remedy*, 8 July 1848, London. Alexander Turnbull Library, PUBL-0043-1848-15.

The marginalisation of many Pākehā in Britain resulted from the industrial revolution and the consequential reign of the machine; when some families had previously worked together under the form of simple domestic industry, each family member assigned their share of work. Moreover, in this golden age of the craftsman, the children were often under the noble tutelage of their parents, producing generations to carry on their skills. However, with technological advances, the tireless machine replaced this training of the hand, heart, and brain. In her journal, Pratt describes the effect machinery had on the people in her village, Ramsbury, as a child in England:

“The winter time was a busy time as the thrashing was all done with the flail; there were no machines then, the corn was carried at harvest time to a large enclosure with a barn in it, and thrashing would go on all winter, giving constant work. By and bye the machinery was introduced, which threw a great many men out of work, and riots became frequent; the men were determined to break all the machines; it came so suddenly on the poor people no work during winter meant starvation, so in self-defence they took breaking up the

⁶¹⁶ Punch, “Here and there,” or, “Emigration a Remedy,” 8 July 1848, London. (Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library), PUBL-0043-1848-15.

machinery they reasoned this way when the farmers knew it would be starvation to half the village it was such a piece of cruelty, that they deserved to have them broken a man father was taking to gaol said I knew I would be taken to gaol but I shall get food for the winter months and my wife and children must be fed by somebody...”⁶¹⁷

“I think it must have been about this time there were great riots in the country. The working men were resenting the introduction of machinery, by going in parties to every farmer – that had one and breaking it up so all the principle men of the village were sworn in as special constable. Father was one, he would get a quiet notice that farmer so & so’s machine would be broken that night and he must be there. It was a very bad time for all Ramsbury just when so many thrown out of work and so many not able to live without the poor fellows were just desperate a great many were taken prisoner and sent to gaol, some transported to Botany Bay. My father knew a great many labourers and took some of them to Saulsbury goal. They would say, I am come to have a drive with you, Mr. Fowler, they were very calm in their despair.”⁶¹⁸

Furthermore, numerous factories were established to house these throbbing, swift, intricate machines. Due to their small size, children were suddenly in great demand to work in and around them, and the workhouses were filled with poor children who were easily accessible.

In his first book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, published in 1844, German writer and political theorist Friedrich Engels draws on his experiences in Manchester, the centre of the industrial revolution at that time.⁶¹⁹ Engels’ account of the horrors of child labour, poor wages, terrible working conditions, environmental damage, high death rates, and the ‘social and political power of oppressors’ was the result of his investigations into factory working conditions. In reading Engels’ work, McClintock observes his commitment to a ‘Universal Family of Mankind’ but notes that it is interlaced with references to “degenerate races [who are] robbed of all humanity [that are] degraded, [and] reduced morally and intellectually to[wards] bestiality.”⁶²⁰ Additionally, McClintock asserts that Engels claims that women’s work in the factory destroyed the family, which she suggests reflects a broader crisis about domesticity. At the time, institutions

⁶¹⁷ Pratt, *Journal*.

⁶¹⁸ Pratt, *Journal*.

⁶¹⁹ Friedrich Engels, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, (New York: Penguin Classics, 1986).

⁶²⁰ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 43.

outside the family were taking over some of the functions traditionally carried out by family members.⁶²¹

In May 1863, an article from the English newspaper *Home News for India, China and the Colonies*, titled *Cotton Operatives and Emigration*, reported that over a thousand people departed Manchester on April 28 for Birkenhead en route to New Zealand:

“The carriages were gaily decked with flags and evergreens, and the adventurers, who seemed as light-hearted as if they were sitting out on a mere pleasure trip, were accompanied to the station by crowds of relatives and friends. The emigrants, consisting of about 400 families and several young unmarried men and women, are chiefly from the neighbourhood of Oldham, Rochdale, and Stockport. They embarked on board the British ship *Crown* and are now on their way to Canterbury.”⁶²²

And, in Manchester, the following day, a general meeting of the ‘Emigrants’ Aid Committee’ for the cotton districts was held where the executive committee reported that,

“Since the last meeting 122 persons about to emigrate to New Zealand had been assisted in procuring their outfit, at a total expense of £130. The committee decided to accept a proposal made by Mr. J. G. Knight, commissioner for Victoria, to find assisted passages to the colony of Victoria for upwards of 300 persons, most of whom have been already selected.”⁶²³

It also reported that the ‘National Colonial Emigration Society, with other friends of the movement,’ had held several conferences at various places. This is stated with: “special reference to the existing widespread distress in the manufacturing districts. Resolutions in favour of emigration have been adopted.”⁶²⁴ Other than New Zealand and Australia as ports of emigration, the ‘unemployed operatives of Manchester’ had formed themselves into a society to emigrate to Canada: “In a few weeks 1000 have enrolled themselves on the books, and from the small pittance doled out weekly to them they subscribe all they can to the furtherance of their object.”⁶²⁵

⁶²¹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 43.

⁶²² “Cotton Operatives and Emigration,” *Home News for India, China and the Colonies* (1863), 6.

⁶²³ “Cotton Operatives,” 4.

⁶²⁴ “Cotton Operatives,” 4.

⁶²⁵ “Cotton Operatives,” 3.

The cotton mills in England, such as those in the mill towns of Northern England, were known as the ‘Dark Satanic Mills’ after the famous poem, “The Hymn of Jerusalem,” written by William Blake in 1804, a social reformer and an ardent supporter of the French Revolution:

“And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England’s mountains green:
And was the holy Lamb of God,
On England’s pleasant pastures seen!

And did the Countenance Divine,
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And was Jerusalem builded here,
Among these dark Satanic Mills?”⁶²⁶

Blake hated the effects of industrialisation on English people; the message in this poem is to question whether it is the same England where God might have arrived so long ago. Blake argued that the cotton mills had caused social degradation. Another lyrical work, a song titled “The Song of the Shirt,” by Thomas Hood (1799-1845), was also dedicated to the plight of the ‘working poor,’ in this case, precisely that of the woman seamstress.⁶²⁷ The song succinctly captures the image of a seamstress' hardships during the industrialisation period to expose the burdens of poverty and the dehumanising labour conditions they faced:

“With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A Woman sat, in unwomanly rags,
Plying her needle and thread-
Stitch! Stitch! Stitch!
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch
She sang the ‘Song of the Shirt!’

...

Work- work- work
Till the brain begins to swim,
Work- work- work

⁶²⁶ William Blake, “Milton a Poem, copy B object 2,” *The William Blake Archive*, ed. Morris Eaves, Robert N. Essick, and Joseph Viscomi. <https://www.blakearchive.org/copy/milton.b?descId=milton.b.illbk.02>

⁶²⁷ A common form of work for women living in poverty.

Till the eyes are heavy and dim!
Seam, and gusset, and band,
Band, and gusset, and seam,
Till over the buttons I fall asleep
And sew them on in a dream!

O, Men with Sisters dear!
O, Men! With Mothers and Wives!
It is not linen you're wearing out,
But human creatures' lives!
Stitch - stitch- stitch,
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,
Sewing at once, with a double thread,
A Shroud as well as a Shirt

But why do I talk of death?
That phantom of grisly bone,
I hardly fear his terrible shape,
It seems so like my own—
It seems so like my own,
Because of the fasts I keep;
Oh, God! that bread should be so dear.
And flesh and blood so cheap!”⁶²⁸

This song excerpt gives the audience the image of a tired woman, a seamstress who is always working and is poor, hungry, and dirty, singing sadly to herself the “Song of the Shirt.” She is desperate, and without hope, and in her endless labour she is sewing herself to death. The main themes are of Victorian England’s poverty and labour and highlights the experiences of its working poor, to which “the Rich” remained oblivious. She points to a society that she feels treats her as sub-human, where she is a “creature,” a “prisoner,” a “slave” without “a soul to save.” Another theme that emerges is that of gender inequality, where women’s labour is devalued by society, and her worth is based on the traditionally feminine characteristics of physical beauty, grace, and obedience. According to editor Sarah Alpert, the poem was inspired by a widow, Mrs. Biddell, who sewed and pawned the clothing she made to prevent her children from starving.⁶²⁹ The poem ultimately, Alpert asserts, demonstrates that very poor women had to bear extreme burdens and,

⁶²⁸ George Bagshawe Harrison, *A Book of English Poetry Chaucer to Rossetti*, (London: Penguin Books, 1965), 194-6.

⁶²⁹ Sarah Alpert, “The Song of the Shirt Summary & Analysis.” <https://www.litcharts.com/poetry/thomas-hood/the-song-of-the-shirt>

consequently, ceased to be true Victorian ‘women;’ instead, they had become “benumbed” and “weary” slaves.⁶³⁰ Indeed, Engels reports on matters such as irregular menstruation and other perceived threats to a woman’s fertility, as well as pregnancy and the health of the children born to mothers who work in the factories; he states:

“Children of such mothers, particularly those who are obliged to work during pregnancy, cannot be vigorous. They are, on the contrary, described in the report, especially in Manchester, as very feeble; Barry alone asserts that they are healthy but says further that in Scotland, where his inspections lay, almost no married women work in factories.”⁶³¹

Similarly, the plight of these mothers is captured by ballad poet David Wright M’Kee, who was born in Ballinaskeagh, County Down, Ireland, in 1869 but raised by his grandmother, Rebecca McKee, in London while his parents did missionary work in Syria. At seventeen, he was dispatched to New Zealand in 1887 due to poor health.⁶³² This ballad poem, titled “The Mother,” is part of his *Station Ballads and Other Verses* collection. The following excerpt captures what it was like to be an unwed mother, living in shame and sin, of prostitution, infanticide, hopelessness, and death:

“Sunshine streams through my prison bars - the
beautiful world is a lie ;
Happy people are there and to-morrow, to-morrow
I die!
Die for the deed of a moment, for the thought of
a reeling brain-
The long life-struggle is over, and the struggle has
been in vain.
I am old in the midst of my youth, for under a
curse I was born,
And the death-black flag will flutter wide at the
break of tomorrow’s morn.
...
The child that I loved- my darling- I slew her to
save her from shame.
God of the children, here me, was I so much to

⁶³⁰ Sarah Alpert, “The Song of the Shirt.”

⁶³¹ Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1845), 181.

⁶³² David McKee Wright, *Station Ballads and Other Verses*, (Dunedin: J.G. Sawell, 1897). Diagnosed with a “spot on his lung.”

blame?

I had lived my hard, hard life out of sight of the
careless and gay;
I knew where the snares were laid in a hungry
woman's way;
I had been hungry too while the bright world
feasted and smiled;
I had sold my soul for bread, and I looked on my
fatherless child-
A little one tender and sweet as the flowers that
bloom and fade,
The life of God had given to love me - my darling,
my own little maid!
I would rather have torn out my heart than have
injured a hair on her head,
But I heard a voice that whispered, "Were she
not better dead?"

...

They told me of flames and of hell - could hell be
harder to me
Than to feel the woman I was and to know what
woman might be?
But I did not make the world, and could mine be
all the blame ?
For a woman must eat to live though she earns her
bread by shame.
I had worked, when work could be had, in the
close, hot sweater's den,
Sewing for weary hours cheap clothes to be sold to
men;

...

But work was hard to get, and my work was none
of the best-
How could I toil as true women toiled whose souls
were at rest?
I and my child were hungry when I took to that
life but again;
O God! but for her I had starved, for I could not
see her in pain.

So I sold myself to the beasts that have lost the
stamp of man-
The curse of women, the curse of the nations since
nations began;

...

Of the child of my heart, my loved one, the child
I had sinned to save,
And the still, small voice at my heart said:
“Better the quiet grave
For her little tired body and Heaven for her sin-
less breath
Than to live the life that you live, the shame that
is worse than death.”

...

Ye who have only lived in the summery pathways
of life
Little know how the soul and the heart can be
warped in the struggle and strife;
I had loved her more than life, I had sinned that
she might have bread,
And yet I was glad in my heart when I saw her
before me dead.

...

While the world goes on and on to the tune of
weary song,
The wages of sin is death: let me die - I have
lived too long!”⁶³³

McKee presents the audience with a mother’s final words before the state puts her to death for the murder of her only child - her illegitimate daughter: “my darling, my own little maid.” Indeed, if the father did not take on the responsibility of his children born out of wedlock, the single mother would be left in a position where she could not afford to raise them. As a result, the children would often be sent to workhouses and later to orphanages.⁶³⁴ Many of these children died young in horrible circumstances. Therefore, we can understand this mother’s act of infanticide is to be an act of protection; her motivation was to save her daughter from the life she was living, as to be a prostitute was to be seen by society as an ‘agent of chaos,’ and a threat to national stability, that in the nineteenth century was dependent on public morality. Many young women who emigrated to New Zealand during its initial ‘colonising phase’ were sometimes at risk of facing a similar fate had they not escaped their potential vulnerability. Women, who Delahunty said of herself, and “so

⁶³³ David Wright, *Station Ballads and other Verses*. (Dunedin: J. G. Sawell, 1897), 133-9.

⁶³⁴ “Whāngai Project Participants,” *Korihi te Manu – Stories of Whāngai and Adoption*, (Ōtaki: Te Tāpuki, 2021), 10.

many of us [Pākehā]” were “the descendants of families starved out of Ireland, burnt out of the highlands of Scotland and made surplus people in the English class system.”⁶³⁵

Life for a woman in Victorian society was precarious; with few rights, her fate was ultimately up to the men around her, such as her husband, father, or employer. If she lacked the presence and protection of a patriarch, she was susceptible to poverty and pain, mainly because society believed females to be vulnerable to their moral misgivings. Poverty, American art historian Linda Nochlin notes, was thought to be the primary cause that forced women into prostitution, as was reported in the 1850 *Westminster Review*.⁶³⁶ The *Imperial Magazine* published an article on the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Society for the Improvement and Encouragement of Female Servants, instituted in 1813, that occurred on April 27, at the London Tavern, makes note of this vulnerability, writing: “Some of the mischiefs which young women bring upon themselves, by leaving services in the country for places in London, by which numbers fall into vice and wretchedness.”⁶³⁷

Vice and wretchedness were viewed by society as connected to prostitution, practiced by those whom people believed to be the less evolved members of society, who, art historian and cultural analyst Griselda Pollock claimed, “Victorian anthropologists viewed as contemporary ‘primitives,’ hypersexual, virile, and wantonly promiscuous.”⁶³⁸ Like others considered degenerative, the fallen woman prostitute was thought of as a “metaphysical absolute rather than as an issue of social ethics that [people] could alter by societal intervention or human compassion.”⁶³⁹ The Society also spoke of the death of two friendless young women in consequence of this that had come to the knowledge of their committee. Their view of these women was not that of victims, but based on their perceived character, they were viewed as active agents

⁶³⁵ Kiddle, “Colonisation Sucks,” 87-88.

⁶³⁶ Linda Nochlin, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” In *Theorising Feminism: Parallel Trends in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, ed. Anne Hermann and Abigail Stewart. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 143. https://www.writing.upenn.edu/library/Nochlin-Linda_Why-Have-There-Been-No-Great-Women-Artists.pdf

⁶³⁷ Hatton-Garden, “Society for the Improvement and Encouragement of Female Servants,” *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, (Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1829), vi.

⁶³⁸ Deborah Cherry and Griselda Pollock. “Patriarchal Power and the Pre-Raphaelites.” *Art History* 7, no. 4 (1984), 485.

⁶³⁹ Nochlin, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” 152.

in their own demise. Nevertheless, despite the women's perceived follies, the institution considered itself noble, and its aim was to protect and improve the female character, particularly by leading them through to a life of servantry. Character improvement was particularly important, as employers often incorporated female servants into their respective families. The writer, Hatton-Garden, noted:

“The case of a female servant, who had left Manchester for London and who was preserved by one of the Society's tickets, was one, out of many instances, where deserving females were rescued from destruction by the relief which the society afforded. Nor were females of more questionable character considered unworthy of relief mendicity.”⁶⁴⁰

The institution believed that a woman who had lost all hope could, in fact, regain her honour and self-worth and could again enjoy “days of sunshine and joy.” However, Nochlin claims “the idea that salvation of the fallen woman was only possible through religious intervention was morally convenient for Victorian men, as responsibility for both their ‘fall’ and wellbeing was removed.”⁶⁴¹

As Hatton-Garden demonstrates in the following excerpt:

“... the most unfortunate of all beings, the unhappy roaming female.... She was often seen in the streets, half-naked, half-starved, half-dead, the victim of poverty, of misery, and of disease, here frequently found a refuge for her sorrows; and while earning a reputable livelihood, she could reflect, that even between her and the long term of all human grievances, the grave, there might arrive days of sunshine and joy. The heart most fixed in the ways of virtue would feel compassion for the aberrations of the prodigal and would have her return to the paths of honour with feelings worthy only of the good. Would not all, therefore, contribute to this most useful institution? Yes.”⁶⁴²

However, despite this restorative attitude, many women found that to survive, they had no options available other than to become prostitutes.⁶⁴³ Most of society considered it almost impossible for these ‘fallen women’ to survive or to redeem themselves, and as a result, many were known to commit suicide. Victorian artist Dante Gabriel Rossetti of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was particularly fond of painting the subject of the fallen woman; Rossetti's unfinished oil painting,

⁶⁴⁰ Hatton-Garden, “Society for the Improvement,” vi.

⁶⁴¹ Nochlin, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” 152.

⁶⁴² Hatton-Garden, “Society for the Improvement,” vi.

⁶⁴³ Cherry and Pollock. “Patriarchal Power and the Pre-Raphaelites.”

Found, provides an example of this with the image of a prostitute that Rossetti portrays as a “prisoner of sex in a structure defined by public virtue and practice of private iniquity.”⁶⁴⁴



(Figure. 42) Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Found*, 1854-81 (unfinished), Delaware Art Museum.

Nochlin described “Found” as an iconographical image that had developed over time, a ‘palimpsest of motifs and motivations.’⁶⁴⁵ The painting illustrates a sentimental moment when a countryman's search for his sweetheart has ended. He has finally found her in London, only to find that she has become a prostitute, illustrated by her showy clothing, brilliantly red hair, and ashen complexion. Seeing her in such a poor state, he pulls at her wrists, urging her to leave that life of pain and return home to their very own paradise. For the domestic sphere, Nochlin claims, provided women a ‘sacred security,’ a security not afforded to fallen women amid the corruption of cities.⁶⁴⁶ Yet she resists. He persists, however, but like the calf in the background, she seems trapped. To accompany the picture, Rossetti had composed the following sonnet titled “Found,” first printed in *Ballads and Sonnets* (1881):

⁶⁴⁴ Cherry and Pollock. “Patriarchal Power and the Pre-Raphaelites.” 493.

⁶⁴⁵ Nochlin, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” 152.

⁶⁴⁶ Nochlin, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” 152.

“There is a budding morrow in midnight: -
So sang our Keats, our English nightingale.
And here, as lamps across the bridge turn pale
In London’s smokeless resurrection-light,
Dark breaks to dawn. But o’er the deadly blight
Of love deflowered and sorrow of none avail
Which makes this man gasp and this woman quail,
Can day from darkness ever again take flight?

Ah! Gave not these two hearts their mutual pledge,
Under one mantle sheltered ‘neath the hedge
In gloaming courtship? And O God! to-day
He only knows he holds her; - but what part
Can life now take? She cries in her locked heart, -
“Leave me - I do not know you - go away!”⁶⁴⁷

In her book *Colonial Sweat*, New Zealand poet and journalist Eileen Duggan affirms that the migration of workers was not a new idea in Western European philosophy, with evidence of numerous historical instances of expansion and the forced mass movement of people as a matter of survival. These people often had few resources and were susceptible to changes in the physical and economic climate. With the effect of industrialisation, many, like Duggan’s parents, who originated from County Kerry in Ireland, took the voyage to Aotearoa. Duggan recalls:

“My father came to this country,
In the aftermath of famine and eviction,
His bedside tales in his childhood
Were of coffin-ships sailing
Of men eating grass,
Of skeletons walking
Eyes lambent with fever.
Of the crash of doors,
When the battering ram struck,
And ditches for shelter.”⁶⁴⁸

The colonisation of Aotearoa was promoted first by the New Zealand Company under the calculation of Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862). Wakefield was considered a clever theorist of mercurial character who masterminded the large-scale British immigration to New Zealand and

⁶⁴⁷ Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Ballads and Sonnets*, (London: F. S. Ellis, 1881), 327.

⁶⁴⁸ Millen, *Colonial Tears*, 8.

was responsible for the systematic colonisation of Aotearoa. A system he developed while serving time in prison for kidnapping a girl from her boarding school, an heiress whom he planned to marry so that her father would be obliged to finance his business ventures. Fortunately, her father was able to track them down, and Wakefield was captured and incarcerated as a result. After his release from jail, Wakefield and others formed the National Colonisation Society in 1830. Thus, in 1839, immigration efforts began with Wakefield and the New Zealand Company. In 1976, author William Main made the following account:

“When the Tory arrived, in September, 1839, Colonel [William] Wakefield began negotiations with the natives for the purchase of land. The result of this was that he bought the whole shore of the harbour and a large quantity of other land for some firearms and a few other trifles.”⁶⁴⁹

Duggin contends that Colonial immigration efforts proved to be particularly successful because various types of assisted passage schemes were provided, whereby immigrants had part or all of their passage money paid for them.⁶⁵⁰ A romantic portrayal of immigration to New Zealand is presented in the Christmas card below (Figure. 43). The Christmas card clearly links Pākehā and the Empire with the words, “As the sun never sets on our Empire, So may the sun of our friendship abide.” With financial and other barriers typically faced by women removed through the state’s immigration schemes, numerous girls and women could take up this opportunity, including ‘Jemima,’ who arrived on Wakefield’s *Aurora* in 1840. Although it may not have been her choice, as Jemima’s great-granddaughter, Ethell Barr, recalls in her oral history that Jemima was ‘sold’ as a young girl of fifteen to be a bride in New Zealand.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁹ Main, *Maori in Focus*, 1-2.

⁶⁵⁰ Millen, *Colonial Tears*, 2.

⁶⁵¹ Judith Fyfe, “Mrs Barr,” *Masterton South Rotary Club Oral History Project*, (Oral History Interview Printed Abstract, 21 January 1983). The Alexander Turnbull Collection. OHA-0891. Jemima was to marry three times in her lifetime ; she was left a young widow by her first two husbands and passed away at forty-one, married to her third, leaving behind seven children and five step-children. Ethell’s maternal grandfather also came via Wakefield’s scheme onboard the *Oliver Lang* in 1839 as a sixteen or seventeen-year-old with his family. His father was to become the first policeman in Greytown, and he was to become a hotel keeper.



(Figure. 43) Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, circa 1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

An intimate early colonial account of arriving on New Zealand's shores during this period is provided by a young Sarah Pratt; in her journals, she shares the following accounts:

"... our ship made good progress we began to scan the Horizon for the first sight of Newzealand at last it came filling our eyes with tears of joy we were so sick for a sight of land, in our excitement we were shaking hands and congratulating each other all round one of the passengers [who] was subject to fits of excitement brought on one and she was brought down to her birth it was near the door of our cabin we had got tired and were lying down with the door open so we could see the doctor trying to restore when she opened her eyes the doctor said why Margaret, what's this, having a fit just in sight of land, you have seen the land haven't you, she opened her large eyes in astonishment and said no in such a decided tone that we girls laughed out causing the Doctors well deserved rebuke of silence girls, poor Margaret had been one of the first to see the land, she soon recovered and it was a long time after we landed before she had another."⁶⁵²

Once they had docked in at Lyttleton, Pratt recalls:

"... we had a long walk yet, some of the men carried the little children others helped the weak women along so we went until we came to the river poor Mrs. Locke when she saw it, she said oh put me down and let me die you will never get me over that river but the stalwart young fellows who were carrying her said never you fear we could carry you over

⁶⁵² Pratt, *Journal*.

a much larger river than that... on the opposite side stood some more of our people who had been left to prepare a meal for us beaoning and calling a welcome. .. over at last to find a hearty welcome, a steaming kettle and almost a picnic spread...”⁶⁵³

The move to Aotearoa proved fruitful for many, and myriad comments were made, in various archived accounts, on the improvement to one’s health and life in Aotearoa had made, particularly about their complexion and muscular disposition, for example, Pratt noted: “My brother John and J. Plank upon the Niraka with a boatload of firewood, both looking as brown as natives ... J. Plank seems to be taking in this life and is much stronger than when he came from England.”⁶⁵⁴

In her book, *Station Amusements*, Baker provides a more elaborate observation of this good fortune of the Pākehā:

“You could not find more favourable specimens of New Zealand colonists than the two men, Trew and Domville, who stood before us in their working dress of red flannel shirts and moleskin trousers, ‘Cookhan’ boots and digger’s plush hats. Three years before this day they had landed at Port Lyttleton, with no other capital than their strong, willing arms, and their sober, sensible heads. Very different is their appearance to-day from what it was on their arrival; and the change in their position and circumstances is as great. Their bodily frames have filled out and developed under the influence of the healthy climate and abundance of mutton, until they look ten years younger and twice as strong, and each man owns a cottage and twenty acres of freehold land, at which he works in spare time, as well as having more pounds than he ever possessed pence in the old country, put safely away in the bank.”⁶⁵⁵

The centrality of domestic life was evident in Wakefield’s colonisation scheme, where he proposed that the ideal immigrants were young couples whose departure from Britain would relieve the country of the surplus population and ensure the rapid increase of the Pākehā population in New Zealand.⁶⁵⁶ Further to this, Wakefield explicitly states that a new colony is “a bad place for a young single man,” noting that a balance of the sexes would reduce the high levels of prostitution and that the wife attending to the home front, the husband will be able to set himself to productive

⁶⁵³ Pratt, *Journal*.

⁶⁵⁴ Pratt, *Journal*.

⁶⁵⁵ Lady Baker, *Station Amusements in New Zealand*, (Auckland: Wilson & Horton Ltd., 1873), 78.

⁶⁵⁶ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 46.

labour.⁶⁵⁷ According to Brookes, Wakefield recognised that “the engine of colonial success lay within the private sphere of the family.”⁶⁵⁸

However, Wakefield had acted prematurely, and all the land that the Pākehā had claimed under the New Zealand Company was to be restricted by the Queen’s Proclamation that it was not “expedient to recognize as valid any titles to land in New Zealand which are not derived from or confirmed by Her Majesty.”⁶⁵⁹ With Governor Hobson’s arrival, the Pākehā were to learn of the Queen’s pleasure regarding the ‘rights and interests of the natives’ that had become part of her care. However, regarding the lands that Pākehā had claimed, Hobson had reassured them that any land acquired on ‘equitable conditions’ would “be appointed under powers derived from the Governor and Legislative Council of New South Wales to inquire into and report on all claims to such lands.”⁶⁶⁰ Furthermore, the Pākehā were to learn that “all purchases made after publication of the Proclamation would be considered as absolutely null and void and will not be confirmed or in any way recognized by Her Majesty.”⁶⁶¹ Naturally, the Pākehā did not welcome this proclamation as they felt they had stolen or acquired their land ‘fair and square.’ Contention on the colonial frontier between Pākehā became evident and caused significant division among them. This division continued to play out at colonial politics’ central and provisional levels.⁶⁶² Colonial women’s lives were different from their male counterparts, and formal politics was certainly not permitted. As McClintock asserts, they: “were barred from the corridors of formal power, they experienced the privileges and social contradictions of imperialism very differently from colonial men.”⁶⁶³

⁶⁵⁷ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 46.

⁶⁵⁸ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 46.

⁶⁵⁹ George William Rusden, *The History of New Zealand. Vol 1.* (London: Chapman and Hall Limited), 216.
<https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Rus01Hist-t1-body-d5.html>

⁶⁶⁰ “Hobson Proclaims British Sovereignty over New Zealand,” *New Zealand History*, (1840), Manatū Taonga – Ministry of Culture and Heritage, updated 8-Oct-2021, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/hobson-proclaims-sovereignty-over-all-of-new-zealand>

⁶⁶¹ “Hobson Proclaims British Sovereignty.”

⁶⁶² Condliffe and Airey, *A Short History of New Zealand*, 65. Governor Hobson was reportedly suspicious of the New Zealand Company and its activities on both sides of the Cook Strait. The Company was angry with the British Government and feared that the establishment of British sovereignty in New Zealand would disrupt their extensive plans. They were angry about the Treaty of Waitangi, the law’s denial of their land claims, the establishment of the capital on the Waitemata, and the good wages offered to carpenters and other craftsmen (‘crimping’) in Auckland.

⁶⁶³ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 6.

Despite the fortune many found before them in the new colony, others were greeted with hardships that, in extreme cases, they were never to recover from. The state in Aotearoa had a limited role in providing charity; any state charity provided was usually “meager and grudgingly given.”⁶⁶⁴ Indeed, one account of an Irishman in early twentieth-century Aotearoa provides such an example, a forty-nine-year-old Dominic Nolan, who without a friend or trade, died of starvation on the roadside, leaving behind the following letter:

“Dear New Zealanders, blame not the poor immigrants in this country who have been shipped over here in the last few years. Allured by the dazzling advertisements in England, glowing pictures depicting scenes of the Dominions abroad, displaying acres and acres under tillage. I am in this country a few years. I paid my passage in full, my passport will show that... Good-bye all... another poor victim waiting for that friend Death. English and Irish papers please copy.”⁶⁶⁵

Efforts to make a better ‘Britain of the South,’ even intentionally transporting people considered to be ‘good pioneering stock,’ avoiding the indiscriminate method of Australia's captive workforce of potentially unskilled labour, did not prevent the precipitation of the British realities of gender and sexual violence towards women.⁶⁶⁶ Therefore, although New Zealand offered Pākehā women a level of independence not afforded to them in the English class system or within the cult of domesticity and its associated protective labour laws, the haunts of prostitution and poverty, shame, and hopelessness followed them to this whenua. Thus, the following observation made at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Society for the Improvement and Encouragement of Female Servants in England of women’s precarious position in society, in this case to a poor work referral, was also relevant to women on the colonial frontier: “The cruelty and impolicy of sudden dismissals, and the unfair suppression of character for mere venial offences, as it tended to occasion an increase of prostitution, and sent a female, with all the feelings of an injured person, into the very haunts of thieves and housebreakers.”⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁴ Gael Ferguson, “Background Report for the WAI 60 Claim,” (1995), 2.

⁶⁶⁵ George Fraser, *Ungrateful People*, (Wellington: The Pelorus Press, 1952), 12.

⁶⁶⁶ Julia Millen, *Colonial Tears & Sweat: the working class in the nineteenth-century New Zealand*, (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1984), 2.

⁶⁶⁷ Hatton-Garden, “Society for the Improvement,” vi.

Pākehā men primarily restricted typical work for Pākehā women on New Zealand's colonial frontier to the home front. Nevertheless, they additionally depended on them for various types of paid and mostly unpaid labour.⁶⁶⁸ Indeed, Brookes asserts, "Women's work was vital to the economy of the family."⁶⁶⁹ Domestic work was in the highest demand, followed by dressmaking.⁶⁷⁰ Work could also be reminiscent of industrial labour they had left behind. For instance, in 1890, a young Pākehā worker, referred to in *The Book of New Zealand Women* as Miss Y., worked in an ironing room, ironing shirts, at Clarke's steam laundry in Dunedin.⁶⁷¹ Miss Y. reported it was heavy, hot work, with the irons weighing nine or ten pounds each. She and other ironers had to stand all day in an overheated room from the stoves that were burning all day to heat the irons.⁶⁷² Conditions that made it exceptionally unbearable in Summer. Another laundry worker, Miss Z., also worked at Clarke's steam laundry, where she reports they all got regularly sick with the strain of standing for long hours in a hot and poorly ventilated room. Despite this, Miss Z. reportedly preferred laundry work to domestic service because it enabled her to spend evenings with her parents.⁶⁷³ It would have also protected her from the potential of sexual harassment by the Masters/male members of the household, a common occurrence for many female housemaids, as author Mary Findlay shares in her memoir *Tooth and Nail*, which tells of her experience as a domestic servant during New Zealand's Depression years.⁶⁷⁴ Indeed, the assumed sexual rights males had over their servants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries must be understood in relation to the powerlessness and perceived 'worth' of female servants.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁶⁸ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 70. Brookes reports that women worked to contribute to the family income; to be independent, and to save (for if they were to be widowed or deserted). The jobs they worked included shopkeeping, managing hotels, boarding houses and public houses.

⁶⁶⁹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 60.

⁶⁷⁰ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 66.

⁶⁷¹ Charlotte Macdonald, "Miss Y and Miss Z 1890," In *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui ma te Kaupapa*, ed. Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991.), 749.

⁶⁷² Macdonald, "Miss Y and Miss Z," 749.

⁶⁷³ Macdonald, "Miss Y and Miss Z," 750.

⁶⁷⁴ Mary Findlay, *Tooth and Nail*, (Wellington: A.H. and A. W. Reed, 1974).

⁶⁷⁵ Jill Barber, 'Stolen Goods': The Sexual Harassment of Female Servants in West Wales during the Nineteenth Century, *Rural History*, 4(2), 123-136. Doi:19.1017/S095679330000025X

Like white Australian women, in the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century, Pākehā women were active in the subordination of the 'Other.' McClintock argues that colonial women were also ambiguously policed within the process of patriarchal politics. She states:

“Whether they were shipped out as convicts or conscripted into sexual and domestic servitude; whether they served discreetly at the elbow of power as colonial officers’ wives, upholding the boundaries of empire and bearing its sons and daughters; whether they ran missionary schools or hospital wards in remote outposts or worked their husbands’ shops and farms, colonial women made none of the direct economic or military decisions of empire, and very few reaped its vast profits. Martial laws, property laws, land laws, and the intractable violence of male decree bound them in gendered patterns of disadvantage and frustration. The vast, fissured architecture of imperialism was gendered throughout by the fact that it was white men who made and enforced laws and policies in their own interests. Nonetheless, the rationed privileges of race all too often put white women in positions of decided - if borrowed - power, not only over colonised women but also over colonised men. As such, white women were not the hapless onlookers of empire but were ambiguously both as colonisers and colonised, privileged, and restricted, acted upon and acting.”⁶⁷⁶

The European population had increased from approximately three hundred in about 1830 to approximately two thousand by 1840.⁶⁷⁷ In 1840 the Māori population was between seventy thousand to ninety thousand people, yet within twenty years, the colonisers outnumbered Māori, and their need for land increased; as a result, conflict ensued.⁶⁷⁸ The Native Land Acts of 1862 and 1863 attempted assimilating Māori into British law. These Acts resulted in the establishment of the Native Land Court that was tasked with determining ownership of Māori land and transformed customary title to individualised title to conform with British law.⁶⁷⁹ In this, Brookes asserts that the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 laid the foundation for land alienation on an unprecedented scale.⁶⁸⁰ Further to this, the 1865 Land Act sought to abolish the matrilineal inheritance patterns.⁶⁸¹ Between 1858 and 1874, two hundred and nineteen thousand Europeans arrived, a total that outnumbered the combined Māori and Pākehā population gain, through natural

⁶⁷⁶ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 6.

⁶⁷⁷ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 45.

⁶⁷⁸ Mike Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” in *Imagining Decolonisation*, ed. Anne Hodge, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020), 25.

⁶⁷⁹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 90.

⁶⁸⁰ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 90.

⁶⁸¹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 78-79.

increase, of ninety-six thousand and two hundred and seventy-eight.⁶⁸² By the mid-1880s, half of the Pākehā population had been born in New Zealand, creating the sense of legitimacy of the claim to the country. As Māori became outnumbered, their power base was diminished. Furthermore, Ross notes that: “the establishment of a settler government, the land wars, resulting in land confiscations, introduced diseases and a court system to deal with the transfer of Māori resources - as well as the halving of the Māori population by the early 1900s - all contributed to the demise of Māori control.”⁶⁸³

Furthermore, Ross claims that “as Māori lost control over their resources, the Pākehā economy and communities were correspondingly strengthened.”⁶⁸⁴ With a new government, the argument of a ‘democratic’ majority’ justified its economic advantage, and the military and police could enforce a set of laws to maintain Pākehā control.⁶⁸⁵ Brookes asserts that although a young Queen ruled England, its body politic was male, and this was to be the pattern transferred to New Zealand, as was evident when wāhine Māori were denied the right to sign the Treaty of Waitangi on account of their sex.⁶⁸⁶ Jackson provides the following example of this:

“So those hapū that had agreed to sign assembled on the banks of the Tukituki River between what is now Napier and Hastings and waited for the Crown officials and after the formalities were over our people were asked who’s going to sign. The person who had the authority in our hapū to sign, the ariki with the mana, the mandate, if you like, to sign, was a woman called Hine Aka Tioke, and so she said or someone said on her behalf this is who will sign for us. And we don’t have an actual written record of what the Crown response was but the story that’s come down to us is that that caused some consternation amongst some of the Crown officials because women under the Western law at that time could not sign treaties. They could not sign contracts, they could not make a will, they had no political constitutional power. And so our people were then confronted with a dilemma: do we do what our independent authority demanded, that the person who had the mana to sign would sign, or do we do what this new Crown entity wanted and scramble around and find a man. And to my everlasting pride, our hapū said if she can’t sign we’ll

⁶⁸² Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 71.

⁶⁸³ Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 26.

⁶⁸⁴ Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 25.

⁶⁸⁵ Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 25-26.

⁶⁸⁶ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 50.

go home and so they walked home and our little hapū never signed The Treaty of Waitangi.”⁶⁸⁷

Indeed, from the outset, Pākehā violently denied wāhine Māori a voice as the Crown would not accept her autonomy, denying her power at the very inception of the colonisation of Aotearoa. As Pākehā diminished the power and rights of Māori, the issue of ‘half-caste’ rights came under scrutiny, and the problem of the Māori mother was recognised as a core threat to Pākehā ‘racial purity’ and civilisation.

SUMMARY

In this chapter I have examined the role of the colonial state in the social and economic oppression of wāhine Māori. I have drawn on colonial images and texts that demonstrate how the trope of degeneration was an essential element in the colonisation of wāhine Māori. I also expand this scope of inquiry to the Pacific Islands to show how this discourse was applied to the Indigenous Peoples throughout the Pacific. An examination of the colonial fetish of white linen was employed as a metaphor for imperialism providing a focal point from which I highlighted the critical role of harakeke as a raw material in the imperial quest to colonise Aotearoa. Within this colonial endeavour I considered the economic and social implications this had for wāhine Māori, drawing on an anecdote of a wahine Māori, Ata-hoe, which demonstrates the ways that the flax trade, marriage with a Pākehā man, and the global sex market of Indigenous women, all intersect to frame Ata-hoe’s story. I then explored how this colonial fear was used to legitimise state interventions to control wāhine Māori sexuality and fertility in the nineteenth century in an effort to preserve the ‘purity’ of the European race.

I have also provided an insight into the invention of ‘Pākehā-ness’ through an examination of various archival materials that highlight the motivation for Europeans to immigrate to Aotearoa

⁶⁸⁷ He Tohu. “The Woman Who Would not Sign - He Tohu interview,” (2017), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sbic6nNS07g>

and the life they found available to them when they arrived. I have identified the impact of industrialisation on European families and the precarious positions that women often faced as a result, such as hard labour in the mills and factories and prostitution. I also examined the notion of fallen women to illustrate the desperation many women felt and their desire to escape the lives available to them in the West. I argue that elements such as these were critical to the early colonial development of a Pākehā culture and identity. Furthermore, I contrasted these factors against the realities of life on the colonial frontier and contend that they, too, necessarily informed the colonial discourses of desire for wāhine Māori and her land. I highlighted various land acts to demonstrate how the desire for land was played out via the bodies of wāhine Māori through the disruption of our matrilineal inheritance patterns and the invisible status enforced upon wāhine Māori in the nation's emerging body politic.

CHAPTER SIX

Mana Wahine Whānau Discourse

In this chapter, I focus on the Mana Wahine whānau discourse on the domestic front, employing the concept of ‘interior frontiers’ to investigate the mutable internal distinctions between wāhine Māori and Pākehā that internal borders can shape. In doing so I will highlight the various tensions that developed and were enacted in sites of the intimate to understand how the ‘private’ was such a powerful ‘public’ colonial domain. Therefore, I investigate how imperial interventions in the home demonstrated the cultural rules by which Pākehā men and women lived and that were enforced upon wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori. Tracing the production of these distinctions based on race, I investigate how expectations that Pākehā held of Pākehā women shaped the social experience of wāhine Māori. This chapter consists of two sub-sections firstly “The Cultural Construction of Māori Motherhood as Problematic for Colonialism,” where I draw on a ballad by Keith Sinclair, *The Ballad of Halfmoon Bay*, to examine the complex space that the offspring of miscegenation, between Māori and Pākehā, occupied on the colonial frontier. I examine the concerns of the state and Pākehā over the rights of ‘half-castes’ to certain Pākehā privileges. Furthermore, I identify the trope of Māori motherhood as ‘problematic’ for colonialism. In the second sub-section, “Homes of Humiliation,” I discuss the connections between sex, race, and ‘cleanliness’ on the colonial and interior frontiers. Cleanliness is examined in relation to Victorian notions of clean bodies, homes, morals, and clothing—based on ideological gender functions within the cult of domesticity and how it served to disempower wāhine Māori.

I begin this chapter with another contemporary anecdote, this time of a Māori mother who, in April 2022, had taken her children to a playground in the Havelock North region of New Zealand. When media outlet Radio New Zealand (for the *New Zealand Herald*) reported on the event, as it took place during the New Zealand government's Covid 19 pandemic restrictions, they noted that Jae had selected a park within the permitted radius area of her residence. As Jae’s children played in the playground, two Pākehā women approached her and said to Jae that her moko kauae was

frightening their children before asking her to put on her face mask to cover up her chin or to leave. Jae made a public call via Radio New Zealand, requesting a meeting with the women to discuss the event as it would “help her mamae as their comments left her in tears.”⁶⁸⁸ She was hurt and felt rage. The women did not respond to this call.

Jae shares her account of the event:

“Come [*sic*] to the park with my children for the day and I was approached by two women that were quite rude and confronting asking me, you know, why am I here? What’s my address? Can I provide proof of my address? That there are also plenty of other parks around the Hawkes Bay. Right then and there I knew from the energy they gave, they were quite umm, they didn’t like me, yeah. So, I ignored them right through but after that they asked me to put my mask over my chin as I was scaring the children at the park and um or leave. Asked me if I could leave. React? ah, I didn’t, I just sat there. But I was boiling on the inside. It was hard to, yeah, hold my mana. No, I didn’t leave the park for about fifteen to twenty minutes later. Um, I wasn’t going to leave just because they said. But they did. They left.”⁶⁸⁹

The reporter asks, “Did your kids hear the conversation?”⁶⁹⁰

Jae replies:

“Not quite but they knew by..., they weren’t far off, and they were nearby. And they knew from, yeah, I guess my body language that something had happened. They did see two women approach me, and asked questions: Who were they? What did they say to you? Asked me if I was alright.”⁶⁹¹

The reporter then asked, “Have you ever experienced anything like this before in your life?”⁶⁹²

Jae answered:

⁶⁸⁸ Sam Olley, “Women who took offence at Jay Scott’s moko kauae told to apologise,” *RNZ for NZ Herald*, April 27, 2022, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/women-who-took-offence-at-jay-scotts-moko-kauae-told-to-apologise/SX3RVNT2B5KMYEL5JBUSFOJ5BQ/>

⁶⁸⁹ Olley, “Women Who Took Offence.”

⁶⁹⁰ Olley, “Women Who Took Offence.”

⁶⁹¹ Olley, “Women Who Took Offence.”

⁶⁹² Olley, “Women Who Took Offence.”

“Nothing like this. People just need to educate themselves with our markings, you know kauae moko and stuff, so they understand, you know, there’s a reason why we carry these, our taonga, and if you don’t like anyone’s cultural markings, whether its Māori, Indian, Asian, whatever, just walk away. Because I’m still going to return back to this park, every day, if I could, and um, yeah, be kind.”⁶⁹³

As well as demonstrating her resilience and resistance as a Māori mother, Jae’s account provides another example of where a seemingly benign site, in this case, a children’s playground, and a set of recognisable sensibilities functioned to thicken racial inequities in the borderlands of interior frontiers. Registering what African American scholar Ralph Ellison called the “lower frequencies of difference and denigration.”⁶⁹⁴ As a site that registers the ‘lower frequencies of difference and denigration,’ fear and humiliation are inscribed onto Jae’s body, marked by the moko kauae that she bears on her chin. Jae’s moko kauae is the mark where sentiments of distaste and distrust were directed and used, as Stoler defines, as a ‘weapon’ of the senses to violate Jae’s right to occupy that space. Here, the Pākehā women apply relational measures of worth to Jae in a complex way to articulate how blindly or pointedly they are made and imposed. Stoler argues that interior frontiers can be applied to stress the mutable internal distinctions that internal borders can shape. Distinctions that makeup what these Pākehā women imagine themselves to be and what they need to do to preserve their ‘belonging’ and Jae’s ‘not belonging.’ Here, Jae is immediately positioned on what Stoler would describe as the “unstable edges of the changing dimensions of inclusion and exclusion”⁶⁹⁵ of being deemed as either an insider or an outsider. In this sense, she occupies the spaces between them, which can narrow or thicken. Stoler treats the concept of interior frontiers as both the ‘dispositif’ and ‘diagnostic.’ She states:

“I take the term as a political concept to resist simple bifurcations and instead to mark our diffracted histories of the present: interior frontiers as a *dispositif*—a webbed apparatus of racialized states—and as a *diagnostic* of where and how acute and emotively charged

⁶⁹³ Olley, “Women Who Took Offence.”

⁶⁹⁴ Stoler, “Interior Frontiers,” *Global Minds for Ukraine*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=brPtbViv8xo&t=2839s> . 6.20.

⁶⁹⁵ Stoler, “Political Concepts – A Critical Lexicon. Interior Frontiers, Diagnostic and Dispositif.”
<https://www.politicalconcepts.org/interior-frontiers-ann-laura-stoler/>

sites of (over)identification emerge. At once, interior frontiers nurture intimately held dispositions of difference and police the legibility of these shifting fault lines.”⁶⁹⁶

In this scene, Jae’s moko kauae represents a direct threat to these Pākehā protagonists’ children’s sense of safety, not only by the children but also by them as mothers. Their assessment of Jae was clear, and her right, and by extension her children’s, to come to and remain in the park was questioned. Accordingly, the two women felt it was appropriate to approach Jae and ask her to provide proof of her right to access the playground. Their actions demonstrate the ambiguous work that boundaries and exclusive frontiers elicit when they occupy interior spaces of polity and person, and as Stoler asserts, “who could and could not share in them marked a core dispositif of colonialism’s racial imagination.”⁶⁹⁷ The interior frontier is a site “where belonging and exclusion lodge.”⁶⁹⁸ An interior frontier, Stoler argues, “makes the personal fundamentally political.”⁶⁹⁹ The interior frontier as a “political concept affectively charged ... [that] works through multiple sensibilities”⁷⁰⁰ when recruited. At any given time, it hardens distinctions between who is ‘us’ and who is construed as undoubtedly ‘them’ across both polity and personhood.⁷⁰¹ It requires a kind of affirmation of logic and a consequential fortifying of the weak attachments that reinforce it. The danger that Jae is understood to represent, due to her moko kauae, I argue, is based on racial divisions of worth and privileged moral affiliations that, in turn, continue to define what and who presents a danger at any given moment in time.

Pākehā denying wāhine Māori access or the right to occupy space in Aotearoa due to bearing moko kauae, with its fluctuating representations as a mark of the enemy or the fetishized ‘Other,’ is not a new phenomenon, neither is Jae’s resistance. Te Awekotuku remarks on this resistance regarding the resurgence of tā moko (the process of moko) as “a direct means of asserting our tino rangatiratanga. It is in defiance of past and present political agendas, laws, and regulations that

⁶⁹⁶ Stoler, “Political Concepts.”

⁶⁹⁷ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, 4.

⁶⁹⁸ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, 9.

⁶⁹⁹ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, 6

⁷⁰⁰ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, 6.

⁷⁰¹ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xiii.

continually deny access to our lands, language, customs, and beliefs.”⁷⁰² Indeed, the moko kauae, once thought of as the ‘devil’s thumbprint,’⁷⁰³ was seen by the Church Missionary Society leader, William Williams, as a degenerative practice that, in their frustration with Pākehā, was re-adopted by wāhine Māori as an expression of their discontent.⁷⁰⁴ Tā moko was singled out as a practice that would become extinct as civilisation progressed. In a letter written by Governor George Grey in 1894 to British soldier Horatio Robley, known as the ‘soldier with a pencil’ and collector of Upoko Tuhituhi, commented on a book Robley had recently published, titled *Moko*, a book dedicated “to those who have served against warriors of New Zealand.”⁷⁰⁵ Grey’s letter reads: “Dear Sir, - I think your illustrations of Maori are interesting and valuable, as they give with great correctness some of the patterns of Māori tattooing; and the portraits are equally interesting as they give excellent illustrations of the art of ‘moko’ which is rapidly passing away and will soon be forgotten. Faithfully yours, G. Grey.”⁷⁰⁶

To ensure this ‘passing away,’ the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) legally forced the practice of tā moko into decline. Yet, despite the barriers the Act presented, many wāhine Māori ignored the restrictions and continued wearing moko—the testament to its survival today.⁷⁰⁷ Te Awekotuku comments on how the moko kauae in the contemporary context is “a political act, an exercise of will, and a declaration of resistance.”⁷⁰⁸ Furthermore, she claims, it is “an active defiance of middle stream middle-class white New Zealand’s aesthetic sensibility so often agitated by media distortion.” In the early twentieth century, Pākehā columnist W.B. Otorohanga reflected on the notable discrimination faced by wāhine Māori on account of their moko kauae, in particular, “‘half-caste’ women whom he considered superior to their full-blooded counterparts”⁷⁰⁹ when he expressed his marked disapproval as follows:

⁷⁰² Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, “Moko Māori – An Understanding of Pain,” in *Anthropologists, Indigenous Scholars and the Research Endeavour: Seeking Bridges Towards Mutual Respect*, ed. Joy Hendry and Laara Fitsnor, (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), 220.

⁷⁰³ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 7.

⁷⁰⁴ Binney, *Stories Without End*.

⁷⁰⁵ Robley, *Moko, or Māori Tattooing*, (London : Chapman & Hall, 1896), 2.

⁷⁰⁶ Robley, *Moko*, 2.

⁷⁰⁷ Ngarino Ellis, “He iti, he Pounamu: Lindauer and Personal Adornment.” In *Gottfried Lindauer’s New Zealand – Māori Portraits*, ed. Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope, 246. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016), 244.

⁷⁰⁸ Te Awekotuku, “Moko Māori,” 220.

⁷⁰⁹ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 6.

“Another half-caste lady friend (lady in all things but a tattooed chin, whose home and home-life is clean, and sweet, and her heart of purest carat gold) travelled into the city ... wandered from hotel to hotel, where, because of her tattooed chin, each refused her harbourage ...”⁷¹⁰

“He is an educated, hard-working half-caste master mechanic. A few months ago, he took his sick (half-caste) wife to a country hospital, and because it was too late to take her up that day, he sought rest for the night at the nearest hotel ... it was not until the frantic husband spoke of police that they were permitted shelter for the night ...”⁷¹¹

Otorohanga concludes:

“No matter how educated, clean lived, how intimate his or her knowledge of Act, regulation, and land law may be, he is not permitted to either sell, lease, mortgage or in any way deal with it, until he has submitted to the same degrading restrictions as the lowest full-blooded Māori.”⁷¹²

Stoler insists that how interior borders are positioned and where one falls within this gated space makes the “most consequential and violently guarded racial fault lines in our world today.”⁷¹³ Where, Stoler asserts, “official papers are [never] enough to guarantee passage, for interior frontiers are secured ... by unarticulated and often inaccessible conventions that grant no entry.”⁷¹⁴ Such conventions, she contends, can be “boldly advertised with easily decoded terms like family values”⁷¹⁵ that serve to police who knows “what family is, what kind of families count, and what living arrangements are to be considered abhorrent and beyond any valuation or value,”⁷¹⁶ regardless of how ‘clean and sweet.’⁷¹⁷ The concept of interior frontier captures the unspecified moral criteria ever present throughout New Zealand’s colonial archives. Colonial moral criteria were employed to determine which colonial subjects Pākehā would merit as European equivalents, such as in the court of law. Colonial moral criteria reveal how educational and social policies were

⁷¹⁰ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 6.

⁷¹¹ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 6.

⁷¹² Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 6.

⁷¹³ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xiii.

⁷¹⁴ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xiii.

⁷¹⁵ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xiii.

⁷¹⁶ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xiii.

⁷¹⁷ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xiii.

directed towards the Europeanisation of the Māori during the early colonial period. As Meredith asserts, Pākehā explicitly facilitated Europeanisation by legislation, such as in Section 17 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1912, which provided for the Europeanisation of the Native on application, albeit having to satisfy the specific criteria.⁷¹⁸ Meredith asserts that this provision “allowed for a ‘native’ to apply to the Native Land Court seeking an order in council by the Governor General to declare him/her a European.”⁷¹⁹

The legal criteria for the official Europeanisation of a Māori required: a) a certain proficiency in English; b) a standard four education; c) sufficient land or a trade/profession to provide for a means of income.⁷²⁰ Criteria also ensured that the Māori applicant had economic independence, invested in learning the English language, committed to the imperial education system to a satisfactory standard, and demonstrated a particular familiarity and ease within European surroundings. This familiarity extended beyond language and schooling to include areas of child-rearing, domestic management, house plans, personal deportment, and hygiene. Colonialists protected this notion of Europeaness through a criterion of division that they could deploy to shut out those who did not and whom Pākehā deemed could not adequately exhibit that they felt at home in a Pākehā society. Indeed, Jackson noted that to what degree a Māori whānau could prove they were European enough had consequences for Māori, such as access to housing. Pākehā academic and writer Gael Ferguson’s official background report for the Wai 60 Claim (Takapuwahia C2A3) noted that the government’s role in promoting family life via housing policy dictated the course of housing policy for one hundred years. The report states:

“Family life from the earliest years of British settlement was seen as central to social stability and as such government housing policy consistently made the delivery of housing at odds with Māori whānau system and was to be a major barrier to Māori receiving mainstream housing resources... For many years Māori applicants for mainstream housing had to prove that they lived in the European manner. This meant a rejection of extended family arrangements.”⁷²¹

⁷¹⁸ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 7.

⁷¹⁹ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 7.

⁷²⁰ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 7. This provision, Meredith claims, was enforced until 1931, during which time seventy-six natives were Europeanised. The main impetus for such action was to reduce the restrictions that natives faced over their Pākehā counterparts.

⁷²¹ Gael Ferguson, “Background Report for the WAI 60 Claim,” (1995), 2. Claim name: Takapuwahia C2A3

Extended family arrangements were part of a Māori whānau system that, Mikaere claims, enabled women of child-bearing years to develop proficient skills in various areas and fulfill leadership roles.⁷²² Wahine Māori were an integral part of a community, and their home units were part of the greater kāinga that included grandmothers, aunts, and elders. Māori considered the whole whānau responsible for rearing the children of the kāinga, not solely the natural parents.⁷²³ Whānau routines were structured so that the biological parents were not isolated. They could not lead independent lifestyles as they were communal and required constant contact and interaction with other tribe members. Mikaere claims it was “a concerted effort to keep the affairs of the group buoyant and operational.”⁷²⁴ In *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, John. L. Nicholas, Esq., in company with the Reverend Samuel Marsden, made the following observation in 1814-1815:

“The tenderest parental affection (an impulse wisely ordained by nature) is remarkable among all classes, high and low, in this country. The chiefs carry their children upon their backs, taking them from their mothers at an early age, that they may not be an encumbrance to them in their laborious employments. It must be allowed, however, that the men make excellent nurses, and have a peculiar art in the management of their infant offspring. I have never seen any father fonder of his child than the chief Wiveeah appeared to be of a fine boy, who he brought with him on his back, in one of his visits to us; he evinced the gentlest attention to the little creature, while it clung with its arms round his neck, and seemed to rest perfectly happy in his indulgent care.”⁷²⁵

A recent Te Tākupu publication, titled *Korihi te Manu – Stories of Whāngai and Adoption*, asserts that whāngai is often called ‘Māori adoption’ but that the two have very little in common. Instead, whāngai is to feed or nurture: “To whāngai a child is to nurture their physical, cultural, spiritual, mental, and emotional well-being. It expresses aroha and generosity. Children carry whakapapa and cultural knowledge for future generations, and responsibility for their upbringing would traditionally be shared within whānau and hapū.”⁷²⁶

⁷²² Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy,” 9.

⁷²³ Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy,” 9.

⁷²⁴ Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy,” 9.

⁷²⁵ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 307-308.

⁷²⁶ Whāngai Project Participants, *Korihi te Manu – Stories of Whāngai and Adoption*, (Ōtaki: Te Tāpuki, 2021), 10.

New Zealand was to become, in 1881, the first country in the British Empire to formalise adoption. In the early 1900s, whāngai was attacked by parliamentary laws.⁷²⁷ In 1909, the practice was legally abolished.⁷²⁸ As integral to the state, concepts of home, marriage, and family brought by colonists impacted the lives of Māori, and as Brooke notes, sometimes violently.⁷²⁹ The replacement of whāngai with state-regulated adoption was part of this strategy to break whānau into separate nuclear units and replace whānau and hapū responsibility for tamariki under state authority. Indeed, Mikaere asserts that the deliberate destruction of whānau and hapū structures and the forcing of wāhine Māori away from their whānau and into the Pākehā model of the nuclear family left them vulnerable in a host of ways.⁷³⁰ The whānau discourse, Smith asserts, is about “locating the whānau and its associated structures ... as a central site for the contestation of Mana Wahine,”⁷³¹ which is significant to understanding what it means to be Māori and female. Indeed, even the concept of wāhine, as outlined by Pihama, is understood to translate not to the universal English meaning of ‘woman,’ a construct based on a simplistic, dualistic relationship with men, but as a concept that is an “intersection of the two words wā and hine.”⁷³² Here, the term wā relates to notions of time and space. For wāhine Māori, wā accounts for the “many times and spaces that we move through in [our] lives”⁷³³ and relationships.

To uphold the many ways Māori understand and discuss various stages of life, Pihama asserts, “is to recognise the complex ways that our people have always viewed roles and relationships.”⁷³⁴ As such, any analysis related to wāhine Māori, Pihama notes, “cannot be simplistic but needs to

⁷²⁷ Whāngai Project Participants, *Korihi te Manu*, 10

⁷²⁸ Whāngai Project Participants, *Korihi te Manu*, 10

⁷²⁹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 2.

⁷³⁰ Ani Mikaere, “Māori Women: Caught in the Contradictions of a Colonised Reality.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 144. Mikaere notes, Māori Women became “more dependent on their husbands as breadwinners, while they became increasingly isolated as caregivers at home. Some women were expected to work both outside and in the home, as economic hardship required them to contribute financially while Christian values about what constituted a good wife and mother compelled them to maintain that role as well. Such values also meant that husbands became incredibly the head of the family, wives feeling obliged to remain with them no matter what.”

⁷³¹ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects,” 44.

⁷³² Leonie Pihama, “Mana Wahine Theory: Creating Space for Māori Women’s Theories,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 75.

⁷³³ Pihama, “Mana Wahine Theory,” 75.

⁷³⁴ Pihama, “Mana Wahine Theory,” 75.

recognise that relationships within Māori society are multiple.”⁷³⁵ Smith asserts that in the search for stable and supportive whānau structures, Māori have developed a range of initiatives, both in the historical and contemporary contexts.⁷³⁶ Smith argues: “It has become increasingly a discourse of ‘conscientisation,’ which at one level is unashamedly about the past and another about meeting the demands of the present ... It seeks to empower young Māori women by reconnecting them to a genealogy and a geography which is undeniably theirs.”⁷³⁷

Whānau discourse seeks to protect wāhine Māori by filling in the details of their identity by providing the genealogical template upon which relationships make sense.⁷³⁸ Smith explains that this discourse engages the energies of younger women while recognising that “it needs the guidance of older women.”⁷³⁹ Indeed, kuia have always held an important role in Māori society as repositories of knowledge and possessors of supernatural powers, illustrated in the stories of Mahuika, Muiranga-Whenua, and Hine-nui-i-te-pō.⁷⁴⁰ Mikaere explains that “the charter for Māori life was laid down in Māori cosmology,”⁷⁴¹ based on a law designed to ensure balance within whānau, hapū, and iwi. Such a balance, Mikaere asserts, “established the centrality of female sexuality and reproductive capabilities in the creation of the world. As valued members of their whānau, women were affirmed and supported.”⁷⁴²

Tracing the fault lines that racial states produce and the distinctions they install and depend upon also made racial imaginaries apparent throughout colonial archives. Sometimes, these distinctions were subtle, while at other times, they were impassioned with white sovereignty making up colonial common sense. The importance of the Pākehā home was significant as it was the space where Pākehā babies were born and raised by their Pākehā mothers. As Bagnall notes, “white women and the white home held important symbolic meaning for white male colonists. Political

⁷³⁵ Pihama, “Mana Wahine Theory,” 75.

⁷³⁶ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects,” 44.

⁷³⁷ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects,” 44.

⁷³⁸ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects,” 44.

⁷³⁹ Smith, “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects,” 44.

⁷⁴⁰ Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy,” 7.

⁷⁴¹ Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy,” 9.

⁷⁴² Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy,” 9.

writings and cartoons from the colonial press used images of white women to represent their colonies...”⁷⁴³

Indeed, reflecting on the Australian Press’s concentration on race during the nineteenth century, Bagnall notes that the press reflected the “intensity of concern about racial purity felt by colonists throughout the British Empire.”⁷⁴⁴ Similarly demonstrated by Massey, Bagnall claims it was a time when they were “attempting to define their communities and newly-found nations as racially pure, continually drawing and defining boundaries between themselves and the ‘Other.’”⁷⁴⁵ However, racial purity was not always marked by the whiteness of skin; instead, other distinctions of barbarity could be called on, such as those regarding domestic status. ‘Domestic barbarism’ is a colonial ‘Othering’ discourse that linked “domestic disarray to the supposed degeneracy and inferiority of [the] lower class.”⁷⁴⁶ It is a notion that McClintock asserts English racism drew heavily on as a marker of racial difference of the Irish, drawing on a Puck cartoon from 1882, titled *Celtic Calibans*, that depicts an Irishman ‘lazing in front of his hovel’ in a display of ‘domestic disarray.’⁷⁴⁷ McClintock describes him and his wife, who is also in the image, as being represented as cheerful sloths. She also asserts that the simonizing of their physiognomies compensates for the absence of skin colour as a marker of degeneration.⁷⁴⁸ McClintock suggests that: “The iconography of domestic degeneracy was widely used to mediate the manifold contradictions in imperial hierarchy – not only with respect to the Irish but also to the other ‘white negroes’: Jews, prostitutes, the working class, domestic workers and so on.”⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴³ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 70.

⁷⁴⁴ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 54.

⁷⁴⁵ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 54.

⁷⁴⁶ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 53.

⁷⁴⁷ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 65.

⁷⁴⁸ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 65.

⁷⁴⁹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 53.

The Cultural Construction of Māori Motherhood as Problematic for Colonialism

In this section, I draw on a ballad by Keith Sinclair, *The Ballad of Halfmoon Bay*, to examine the complex space that the offspring of miscegenation between Māori and Pākehā occupied on the colonial frontier. The term ‘half-castes’ was predominantly adopted by Pākehā to describe the mixed-blood individuals who were viewed by Pākehā to occupy a dual position; as either a potential ally to Pākehā imperial pursuits or as a constant threat from within. Of particular concern to Pākehā and the state were the rights of ‘half-castes’ to certain Pākehā privileges, specifically regarding their ability to inherit land. It also addresses the ‘problem’ wāhine Māori as mothers posed to colonial discourses. I analyse Sinclair’s poem alongside a wāhine Māori visual analysis of two artworks by the colonial artist, Richard Aldworth Oliver, an oil painting titled, *Fanny Weller, a Half-Caste Girl* (circa 1850), and a watercolour and a lithograph both titled, *Half-Castes of Pomare Bay* (1851 and 1852), as well as a watercolour painting by Joseph Jenner Merrett, titled *Woman and Child* (1852). *The Ballad of Halfmoon Bay*:

“Edward Edwards was a castaway sealer,
Edward Edwards was a runagate sailor.
He fled from the pressgang or a midland slum,
Slunk from the bilge of a sharp right whaler.

Fed on bully-beef and mutton bird,
Smelling to heaven of his salty broad,
He dressed in the slops of the prideless poor,
Walked in the eye of a watchful Lord.

Edwards and his woman lived in sin,
Bridging and breeding just the same
And caring for two orphans that seamen left,
Twenty years until the bishop came.

Mary Henekino was white as a half-caste,
Gentle as the daughter of a Kentish priest.
She spoke the King’s English like a currency lass, though
Born to the flavour of a cannibal feast.

Mary and her man had two squeakers to raise-

Throats of conch unless stopped on her breast,
And the sun called them mess-mates, the moon to tea.
Days at the double and at night no rest,

Still she managed and mothers the orphans-
Friday, the foundling, a right tight lad,
The son of a sealing-gang, that stayed for a season,
Long in the nose like his unseen dad;

Sarah the other was the moon in the spindrift,
Bright for a lady-love and not sixteen,
As dark as the last light held in a rockpool,
Begotten by her mother for a yard of jean.

Edwards had an island for his backyard,
Edwards had a whare with a roof of thatch,
A Brown Bess, a go-ashore, a print of the *Savannah*,
Six fat grunters and a small spud patch.

One day he built a cutter on the beach,
Next day worked in his potato patch,
Another he sold fresh victuals to a whaler,
Sometimes he fished in an evening slathc,

Friday and he were the terror of the blue cod.
Where they sailed the groper fled,
From the Land of the Living round to Ruggedy;
Hounded the green-bone past Red Head.

Monday to Saturday he farmed, skinned seal,
Sunday he hoisted his red spirit-sail,
And walked his cutter to Halfmoon Bay,
Fair on weather or a tew-reef gale.”⁷⁵⁰

In his poem, *The Ballad of Halfmoon Bay*, Sinclair provides a colonially informed approach to the history of sex on the colonial frontier, between Pākehā men and wāhine Māori and the offspring that did result. Sinclair was a popular historian in the 1950s and 1960s, and here he introduces the audience to the first types of New Zealand immigrants in the form of a central character, Edwards. Edwards is described as a “renegade” sailor who deserted either navy or army service or perhaps

⁷⁵⁰ Keith Sinclair, *The Ballad of Half Bay in An Anthology of New Zealand Verse*. Selected by Robert Chapman, Jonathan Bennett, and Geoffrey Cumberland, (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 276-278.

escaped a slum, like those that had sprung up around Victorian London, such as the notorious St. Giles Rookery, to become a “castaway sealer,” slipping out from the bottom of the ship, of a sharp-eyed whaler, to the bountiful shores of Aotearoa. Sinclair then draws the audience’s attention to Edwards’ state, what he ate and how he smelt, how he dressed in a degraded manner, “in the slops of the prideless poor,” like the impoverished people in the ‘Old Country,’ who, he claimed, had no self-respect.⁷⁵¹ However, Sinclair reminds us that regardless of Edwards’ choices, he was still under the watchful eye of the Lord.

In the fourth stanza, we learn that Edwards lived with a wahine Māori whom Sinclair describes as “white as a half-caste” and “gentle as the daughter of a Kentish priest.” The pair are unmarried but have children nonetheless; hence, they “lived in sin,” “bridging and breeding,” for “twenty years until the bishop came.” The word breeding is noteworthy in that it references a biological term used to define the sexual propagation of plants or animals. Additionally, the audience is informed that they have two whāngai children that their European seamen fathers abandoned.

However, it is in the third and fourth quatrains of the fourth stanza that Sinclair introduces the central concern of this section, that is, the ‘problem’ posed by the Māori mother: “She spoke the King’s English like a currency lass, though Born to the flavour of a cannibal feast.” We learn that not only does she have a fair complexion and a gentle disposition, but she is also articulate in the English language. She is compared here to a “currency lass,” a term referencing the ‘currency lads and lasses,’ who were known collectively as ‘currency’ or ‘the currency’ - the first white children born in Australia to the British who arrived in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, the problem then presents itself with the fact that she is “Born to the flavour of a cannibal feast,” implying that despite these positive, assimilative steps towards civilisation, her taste for cannibalism, symbolic of her Māori nature, had been set since birth, and thus she continues to remain uncivilised. And here resides the problem, in the threat that she represents. Furthermore, it is in the focus of the sixth and seventh stanzas that highlight what she is a threat about, that is, to half-caste children and, ultimately, to the colonialists themselves.

⁷⁵¹ ‘Slops’ were pre-made garments of clothing, a form of payment to sailors. Rather than be paid in cash, they were paid with slops, liquor, and tobacco.

In the fifth stanza, Sinclair names the woman Mary Herekino, and the children she and ‘her man’ are raising are described as unruly (unless pacified with the breast). Additionally, Sinclair informs us that nature dictates the children’s daily rhythm, suggesting their closeness to nature and thus distanced from civilised, industrious behaviour. Mary’s hard labour on the home front and in the care of the family during the day, however, is acknowledged, as is her sexual service, at night, to Edwards and hence, the reason she gets no rest. Smith asserts that the offspring from sexual relations between the colonisers and colonised led “to communities that colonisers referred to as ‘half-castes’ or ‘half-breeds,’ or stigmatized by some other specific term which often excluded them from belonging to either settler or Indigenous societies.”⁷⁵² Brookes notes that in nineteenth-century New Zealand, half-castes, despite their growing population, did not establish a definable ‘*mestizo*’ subculture. However, an unidentifiable network of interconnected families existed, “hinted at in historical writings,”⁷⁵³ particularly evident in the eastern Bay of Plenty in the 1860s.⁷⁵⁴ Māori academic Paul Meredith notes that mixed-blood Māori tended to associate with either their Māori mother or their Pākehā father rather than create separate communities like the Metis in Manitoba and the Griquas on the Orange River, who created new peoples with their own identities.⁷⁵⁵ These intimate frontiers, in the form of the ‘half-caste,’ embody a specific history, during which their value varied widely depending on their changing political meaning.

Meredith notes that the children of these short- or long-term liaisons between wāhine Māori and Pākehā men inherited two cultures. Still, the mother’s culture was likely to dominate when men were reliant on her community for support or when the men had deserted. The sixth stanza describes a child named Friday, the son of a sealer, who had been in New Zealand for a sealing season. Sinclair describes Friday as a good boy with a European nose. The seventh stanza, however, is dedicated to Sarah and takes on a different tone. She is a teenager, not yet sixteen, but is described as a mistress or “lady love,” although she is bright for one. Additionally, like Mary, her complexion is deemed noteworthy, and Sarah is described as dark-skinned. This fascination

⁷⁵² Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 28.

⁷⁵³ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 237.

⁷⁵⁴ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 239.

⁷⁵⁵ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 11.

and interest in the grade of skin shade of the offspring of miscegenation are captured by Meredith in the following commentary by Captain Thomas Edward Donne in 1927:

“...Such unions are fertile. I know of a case of a white man who married a particularly dark Māori girl, almost negroid in colour. They had two daughters, both as fair as Caucasians. One daughter was married to a white man with fair hair and light blue eyes, the other to a Maori. The children of both unions had very fair skins with rose-coloured cheeks, Malayan hair, brown eyes, and very soft, sweet voices.”⁷⁵⁶

Donne describes most ‘half-caste’ girls as attractive, ‘sylph-like’ as illustrated in the oil painting (Figure. 44) by the Captain of the H.M.S Fly Richard Aldworth Oliver (circa.1850s) of Fanny Weller, the daughter of whaler Edward Weller, of the infamous Weller Brothers, and Papaaru of Otago Harbour. Donne also describes ‘half-caste’ girls as lively but says that as they age, their “Maori features often become more pronounced,”⁷⁵⁷ i.e., they regress in their appeal, and he claims they become fat.⁷⁵⁸ Despite this view, Bell claims that Oliver had a particular attraction toward ‘half-castes’ whom he described as: “the finest mixed race in the world.”⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁶ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 12.

⁷⁵⁷ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 12.

⁷⁵⁸ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 12.

⁷⁵⁹ Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 33.



(Figure. 44) Oliver, Richard Aldworth, Fanny Weller, a Half-caste Girl, (1850) Otago, Alexander Turnbull Library, C-001-012.

In my wahine Māori visual analysis, I apply the ‘mana rangatira’ principle to question how Fanny Weller’s ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana is whakahaere’ are represented. Is her mana being diminished? If so, what colonial ideologies are at play? Fanny is presented wearing loose-fitting clothing draped over her body, exposing her right breast. Her skirt appears covered in dirt, and her look is bedraggled. This is interesting as Fanny came from a wealthy family. The painting is dated after she moved to Australia with her family but decided to return alone to Aotearoa to live amongst her whānau, hapū, and iwi. With this knowledge, Fanny’s ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ were firmly intact. However, her representation in Oliver’s watercolor painting would suggest otherwise. In applying the ‘te reo’ principle to my wahine Māori lens, I focus on the archives description given by the Alexander Turnbull Library that states, “shows a young Māori woman, standing on three-quarter profile, a gourd in her light hand.” This suggests that she is engaged in her day-to-day tasks. The description also takes note of her exposed breast and a shark-tooth earring she is wearing. Such an item is the only indication that she comes from privilege. In applying the ‘ako Māori’ principle, we can deduce from her activities that she is utilising tools of her people, in the form of the calabash as a water-collecting vessel, and therefore she still follows

the practices of her Māori people. Using the ‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga’ principle, I question how Fanny might be framed as domesticated in the Pākehā sense. I suggest that perhaps Fanny’s bedraggled appearance is a reference to the fact that she chose a Māori existence over the Pākehā option that she had at her disposal; the Weller family was well known and, therefore, within this context, it may have been interpreted by the colonialists as such. Therefore, it serves as a confirmation of the colonial notion of the backward relation to progress that was perceived as characteristic of the ‘primitive’ Māori race. Within this context, the ‘whānau’ and ‘kaupapa’ principles highlight the inferior position of whānau in the colonial ideological construction of the Victorian family structure.

Finally, in the last quatrain of the sixth stanza, we are informed that Sarah is the result of a sexual transaction from which her mother gained a yard of jean fabric. This connection between ‘half-caste’ children and the sex trade seems to have been cause for much social comment on New Zealand’s colonial frontier. The term that Pākehā predominantly adopted to describe these children of miscegenation was ‘half-caste.’⁷⁶⁰ Māori terms for such children, such as ‘utu pihikete’ translating to ‘paid for in biscuit,’ and ‘huipaiana’ translating to ‘hoop iron’,⁷⁶¹ made a direct link to their existence through prostitution, as these names expressly referred to typical articles used in the trade of sex.

Meredith contends that “across cultures and time, we can identify numerous acts of miscegenation and the creation of labels, such as ‘half-caste,’ ‘half-breed,’ ‘mulatto,’⁷⁶² ‘octoroon,’ ‘métis,’ and ‘chabine.’”⁷⁶³ Furthermore, that associated with these terms, Meredith asserts, was a sense of “altering the essence of the original and the associated impurity [that] often carried a stigma, a

⁷⁶⁰ Geraldine McDonald, “The Categories ‘Maori’ and ‘Pakeha’ as described by research workers and by self-report.” *New Zealand of Educational Studies*, (11), 37-49.

⁷⁶¹ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 13.

⁷⁶² Owen White, *Children of the French Empire- Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa 1895-1960*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1999), 4-5. <https://academic.oup.com/book/27697>. The word mulâtre, or mulatto derived from the word ‘mule’ and carries connotations of sterility - something which métis, like Māori ‘half-caste,’ were often thought to be.

⁷⁶³ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 6. Miscegenation is a term that was adopted in 1864 to define the sexual relations, marriage, or cohabitation between two people from different racial groups, resulting in the conception of a mixed-race child. Prior to this the term amalgamation was used to describe such relationships.

sometimes subtle and not so subtle sense of inferiority.”⁷⁶⁴ The result of which, Meredith claims, was that to be a ‘half-caste,’ mainly as a result of colonisation, was “a matter of shame and social reproach in many cultures, something to be concealed if possible.”⁷⁶⁵ Despite this, Bentley contends that some colonists shared immense pride in the number of ‘half-caste’ offspring they had produced, considering it, as Kerry-Nicholls had put it, “their patriotic duty to populate desolate areas” with “a robust and healthy race of people.”⁷⁶⁶ The final three stanzas of this ballad poem focus on the bounty that industrious Edwards had access to - of the sea, the land, and the sky, and the audience is left with the impression that Edwards is kept well and happy with his lot.

The ‘problem’ of the Māori mother comes to the fore through the cultural influence that she and ‘her people’ bestowed upon their ‘half-caste’ offspring. The ‘half-caste’ occupied a particular threat in the colonial imagination, which was linked to the perceived double nature of the ‘half-caste.’ The proposed ‘double nature’ precariously positioned the ‘half-caste’ at the edges of either standing as an ally to the empire or its enemy. Indeed, Brookes notes, “some individuals of dual descent became important brokers between worlds in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.”⁷⁶⁷ She refers to colonial politician (native agent, lawyer, accountant, ethnographer) George Graham, who, in 1863, encouraged Governor Grey to consider the “many” ‘half-caste’ children who “stand between the races”⁷⁶⁸ and to educate these children so that they “unite with us.”⁷⁶⁹ Thus colonial education was to be in direct conflict with the Māori worldview. It was felt by many colonialists, Brookes notes, and asserted by the Reverend Richard Taylor, in 1868, that most ‘half-castes’ had sided with the Europeans in the war context, but others, “when left neglected with their mother’s people ... [had] become the most dangerous and determined enemies of the Government.”⁷⁷⁰ Not only were ‘half-castes’ distrusted by Pākehā, but they could also be distrusted by Māori, particularly in regards to the threat that wāhine Māori posed as the wives of Pākehā men to land ownership. One case in point is that of Kenehuru Meurant of Waikato, referred to earlier as the wife of Edward Meurant, who, upon marrying Edward, lost twenty of the thirty acres of land

⁷⁶⁴ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 6.

⁷⁶⁵ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 9.

⁷⁶⁶ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 14.

⁷⁶⁷ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 255. A well-known example being Sir James Carroll.

⁷⁶⁸ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 256.

⁷⁶⁹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 256.

⁷⁷⁰ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 256.

gifted to her and her children by the Rangatira Te Tawa, Te Keene, and Te Hira.⁷⁷¹ Based on English women's lack of property rights, the wahine Māori's land was seen as her husband's property, and as such, the government confiscated twenty acres, based on Edward not having a Crown Grant.⁷⁷² The *Daily Southern Cross*, in 1849, reported on the case in an article titled, *Mr Meurant's Case – And the Rights of the Anglo-Maories*:

“Meurant complained ... of the Government having taken away and sold a portion of the land bestowed upon his wife and family, but ... he [had] applied for a government title to land which he had brought for himself. The Governor with admirable tact, seized hold of this flimsy plea, and upon it based his defence; at all events he succeeded most completely, in confusing the non-official members, for although one or two questions would have laid bare his duplicity, these gentlemen had not the wit to put them.”⁷⁷³

Social and legal rankings were derived from the culture spectrum through which race, sexuality, and gender were viewed, from the occlusions and acknowledgments of the social circumstances in which people had sex. Meredith notes that sexual relations, whether based on Māori marriage, church marriage, or some other form, were provisional relations based on classifications that could dictate individual futures and the construction of colonial society. Ultimately, the measure of who was to be included or excluded in society necessitated regulating sexual, conjugal, and domestic life not just of Māori but of the Pākehā themselves. And what of the ‘half-caste?’ The ‘half-caste,’ Meredith claims, was the “subject of that double logic of Victorian Racial theory which both enforced and policed the lines between whites and non-whites but at the same time focused fetishily upon the contacts between them.”⁷⁷⁴

Pākehā historian Judith Binney's research into mixed marriages revealed that the earliest known attempt to count the ‘mixed population’ was a public appeal made in 1847 by Joseph Jenner Merrett, the artist introduced in Figures 1-4 of the original watercolour portrait of Hōne Heke, Harriet, and Kawiti, under the patronage of Sir George Grey. Merrett was also a flax trader and married a Māori woman named Rangitetaea Koa of Ngāti Kōura. Moreover, as a father to their

⁷⁷¹ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 256.

⁷⁷² Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 256.

⁷⁷³ “Mr. Meurant's Case – and the Rights of the Anglo-Maorie,” *Daily Southern Cross*, (Volume V, Issue 227, 1849), 3. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18490831.2.6.1>

⁷⁷⁴ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 8.

children, he, too, was concerned about the state of their education. He wanted to garner support from other men in his position (European fathers of ‘half-caste’ children) to urge the government to provide better for these children in New Zealand over what was then available for all Māori children. Merrett calls: “And you fathers of this race, I would address myself to you all - let not your children fall back to the degradation from whence their mothers sprung.”⁷⁷⁵

Merrett published a request through the newspaper, *The New Zealander*, writing as “A Father of Half-Caste Children,” asking men to send details of ‘your wife’s name, the name of her tribe, and the number of your children, with their names and ages.’ And calling on them to step up to their duty to instruct them, “even if you are in the midst of natives, strive to counteract the effects of their bad example.”⁷⁷⁶ His stated purpose was to encourage Governor Grey to increase educational opportunities for these children so that they would not remain “in the lowest grades of society,”⁷⁷⁷ as, he remarks, had happened with “the descendants of Native-born American women.”⁷⁷⁸ Merrett assumed that ‘half-caste’ children would be the offspring of European fathers, and he referred explicitly to these men’s daughters, whom he wanted to protect from a life of degradation. Claiming that: “It makes my blood boil with Indignation [*sic*] when I see the friendliness, homelessness, daughters of Europeans, by native women, with their delicate and interesting features and persons, wandering about, the victims of prostitution and disease.”⁷⁷⁹

The lithograph (Figure 45) and watercolour (Figure 46) titled *Half-Castes of Pomare’s Pah* by colonial artist Richard Aldworth Oliver (1852) demonstrate the colonial juxtaposition between the ‘half-caste’ and wāhine Māori with the depiction of the defiant Māori mother. In these images Oliver depicts the perceived danger posed by the Māori mother in the defiance shown by ‘Nahuia,’ one of the wives of Ngā Puhī warrior and trader, Pōmare, juxtaposed alongside the gentle and delicate nature exhibited by the ‘half-caste’ females.

⁷⁷⁵ Joseph Jenner Merrett, “A father of Half-Caste Children-Original Correspondence [*sic*],” *New Zealander*, Vol 3, Issue 142, (1847), 3.

⁷⁷⁶ Merrett, “A Father of Half-Caste,” 3.

⁷⁷⁷ Merrett, “A Father of Half-Caste,” 3.

⁷⁷⁸ Merrett, “A Father of Half-Caste,” 3.

⁷⁷⁹ Merrett, “A Father of Half-Caste,” 3.



(Figure. 45): Oliver, Richard Aldworth, *Half-castes of Pomare's Pah*, Bay of Islands, Capt Oliver del. Dickinson & Co. lith. (London, 1852), Alexander Turnbull Library, PUBL-0032-6.



(Figure. 46): Oliver, Richard Aldworth, *Half castes at Pomare's Pah*, Bay of Islands (1851), Alexander Turnbull Library, C-054-021.

The Alexander Turnbull archivists record the lithograph in Figure. 45 as a group of Māori in front of a tent shelter, despite the title specifically describing the women as ‘half-castes.’ According to Oliver’s accompanying text, the scene is at Kororāreka in 1851, during a hākari put on by Tāmāti Wāka Nene.⁷⁸⁰ The group is described in the archives as including “two seated women, one breast-

⁷⁸⁰ Richard Aldworth Oliver, “1811-1889 :Half Castes at Pomare's Pah, Bay of Islands,” (1851). https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23150824?search%5Bi%5D%5Bname_authority_id%5D=-274464&search%5Bpath%5D=items

feeding an infant,”⁷⁸¹ as well as “a naked toddler reclining in front and two young men standing behind, one with a rifle and cartridge case.”⁷⁸² The archivist has noted that “a tewhatewha is lying in front, on top of a pile of cloaks.”⁷⁸³ The person of particular interest here is the third woman, named by Oliver as ‘Na Nuia,’ (rather than Nahuia, which is likely Ngā Huia), described as kneeling to the right, her back to the artist and her face hidden. Accompanying his lithographs, Oliver supplied notes titled “Sketches in New Zealand,” that attempt to name the women and provided the following remarks, noting the beauty of the ‘half-caste’ women and the problematic Māori woman:

“The girl [standing behind] is Maria, a remarkably fine girl, and now married to a native. The woman with the baby is said to be the daughter of Chevalier Dillon, and on the left is Jane who is famed for her personal attractions [possibly Jane Gray, daughter of Alexander Gray and Kōtero Hinerangi]. The old lady on the right is Nahuia, Pomare's wife, who placed herself in that ‘becoming’ attitude to avoid having her picture taken.”⁷⁸⁴

Figure. 46 also has two women seated, but in this case, they are situated outside a thatched shelter rather than a calico tent. Again, the woman on the right is suckling a baby. It states that at the right of the image, a small child is reclining and watching; beside the child rests a dog (with only the head visible), one that was not present in Figure. 45 Again, we see the red-cloaked woman on her hands and knees, defying the artist, whom Oliver depicts here as attending to a fire behind the group. It is interesting to note that of the various aspects omitted in the copies made, she remains in both, suggesting the significance of her ‘rebellion.’ Behind the two seated women, the archival record describes a woman standing, not two men. There are no men present in this image. The archivist describes the woman standing as wearing “a green pendant earring and two feathers in her hair. She is also wearing a white beribboned blouse and native cloak.”⁷⁸⁵ And that the “seated woman watching the mother wears her hair with a centre part in Victorian style, pulled gently back, looped under the ears. She also wears a European white blouse under a Māori cloak, and

⁷⁸¹ Richard Aldworth Oliver, “Sketches in New Zealand.”
https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23238856?search%5Bi%5D%5Bname_authority_id%5D=-89409&search%5Bpath%5D=items

⁷⁸² Oliver, “Sketches in New Zealand.”

⁷⁸³ Oliver, “Sketches in New Zealand.”

⁷⁸⁴ Oliver, “Half castes at Pomare’s Pah.”

⁷⁸⁵ Oliver, “Half castes at Pomare’s Pah.”

over her right ear are two short black and white feathers and a long white plume. There is a bush in the left background.”⁷⁸⁶ When one considers the various narratives these components bring, Māori art historian Ngarino Ellis asserts we can gain a more comprehensive narrative of the painting.⁷⁸⁷ For example, understanding how significant huia feathers were as a precious resource, particularly by the end of the nineteenth century, and as feathers from a tapu bird, we appreciate their symbolic nature as an indicator of the wearer’s high status.

Applying the ‘wahine rangatira’ principle to my visual analysis, I attempt to determine the ways in which the rangatiratanga of the four wāhine Māori in the two lithographs are depicted. To do so, I ask, how are their ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ represented? I contend that her defiance displayed by ‘Na Nuiā’ suggests that her individual power and self-determination are intact and that this indicates that the mana of the wāhine Māori is, by extension, also held and maintained. Using the ‘te reo’ principle, I refer to Oliver’s labelling of the image to identify that the wāhine Māori are of mixed Māori and Pākehā heritage. ‘Na Nuiā’ is understood to be older than the three fair-skinned wāhine who are positioned centre stage. ‘Na Nuiā’ is identified by Oliver as an elderly woman and Pomare’s wife; thus, she is obscured from the image not just based on her free will but also by Oliver’s refusal to acknowledge her presence on the lithograph’s title. Furthermore, the use of te reo Māori (i.e., pah, Na Nuiā, Nahuia) is inconsistent and incorrect.

I again refer to ‘Na Nuiā’ when applying the ‘ako Māori’ principle to my analysis. I consider her refusal to sit for the lithograph as a positive example to the younger wāhine present. In applying the ‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga’ principle, I focus on how the wāhine Māori are predominantly represented as tender mothers, fitting in line with the idealised Victorian mother trope. Her labour is solely focused on the discourse of mothering. Lastly, I apply the ‘whānau’ and ‘kaupapa’ principles to my analysis to determine that whānau is represented in the lithograph as three generations are present amongst the six and seven figures depicted. The wāhine Māori are posed in such a way that they could almost be represented as sitting inside a colonial cottage; however, the children’s nakedness, and their location with the shelter (i.e. sitting outside the front

⁷⁸⁶ Oliver, “Half Castes at Pomare’s Pah.”

⁷⁸⁷ Ngarino Ellis, “He iti, he Pounamu: Lindauer and Personal Adornment.” In *Gottfried Lindauer’s New Zealand – Māori Portraits*, ed. Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016), 246.

of it, on the ground) serves to remind the audience that they have the potential to transition to civilisation, however, despite their comely appearance their natural habitat and behaviour remains ‘primitive.’

Below is another watercolour painting that demonstrates, I contend, the ‘gentle nature’ promoted as a characteristic of the female ‘half-caste’ by the aforementioned colonial artist, flax trader, and father of ‘half-caste’ children, Merrett. Titled *Woman and Child*, the painting is of a ‘Māori mother,’ possibly named Ewaka, with her baby, presumably to a Pākehā father on account of the child’s fairer complexion, and perhaps the white bonnet, white clothing, and white baby blankets. She, herself, possibly has Pākehā parentage, based on her appearance and the fact that Merrett portrays her as reading a book, a portrayal that does not support Merrett’s view of the Māori mother. She is labelled by the archivist as a Māori woman. The archival record states:

“A Māori woman, wearing a flax cloak, and a blanket, seated in profile in front of a whare. She is holding a baby and reading a book. The baby is dressed in a white frilled bonnet and white gown. The woman's cloak is a korowai-ngore (pom pom cloak) with flax tags and woollen pom poms, (and possibly fringe). In the background is a lake and perhaps Ngaruhoe's volcanic peak beyond that. (Merrett visited Taupo in 1841). The woman's name is likely to be Ewaka, judging by the inscription on the verso.”⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁸ Joseph Jenner Merrett, “Woman and Child,” *Hobson Album*, (Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library: ca. 1842), [/records/23090397](#)



(Figure. 47) Joseph Jenner Merrett, *Woman and Child*, (ca 1842), Alexander Turnbull Library, A-275-002.

As with the four images presented at the beginning of this thesis, Merrett's paintings, along with many of the artworks at the time, were reproduced and frequently altered by various people and processes to manipulate the narrative to suit the desired message. This painting also has variations, such as a pencil, blue pen, and wash drawing in the Grey album at the British Library.⁷⁸⁹ That particular copy has negated the scenery in the background of the lake and mountains.⁷⁹⁰ In my wahine Māori visual analysis, I examine the ways in which 'Ewaka's' rangatiratanga is evident. Based on her kākahu and the baby's linen (an expensive and hard resource to obtain) it would be fair to conclude that Ewaka is of some standing and has a level of economic security. Her economic security is likely connected to Māori land which would have been an attractive prospect for colonial men. Indeed, she appears to be the wife of a Pākehā man, and as such, her rangatiratanga

⁷⁸⁹ Joseph Jenner Merrett, *The Grey Album*. MS 19953.

<https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23090397?search%5Bi%5D%5Bcategory%5D=Images&search%5Bpath%5D=items&search%5Btext%5D=Merrett+Woman+and+Child>

⁷⁹⁰ Merrett, *The Grey Album*.

is potentially non-existent or is at risk of becoming so. As a colonial's wife we can expect that her 'mana tangata' and 'mana whakahaere' have diminished due to her submissive role as a wife. Applying the 'te reo' and 'kaupapa' principles, we witness her identity being defined only by her role as a mother. The 'ako Māori' principle highlights that by reading a book, she is seeking Western knowledge, but based on her kākahu Māori, we can determine that she has not abandoned her Māori identity completely. The 'kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga' and 'kaupapa' principles help me to identify that as she is seated alone with a single child outside what appears to be a small home, the audience could be given the impression that she has adopted the nuclear family structure as suitable for her and her Pākehā husband and their child.

Another father of 'half-caste' children, but this time a Māori father, Sydney Taiwhanga, of Kaikohe, husband to Pākehā woman, Sarah Moran, a very rare coupling at the time, echoed the same concerns as Merrett, regarding the influences of Māori mothers on civilisation, forty years on. A known informant to the government, Taiwhanga, who was also known to Pākehā as owning much land, expressed his views on the proper education format for Māori children, the state of which he believed to be a fallacy. His views were featured in the *Southland Times*, a colonial newspaper, in 1877. Here, Taiwhanga suggests that Māori be "brought up to the knowledge of the English language and English literature"⁷⁹¹ and that to do so, he proposed that "Māori children should be taken from their parents into a school, as soon as possible"⁷⁹² where they associated "with white children only, and accustomed only to the English language."⁷⁹³ He further recommended that "if their tender age requires it, their mothers might be permitted to nurse and suckle them at intervals, but their association with Māori playmates must be interdicted."⁷⁹⁴ The article then refers to Dr. Johnson, who reportedly said, "that if a Scotchman was to be taught the English language correctly, he must be caught young... [and that] Taiwhanga wants to improve on the great lexicographer and catch the Maoris while babies."⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹¹ "Romantic Marriage of a European Woman with a Maori," *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, Vol 1, Issue 88, (1877), 3.

⁷⁹² "Romantic Marriage of a European," 3.

⁷⁹³ "Romantic Marriage of a European," 3.

⁷⁹⁴ "Romantic Marriage of a European," 3.

⁷⁹⁵ "Romantic Marriage of a European Woman with a Maori," *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, Vol 1, Issue 88, (1877), 3.

The answer to this conundrum was education for amalgamation. The key to reducing the perceived risk of the threat of the Māori mother and her whānau's influence was education, combined with marriage with European colonists for the 'half-caste' girls. Pākehā held a similar belief to the Spanish imperialists, who believed that children of a mixed marriage would become Europeans again by the third generation.⁷⁹⁶ Indeed, Meredith states that this "gradual Europeanisation of the Māori was premised on the polygenist school of thought within Victorian Racial theory, which argued that the descendants of mixed-blood unions would eventually relapse to one of the original races, thus characterising miscegenation as temporary in its effects as well as unnatural in its very nature."⁷⁹⁷

The status of the 'half-caste' and their associated rights was a topic of great concern to the Māori and the colonists. The need to regulate sexual relations was, Stoler, asserts, "central to the development of particular kinds of colonial settlements and to the allocation of economic activity within them who bedded and wedded whom in the colonies [was] never left to chance."⁷⁹⁸ Smith asserts that the state frequently used legislation to "regulate both the categories to which people were entitled to belong and the sorts of relations which one category of people could have with another."⁷⁹⁹ Similarly, Stoler claims that the mixed unions "produced offspring with claims to privilege, whose rights and status had to be determined and prescribed."⁸⁰⁰ The rights and status of 'half-castes' constantly evolved on New Zealand's colonial frontier, as illustrated in the following Daily Southern Cross newspaper excerpt, dated 18th February 1859, titled, "The Status of Half-Castes." It reads:

"To the Editor of the Southern Cross.

Sir, - Can you inform me if half-castes are accounted aboriginal natives. I am at a loss from the two following positions which are contradictory on this point.

1. A publican serves them with grog, as if they were not aboriginal natives.
2. The census man who came my way, says that they are not to be included in the returns, because they are 'aboriginal natives' in the meaning of the Act for the Census.

⁷⁹⁶ Meredith, "A Half-Caste," 5-6.

⁷⁹⁷ Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. (London: Routledge, 1995), 180.

⁷⁹⁸ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 47.

⁷⁹⁹ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 2nd ed., 28.

⁸⁰⁰ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, xiii.

The question is of some importance, if a true Census is desired; and if the Census Act had stated what was wanted, many disagreements would have been obviated between the public and the subenumerators who no doubt wished to make the most of their brief authority.

A. Settler.”⁸⁰¹

The editor’s reply outlined the following state responses: the Census Act (1858), the Native District Regulations Act (1858), the Territorial Rights Bill, and the New Provinces Act, in an attempt to piece together a definition of who they were and what their rights were. The (1858) Census Act stated that:

“The *status* of the half-castes has not been yet defined, except for certain purposes, and in reference to particular Acts; as, for instance, in the Native District Regulation Act: -
XI. Half-castes and other persons of mixed Race *living as members of any Native tribe*, and all Aboriginal Natives of any of the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, shall for the *purposes of this Act*, be deemed to be persons of the Native Race.”⁸⁰²

Also, in the Territorial Rights Bill: -

“XV. Half-castes shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed to be persons of the Native Race.

A definition for a particular purpose excludes any general definition, for want of which, many difficulties are still likely to arise, for instance, in regard to the New Provinces Bill.”⁸⁰³

The editor remarks that the:

“*status* of half-castes, like all the other colonial questions of importance, was left unsettled by Governor Grey... Whether the present Government will be able to succeed once more, in defining, where he had failed to define, remains to be seen; but we readily admit the difficulty.”⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰¹ “The Status of Half-Castes,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Vol XVI, Issue 1215, (1859), 3.

⁸⁰² “The Status of Half-Castes,” 3.

⁸⁰³ “The Status of Half-Castes,” 3.

⁸⁰⁴ “The Status of Half-Castes,” 3.

According to the editor, the definition of ‘half-caste’ would likely be based on the two points of ‘domicile’ and ‘legitimacy,’ which he notes is not “quite as precise as could be desired.”⁸⁰⁵

He suggests:

“Those who live among natives, conforming to native custom, might be treated as Aborigines. Those who are illegitimate, though living as Europeans, would perhaps, in strictness of law, take the status of the mother; the legitimate of the father.”⁸⁰⁶

Here, the critical question of Māori marriage and the legitimacy of ‘half-caste’ offspring comes into view. He asks, “But who shall say what constituted a valid marriage before New Zealand became a colony?”⁸⁰⁷ By British law, he notes, “a marriage contracted in foreign countries following the *lex loci*,”⁸⁰⁸ the law or custom of the place, claiming:

“whether a Maori marriage could be treated as a barbarian rite by those who entered into treaty with the natives, as with a civilized people, may serve as a question to exercise the ingenuity of causists. But the whole subject is of growing importance and imperatively calls for settlement, if settlement be possible.”⁸⁰⁹

Before concluding that:

“The only means that we can see, in a question so beset with difficulties, is to compile an accurate nominal return of all the Half-Castes in New Zealand, to classify them, to pass a declaratory Act of the General Assembly concerning them (if, indeed such an Act be not *ultra vires*;) and to endeavour to lay down some fixed rule for the future.”⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁵ “The Status of Half-Castes,” 3.

⁸⁰⁶ “The Status of Half-Castes,” 3.

⁸⁰⁷ “The Status of Half-Castes,” 3.

⁸⁰⁸ Also referred to as ‘marriage à la mode du pays’ - a pre-colonial arrangement, marriages according to the country’s customs and lasting for the duration of the European’s stay.

⁸⁰⁹ “The Status of Half-Castes,” 3.

⁸¹⁰ “The Status of Half-Castes,” 3.

Of marriage in New Zealand, Pākehā historian Alexander McLintock asserted that “British sovereignty brought with it the marriage law of England,”⁸¹¹ noting that with some “slight modifications, it was suitable for white settlers”⁸¹² but that this was not the case for Māori, stating:

“An 1842 Ordinance seems to have assumed that marriages of Māori according to their customs were unaffected by the imported law in 1888, however, the Supreme Court, in a decision which was doubtful legally and deplorable socially, held that the ordinary marriage law applied to Maoris; and that the children of customary marriages were illegitimate.”⁸¹³

A year after the *Daily Southern Cross* newspaper article was published, the Half-Caste Disability Removal Act (1860) was passed that, in effect, legitimised children of Māori and European descent whose parents would agree to be wed. The purpose of the Act, Brookes contends, was to allow these children to inherit property from either parent and “indicated an acceptance of intermarriage while sustaining a social disapproval of unlegitimised unions and ‘bastard’ children.”⁸¹⁴ This Act defined Māori as “anyone of half-Māori descent and ‘all persons of mixed blood of the European and Aboriginal Races,’ unless there was ‘something in the context’ that made this construction ‘repugnant.’”⁸¹⁵ This Act, Meredith argues, reflected the colonist’s “paternalistic and patronising attitude towards the ‘half-caste’s’ existence.”⁸¹⁶ And notes that such an Act was justified at the New Zealand General Assembly as a recognition of the progress that they felt the ‘half-caste’ had made and the reward due if s/he is agreeable to a Pākehā marriage and, therefore, not subject to being disabled based on the stigma attached to the types of unions that had “been formed between European settlers and wāhine Māori under circumstances which in some degree should modify the judgements pronounced generally against all [of] such illicit connections.”⁸¹⁷

⁸¹¹ Alexander Hare McLintock, “An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand,” Volume 2, (Wellington: R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1966), 503.

⁸¹² McLintock, “An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand,” 503.

⁸¹³ McLintock, “An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand,” 503. McLintock notes that these “marriages, however, continued to be recognised for the purpose of succession to Māori land until 1951. Since then, all marriages in New Zealand have been governed by the same law.”

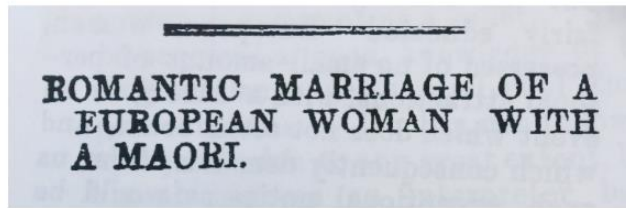
⁸¹⁴ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 242.

⁸¹⁵ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 242.

⁸¹⁶ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 7.

⁸¹⁷ Meredith, “A Half-Caste,” 4.

As noted earlier in the thesis, with the case of Sydney Taiwhanga, marriages between Pākehā women and Māori men were rare, so much so that such an event was deemed newsworthy.



(Figure. 48) Southland Times, April 3, 1877.

Colonisers considered sexual relationships between Māori men and Pākehā women, such as this one, to be “sites of complex exchange and interchange set,”⁸¹⁸ as Bagnall suggests, “between public discourse and private and public sentiment.”⁸¹⁹ The coloniser’s views on the nature of Māori men created fear based on the threat they were thought to pose to white womanhood, the white family, and colonial society.⁸²⁰ The *Southland Times* news article from 1877 provides an example of this; it reports:

“The marriage of European men with Māori women is so frequent that the announcement of such an event would not be likely to cause much remark; but the marriage of an intelligent fairly educated woman possessed of no small amount of personal attractions, with a Māori, is an event which does not often occur, and which consequently demands from us such exceptional notice as would be given in England to a ‘marriage in high life.’”⁸²¹

The formation of intimate relationships between Māori men and white women required a crossing of racial boundaries that differed when the women of such miscegenation were white, as Pākehā saw this to be disruptive to the white family. Such disruptions, Bagnall argues, posed “a danger to the white race and nation”⁸²² due to the white woman’s inability to fulfill her role as wife and mother to white men and white children. Bagnall states: “White women were implicated in this possible racial destruction and degradation by their very natures and their alleged inability to

⁸¹⁸ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 88.

⁸¹⁹ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 88.

⁸²⁰ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 88.

⁸²¹ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 88.

⁸²² Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 67.

uphold the social, moral and sexual boundaries by which they were defined and defined themselves.”⁸²³

White women were promoted as weak, whereas wāhine Māori posed a contradiction to this patriarchal notion, as is highlighted in the following account of a Pākehā man’s interaction with a Māori man and his retelling of a Pākehā woman, a Mrs. King, giving birth, and his comparison of her labour to that of wāhine Māori. Despite the humorous tone, the underlying message is clear: wāhine Māori are not fragile, wāhine Māori are not (white) women:

“The wife of Mr. King was delivered on this day of a fine boy; and I was first informed of the circumstance by one of the natives, a man who acted as servant to her mother, Mrs. Hanson. This fellow, who would have made an excellent buffoon, as he possessed all the requisite humour for such a character, met me as i was coming out of the town; and telling me that Mrs. King had got a pickeeninee, (a child,) he began to describe her groans and expressions while suffering under the pains of labour; and there was such an air of droll mimickry in the indecent representation, that I could not forbear laughing heartily, though I desired him to desist from so unseemly a detail. He decanted in a strain of arch ridicule on the extreme timidity of our country women in this situation, compared with the hardy resolution of the New Zealand ladies. The latter, he said, never experienced any inconvenience from child-birth; but sitting down in the open air, surrounded by a concourse of both sexes, were delivered without uttering a single groan, while the spectators, who stood carefully watching the process shouted out tarnee! Tarnee! (an infant, an infant,) as soon as nature had executed her office; when the mother, after cutting the umbilical cord, rose up as if no such occurrence had taken place, and resumed her ordinary occupations. But, said he, “Europee woman be no like New Zealand woman; she cry out, Measser King! Measser King! For ittee tarne:” meaning, that his country women would have more spirit than to use such an exclamation in so trifling an affair as the delivery of a little infant.”⁸²⁴

The danger of racial contagion and disruption was recognised and understood by the colonial Pākehā, and protective measures were employed to maintain racial boundaries and ensure the Māori knew his place, as the newspaper article regarding Taiwhanga’s marriage with a Pākehā woman went on to demonstrate:

⁸²³ Bagnall, “Golden Shadows,” 67.

⁸²⁴ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 170-172.

“The bridegroom found his troubles commenced almost as soon as the marriage ceremony was performed. He, of course, wished to spend a honeymoon with his bride, and for this purpose sought lodgings, but his first application for accommodation for himself and wife was met with blank refusal. Taiwhanga at last bethought [*sic*] himself of his marriage certificate, which had the effect of open ‘sesame’ in the old story. It is to be hoped ... this instance of miscegenation in New Zealand will prove beneficial to both races.”⁸²⁵

Another two instances of Māori men marrying white women occurred in 1864 in England. Both men, Kamariera Te Hautakiri Wharepapa and William Pou, were part of a Māori touring party. They brought their wives (Elizabeth Reid and Georgiana Meen) back home to Aotearoa. Binney notes that, while in Bristol, another member of the touring party, Horomona Te Atua, made the following comment regarding such intermarriages:

“The best plan ... to unite them [English and Māori] would be that the two races should marry together (laughter and applause) ... Some of the New Zealand women had married English settlers, but the British ladies had not married with the Maories (laughter).”⁸²⁶

This observation, Binney asserts, is essentially correct as the predominant form of such unions was where the wife was the Indigenous partner, and this would continue to be the situation as “Māori women offered European men access to property and ‘fair dalliance.’”⁸²⁷ Wāhine Māori land ownership rights were recognised by the colonialists as being unique, particularly in comparison to Pākehā women. The Native Land Court, Binney notes, “accepted that wāhine Māori inherited and possessed property rights, and it also considered as Māori any woman who was of half-Māori descent.”⁸²⁸

A law change in 1873 removed this right until 1881 when, under the Native Lands Amendment Act 1882, the state restored wāhine Māori independent rights. During 1873 – 1881/2, married wāhine Māori were forced to seek their husband’s consent to convey property. Binney suggests that rather than this amendment being inspired by equity, it was, with respect to married Māori and part-Māori women’s property rights, a move not concerned with their welfare but out of

⁸²⁵ “Romantic Marriage of European Woman with a Māori,” *Southland Times*, Issue 2731, (1877), 3.

⁸²⁶ Judith Binney, *Stories Without End*, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2010), 245.

⁸²⁷ Binney, *Stories Without End*, 245.

⁸²⁸ Binney, *Stories Without End*, 245.

interest in acquiring their land.⁸²⁹ Indeed, from 1865, Binney asserts: “Māori women became openly vulnerable to pressure from European partners or husbands to bring land blocks in which they had rights to the Native Land Court for subdivision and individualisation of title.”⁸³⁰ I have written the following ballad as a response to one of the many cases of trickery employed by Pākehā men to take land that wāhine Māori had rights to fraudulently. As Binney claims: “Once individualised land titles and direct sales of Māori land became possible, entrepreneurial surveyors and land speculators used every means of coercion and manipulation, including the sexual, that they could find.”⁸³¹

The following ballad is based on one such character, Alma Baker. Baker was one of two key figures, identified by Binney, who attended a four-day religious hui at Ruatahuna in the Urewera. The other figure was Harry Burt. Both men used their Māori female partners to achieve significant land transfers acquired by fraud.⁸³²

Alma Baker was a cunning surveyor,
Alma Baker was a predatory man.
He married Florence Whittaker, was Premier too,
Yet, greedily he lusted for Māori land.

He preyed upon wāhine Māori,
Somewhen land titles were individualised.
Somewhen Maria Nikora bore their sweet child,
though no father was he - coyote disguised.

For land was his interest, not she nor their babe.
He stole from her brother, Tauha his name,
the vast Tahora number two block,
to the Native Land Court, the elders hence came.

But Baker’s survey, against iwi will,
conducted in stealth, ‘til thrown off their land;
His instruments seized, formal complaints laid,
Was upheld by the court. Nowhere to stand.

⁸²⁹ Binney, *Stories Without End*, 246.

⁸³⁰ Binney, *Stories Without End*, 246.

⁸³¹ Binney, *Stories Without End*, 252.

⁸³² Binney, *Stories Without End*, 252.

Thus money he was owed, for his evil deeds,
The government stepped in and paid him his lien.
One of the major land frauds of the 1880s complete,
empowering the businessman, rewarding his win.

His fortune in the Kinta Valley a decade on, saw
Him monopolising the tin and rubber industries there.
Until, he retired with Florence by his side, busy
fishing, avoiding winter, biodynamic soil care.

New Zealand historiography celebrates the man,
A model settler, for Empire and for King,
Receiving the CBE in 1919, a Most Excellent British Order,
for his donations to the Corps of Royal Flying.

But what of Maria Nikora and his 'half-caste' child?
She guilty of Baker's manipulation; Both left in his wake.
To face her own people, and all that they had lost.
The child 'illegitimate,' rights the father doth take.

And what of today? Well now there's a Trust,
The C. Alma Baker Trust to be exact, for
budding young agriculturalists and all those alike.
To his Māori kin an irony doubtlessly raw.

In this section, I have provided a critical analysis of Keith Sinclair's poem, "The Ballad of Halfmoon Bay," alongside a wāhine Māori visual analysis of artworks by the colonial artists Richard Aldworth Oliver and Joseph Jenner Merrett, to examine the complex space that the offspring of miscegenation between Māori and Pākehā occupied on the colonial frontier. In doing so, I have highlighted how 'half-caste' Māori females were often represented as having a gentle nature but also necessarily carried with them a stigma of inferiority in the eyes of the colonialists. Indeed, Pākehā deemed these 'half-castes' as 'standing between the races,' and their bodies were viewed as impure and contaminating and thus posed a threat to the white race and nation. I have also argued that wāhine Māori as mothers, as well as her whānau, hapū, and iwi, were thought to pose a particular risk to colonisation through their Māori cultural influence on 'half-castes.' Furthermore, I have also discussed how the state policed the bodies of Māori and 'half-caste' women through various Acts, such as the Census Act (1858), the Native District Regulations Act (1858), the Native Lands Amendment Act (1992) and the Half-Caste Disability Act (1860) to illustrate how the state's pursuit of land was a paramount discourse concerning

wāhine Māori and ‘half-caste’ wives. I draw on the case of Alma Baker to provide an example of the type of Pākehā men, in this case as entrepreneurial surveyors and land spectators, who targeted wāhine Māori to obtain land, particularly once land titles were individualised and direct sales of Māori land became possible.

Homes of Humiliation and Interior Frontiers

Māori did not willingly give up their homes.

*They resisted politically, physically, culturally, and spiritually.*⁸³³

In this section I discuss the connections between sex, race, and ‘cleanliness’ on the colonial and interior frontiers. Cleanliness is examined in relation to Victorian notions of clean bodies, homes, morals, and clothing—based on ideological gender functions within the cult of domesticity and how it served to disempower wāhine Māori. Drawing on various images, namely cartoons, advertisements, and photographs, relating to soap, the domestic, and notions of purity, I examine how Pākehā used the ‘white woman’ and the ‘patriarchal home’ as unifying symbols for the white community in Aotearoa. I also address the perceived threat of wāhine Māori not just as an abstract, distant, or symbolic one but as a threat that could reach within the very heart of the Pākehā women’s home. I identify the role of soap advertisements as a fundamental process of representing to the masses a colonial justification for the violence enacted upon wāhine Māori.

I begin with the following cartoon (Figure. 49) by Trevor Lloyd titled, *The Modern Māori: a Family Scene in the Smart Set*, printed in 1906 by the *Auckland Weekly News*, that mocked Māori attempts to adopt ‘civilised’ habits. To the left, in the doorway, stands a dog at the threshold, between ‘nature’ and the domestic. In the distant background, some pigs are rooting around in the yard in front of a Māori whare. Like in the *Celtic Calibans* cartoon, the artist

⁸³³ Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 27.

presents the home as disorderly, implying that Māori will always revert to the pā. Furthermore, to support this message, the cartoon also portrays the Māori man as subservient to the woman.



(Figure. 49) Lloyd, Trevor, *Māori life. At Home in the Smart Set*, Harding and Billing's Post Card, (1910-1920s), Alexander Turnbull Library, Eph-F-POSTCARD-Vol-1-11-1.

In my wahine Māori visual analysis, I apply the ‘wahine rangatira’ principle to highlight that the Māori woman’s ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ are demonstrated to be upheld. However, this is not portrayed in a positive light. Instead, it serves as the point to mock her as masculine and uncouth. Using the ‘te reo’ principle, I draw attention to the use of te reo – ‘Kia Ora’ - in the image as a piece of domestic kitsch in the form of Victorian women’s art. An exercise that does not seem befitting of the woman being portrayed in this image. The principle of ‘ako Māori’ highlights how the whānau are attempting to adopt Pākehā domestic and cultural practices. The ‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga’ principle highlights how wāhine Māori were mocked for not meeting the colonial gender expectations set out for white women. In my visual analysis, I draw on the ‘whānau’ and ‘kaupapa’ principles to show how the mana of wāhine Māori was considered a threat

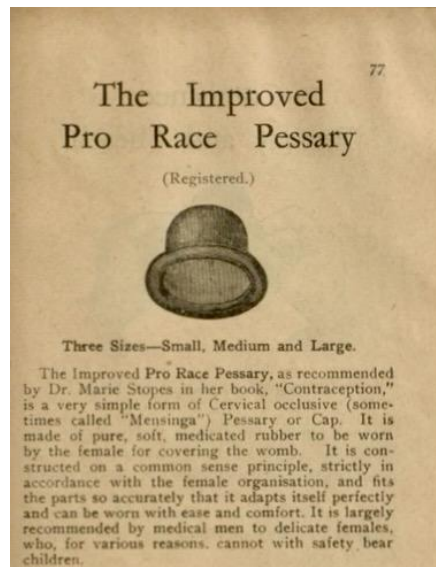
to the nuclear family and the colonial domestic scene. Furthermore, the presence of the pessary, particularly in the fashion in which it is displayed, served to alert the audience to the threat of wāhine Māori fertility and ability to reproduce at a ‘high frequency.’

Confusion about what was considered proper gender roles is illustrated here by how the Māori man is barefoot and seated on the ground washing his recalcitrant toddler, a task typically reserved for women. Where the act of washing seems unnatural to him, hence the water spilling across the floor. On the other hand, the woman is much larger than the man, with exaggerated hands and feet. She does not abide by the Victorian rules of the feminine, which are widely advertised in many forms, such as domestic manuals and women’s magazines. She does not possess the four cardinal virtues colonialists believed women should have, virtues that colonialists adopted as part of an imperial value system, particularly piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness.⁸³⁴ Instead, other than her clothing, she appears masculine. She smokes a pipe, reads the paper, and she sits back in a deckchair, heating her feet (or vagina) on the stove in front of her. Nearby are her discarded narrow but elegant boots. However, the douching apparatus seen centrally in the foreground is particularly interesting. Displaying a form of contraception, the douchebag is lying unhygienically on the floor. The douching apparatus was a contraceptive device employed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by many colonial women. Its purpose was to flush out the vaginas after sex with either water or a spermicidal solution such as lemon juice, vinegar, soapy water, alum, or quinine.⁸³⁵ In this derogatory image, it has been disregarded and on display as a degenerative threat. In the background, another son, a young adult, is struggling with his tie in front of the mirror. The apparent age gap between the two children suggests that the procreation activities between a Māori couple can occur over a long period. Overall the image infers insatiable sexual habits of wāhine Māori and thus the danger their vaginas represented.⁸³⁶

⁸³⁴ Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly* 18, no.2 (1961), 151-174. Welter highlighted the notion of the culture of domesticity that was used to describe an imperial value system that was prominent in the nineteenth century. Where the idea of the ‘woman of the household’ was at the centre of the family, and the “light of the home”

⁸³⁵ Vaginal Syringe in Packaging. *Museum of New Zealand – Te Papa Tongarewa*.
<https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/895473>

⁸³⁶ Ani Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy,” 7.



(Figure. 50) Improved Pro Race Pessary, circa 1900, A. Saunders & Co. Pty. Ltd., Melbourne Australia. Retrieved from: <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2203160258/view?partId=nla.obj-2203160314#page/n0/mode/1up>

An Australian manual titled *The Wife's Guide & friend: Being Plain and Practical advice to women on birth control and the management of themselves during pregnancy and confinement, and other matters of importance that should be known to every wife and mother*, provides another example of a popular form of contraception during this period known as the pessary, (Figure. 50)⁸³⁷ This pessary is distinct because of its name, “The Improved ‘Pro Race’ Pessary.” It directly links the construct of race to the white women’s role in procreation. It also associates colonial discourses of hygiene and purity, where bodily hygiene and racial contamination were matters of colonial anxiety. Therefore, Pākehā encouraged diligence and prudence in both the public and personal domains. Accordingly, another typical handbook in early colonial households was Dr. Cassell’s *Family Doctor*, which stressed the importance of a clean home (including matters of drainage and ventilation), a clean body (providing instructions on how to bathe), clean morals, and clean clothes.

Cleanliness, too, is of primary importance in connection with clothing, especially the underclothing; the garment worn next to the skin absorbs all the water, organic matter, and salts given off from the skin in the form of sweat. This, if not removed, will, as has already been said, decompose, cause irritation of the skin and skin eruptions, and will prevent the

⁸³⁷ Samuel Warren, “The wife's guide & friend : being plain and practical advice to women on birth control and the management of themselves during pregnancy and confinement, and other matters of importance that should be known to every wife and mother,” (Melbourne: Saunders & Co., 1928). <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2203160258>

free secretion of the sweat. The first essential is, then, that the underclothes should be both frequently changed and frequently washed.⁸³⁸

In the denigrating postcard (Figure. 49) the whānau members all wear European clothing (bar the child in the bath) and live in a European house. The postcard also illustrates a popular view of Māori held by European immigrants of the time, who regarded themselves as the only 'civilised' ones. The cartoon mocks Māori attempts to imitate their Pākehā behaviour, which heightens the concept of interior frontiers.⁸³⁹ We, therefore, witness what constitutes the 'stranger,' or the Māori whānau, whom the colonial artist represented as not belonging even in their own house as home. In this setting, they are foreigners in a foreign environment immediately recognised as the 'Other.' Despite efforts to assimilate Māori, they are rendered unassimilable, forever foreign, an enemy within, or at least an ongoing threat of becoming an enemy. Establishing such a distinction strengthens traditional interior frontiers where, as Greek-French political sociologist and philosopher Nicos Poulantzas noted, the "internal enemy," those deemed a threat, or a potential threat to colonial authority, is exaggerated whenever frontiers of national space are internalised, creating an invisible geography that narrows the space in which one has the right to be or can feel at home.⁸⁴⁰

The following cartoon (Figure. 51) titled, *The Royal Road to Wealth*, published in *The New Zealand Graphic* (1901), is based on a speech given by New Zealand MP, Mr O'Meara, M.H.R., who suggested that the government money spent on immigration efforts (to bolster Pākehā population numbers) should instead be paid to large colonial families in the form of bonus payments.

⁸³⁸ A Medical Man, *Cassell's Family Doctor*, (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1955),11.

⁸³⁹ Trevor Lloyd, National Library.

https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22612822?search%5Bi%5D%5Btag%5D=natlib%3Aonline_item&search%5Bpath%5D=items&search%5Btext%5D=trevor+lloyd+postcard+maori

⁸⁴⁰ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers*, xiii. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190076375.002.0006>



(Figure. 51) Cartoonist Unknown: *The Royal Road to Wealth*. New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal, (31 August 1901), Alexander Turnbull Library, A-313-5-022.

I have included the image as it provides a similar composition to the postcard of the Māori whānau but with a more accurate representation of the typical interior of a colonial house, with patterned wallpaper, carpet, framed images on the wall, a piano complete with a music book, pianist and singer, vase with flowers, and furniture. The Pākehā space is dense, the characters clutched within the narrow frame, as opposed to the starkness of the bare walls, the bare wooden floors, lack of images (other than an embroidered wall hanging with the words 'Kia Ora,' a reference to the domestic training the mother would have likely gone through), and the inappropriate furniture (i.e., an outdoor deckchair, indoors) that appears in the Māori house. Other parallels between the two images (Figures. 49 and 51) include the central character, who is seated and looking towards the viewer, in this instance the patriarchal father, and in the Māori whānau image, it is the Māori mother; both are reading the newspaper (she the gossip column, he the Auckland Star), smoking a pipe and have their legs raised and rested above a fire source (he the fireplace, she a stove).

The Māori woman in Figure. 49, is represented as a threat to the sexual hierarchy of colonial society determined by its patriarchal structure. The colonial, patriarchal structure designated separate spaces for men and women. In the Victorian home, these gendered spaces were often further segregated by age (position in the family) and class. Men's spaces included the library/study and gentlemen's room. Women's spaces could consist of the 'morning' room and the 'drawing' room.

Colonialists distinguished class and age with housemaids in the scullery, cooks in the kitchen, and children with their nursemaids in the nursery, where the children of well-off families in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries spent much of their time when indoors. The nursery was often a suite of rooms, including a night nursery where young children slept and a day nursery where children played and ate.⁸⁴¹ Well-known New Zealand author Katherine Mansfield, in her short story, *Prelude* (1918), describes an intimate scene in the nursery; "The lamp was lighted on the nursery table. Mrs. Fairfield was cutting and spreading bread and butter. The three little girls sat up to table wearing large bibs embroidered with their names. They wiped their mouths as their father came in ready to be kissed."⁸⁴²

Identifying the home as a nuclearised and private space, as Pākehā did, was a foreign concept to Māori, whose dwellings were structured to reflect their hierarchies within and across genders.⁸⁴³ This included communal sleeping and outside cooking arrangements. Mikaere asserts that "the absence of the distinction between private and public domains in the context of family arrangements protected and affirmed wāhine Māori."⁸⁴⁴ For Pākehā women, no such right existed; instead, factors such as the quality of their housing had a more significant bearing on their lives, as this would determine the nature of their work experience.⁸⁴⁵ Pākehā colonialists regarded the solid colonial house as a critical accoutrement of civilisation, as was the furniture they placed inside.⁸⁴⁶ They were also reminders of 'home' and were seen by many Pākehā women as essential

⁸⁴¹ Katherine Mansfield House, (Wellington, New Zealand).

⁸⁴² Katherine Mansfield House.

⁸⁴³ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 54.

⁸⁴⁴ Mikaere, "Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy," 9.

⁸⁴⁵ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 60.

⁸⁴⁶ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 61.

to maintaining social rituals. Colonial gardens similarly served as reminders of ‘home.’ English author Baker recorded the following memories of Pākehā houses on New Zealand’s colonial frontier:

“But just here, where my beloved antipodean home stood, we had no trees whatsoever, except those which we had planted ourselves, and whose growth we watched with eager interest.”⁸⁴⁷

“Nothing could be neater than the inside of the little hut; its cob walls papered with old Illustrated London News, - not only pictures but letterpress, - its tiny window as clean as possible, a new sheep-skin rug laid down before the open fireplace, where a bright wood fire was sputtering and cracking cheerily, and the inevitable kettle suspended from a hook half-way up the low chimney. Outside, the dog-kennels had been newly thatched with tohi grass, the garden weeded and freshly dug, the chopping-block and camp-oven as clean as scrubbing could make them. It was too late in the year for fruit, but Salter’s currant, raspberry, and gooseberry bushes gave us a good idea of how well he must have fared in the summer. The fowls were just devouring the last of the green-pea shoots, and the potatoes had been blackened by our first frosts.”⁸⁴⁸

“That was a fair and fertile land stretching out before us, intersected by the deep banks of the Rakaia, with here and there a tiny patch of emerald green and a white dot, representing the house and English grass paddock of a new settler.”⁸⁴⁹

Indeed, such a material vision established in England was based on social relations. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this vision centered on the notion of the individual rather than caste, as colonialists viewed it as necessary in a new colony. Historian Gael Ferguson asserts that the threat of anarchy always looms in their imagination.⁸⁵⁰ Stability and prosperity were necessarily linked and were “encapsulated in the notion of the family, of the detached family home and life away from poverty and disorder found in the centre of towns.”⁸⁵¹ According to Ferguson, these colonialist ideas of family and the individual survived the journey to Aotearoa. He states:

⁸⁴⁷ Lady Baker, *Station Amusements in New Zealand*, (Auckland: Wilson & Horton Ltd., 1873), 2-3.

⁸⁴⁸ Lady Baker, *Station Amusements in New Zealand*, 133.

⁸⁴⁹ Lady Baker, *Station Amusements in New Zealand*, 14.

⁸⁵⁰ Gael Ferguson, “Background Report for the WAI 60 Claim,” (1995), 2.

⁸⁵¹ Gael Ferguson, “WAI 60 Claim,” 2.

“The new settlers would carve out a family home and garden turning the frightening space or claustrophobic bush into something more familiar. The settler would transform wild nature into a new rural order. The home and garden represented the conversion of nature and were a just reward for labour. The family was the basis and the reason for the hard work needed to undertake this transformation.”⁸⁵²

The cult of domesticity was thus central to the family. McClintock argues that it was not a fleeting irrelevance confined to the private ‘natural’ realm of the family but was a “crucial, if concealed, dimension of male and female identities”⁸⁵³ that were an “indispensable element of both the industrial market and the imperial enterprise.”⁸⁵⁴ The cult of domesticity had become indispensable to consolidating British national identity. One way in which Pākehā affirmed this cultural identity was through the unified system of cultural representation developed through the media. The connection between domesticity and the media has a long-standing history. During New Zealand’s early colonial period, the content represented domestic themes that served Pākehā nuclear families and promoted Pākehā, female-centered tropes of mother and domestic labour.

Therefore, the commodity spectacle of soap provides a site that powerfully demonstrates the intersections between race, sex, imperial commerce, and art in the European cultural pursuits of the domestic. Soap captures the hidden affinity between the empire and the domestic, which McClintock argues embodied a “triangulation of the undervaluation of women’s work in the domestic sphere.”⁸⁵⁵ As illustrated in Richmond’s scrapbook cutout below (Figure. 52), work considered women’s labour was often illustrated as child’s play - work that a child could do, and referred to it as ‘useless labour’ and ‘labour light,’ emphasising saving time on the task at hand. Sunlight Soap provides an example of a popular household soap in Aotearoa, introduced to the market by the British company Lever Brothers in 1884—typical images involved attractive young white women and children.

⁸⁵² Gael Ferguson, “WAI 60 Claim,” 2.

⁸⁵³ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 17.

⁸⁵⁴ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 17.

⁸⁵⁵ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 220.



The longer clothes are boiled, or the harder they are rubbed and scrubbed, the more quickly they are destroyed.

SUNLIGHT Soap dispenses with this useless labour and preserves the linen.

To save time is to lengthen life, and the time saver on wash-day is
SUNLIGHT SOAP.

SUNLIGHT—
CLOTHES WHITE,
LABOUR LIGHT.

Sold by all Grocers and Oilmen.
MANUFACTURED BY
LEVER BROTHERS, LIMITED,
PORT SUNLIGHT, CHEESHIRE.

The Name LEVER on Soap is a guarantee of Purity and Excellence.

(Figure. 52) Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, (circa 1860), Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7.

Soap entered the realm of Victorian fetishism in spectacular fashion, and contained various noxious medicines, often used to achieve colour, such as arsenic or sesquioxide of chromium for green, vermilion for red, and ultramarine for blue.⁸⁵⁶ McClintock claims that “until the beginning of the nineteenth century, soap was a scarce and humdrum item and washing a cursory activity at best.”⁸⁵⁷ However, due to the Industrial Revolution, soap manufacturing burgeoned into imperial commerce. McClintock argues that Victorian cleaning rituals were peddled globally as the “God-given sign of Britain’s evolutionary superiority.”⁸⁵⁸ She claims soap was also invested with magical powers, even though “Victorians promoted soap as the icon of non-fetishist rationality.”⁸⁵⁹ An example McClintock draws upon to illustrate this point is an advertisement designed by the infamous soap company Pears. The advert was neatly tied into an imperial narrative of ‘the white man’s burden’ based on a poem bearing the same title by Rudyard Kipling regarding the Philippine–American War (1899–1902). The first stanza follows:

⁸⁵⁶ Alison Jane Guesdon, “Pears Soap: Artworks for the Masses,” *Pittwater Online News*, (2016).
<https://www.pittwateronlinenews.com/Pears-Soap-Artworks-For-The-Masses-Collectors.php>

⁸⁵⁷ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 207.

⁸⁵⁸ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 207.

⁸⁵⁹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 220.

“Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.”⁸⁶⁰

Kipling's narrative was connected to the white man's civilising mission of colonialism, which included teaching colonised people about soap. The advertisement features an illustration of an admiral washing his hands with the text:

“The first step toward lightening the white man's burden is teaching the virtues of cleanliness. Pears Soap is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations, it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap.”⁸⁶¹

The infamous Pears Soap advertising campaign was the brainchild of junior partner Thomas J. Barratt. In 1865, Barratt launched a series of advertisements using the medium of commercial art in poster form, providing what he referred to as “the poor man's picture gallery.”⁸⁶² With it came his revolutionary idea that he should represent Britain's most significant artists, including in 1886, a portrait painted by John Millais (member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood) of his grandson, titled *Bubbles*. This poster became the most famous in the country.⁸⁶³ The Prince of Wales similarly commented on this aspect of advertising, stating that the “hoardings might be called the art galleries of the great public.”⁸⁶⁴ Most English people could not afford to view art in the galleries, so Barratt's advertisement exposed the masses to the Fine Arts in an unprecedented fashion. The colonies, including Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, were all within his visionary pursuits:

⁸⁶⁰ Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man's Burden,” (1899).

https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poem/poems_burden.htm

⁸⁶¹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 32.

⁸⁶² Guesdon, “Pear's Soap: Artworks for the Masses,” *Pittwater Online News*, 2016.

<https://www.pittwateronlinenews.com/Pears-Soap-Artworks-For-The-Masses-Collectors.php>

⁸⁶³ Guesdon, “Pear's Soap.”

⁸⁶⁴ George Fraser, *Ungrateful People*. (Wellington: The Pelorus Press, 1952), 36.

“Sometimes I am in America, establishing agencies, receiving my travellers there we have three who are always on the road in the States, and one in Canada. I went some time ago to Australia and New Zealand on the same errand, arranging details, examining likely districts, investigating and pushing ‘the only genuine article’ wherever I see an opening.”⁸⁶⁵

Another two initiatives of the Barratts was to get the Pears brand into people’s homes in support of the British public’s efforts to become literate, a result of the first great Education Act of 1870.⁸⁶⁶ The Barratts published the *Pears Cyclopaedia* at the close of the nineteenth century (1897) and the *Christmas Pears Annual*, which appeared each year from 1891 to 1926 and was described as a “whole picture gallery for one shilling.”⁸⁶⁷ Pears soap was available in Aotearoa from at least 1895; however, it appears it was a relatively scarce commodity in the colonial frontier. However, this was not the case for Pears advertisements and additional publications, as demonstrated by Richmond’s scrapbook collection.

New Zealand’s Pears advertisements were not quite as elaborate as Richmond’s scrapbook cut-outs of British advertisements; however, messages of purity, honesty, and the influence of medical opinion remain the same. Victorian advertising, McClintock claims, formulated itself “around the reinvention of racial difference, whereby commodity kitsch made possible, as never before, the mass marketing of empire as an organised system of images and attitudes.”⁸⁶⁸ Soap “flourished not only because it created and filled a spectacular gap in the domestic market but also because, as a cheap and portable domestic commodity, it could persuasively mediate the Victorian poetics of racial hygiene and imperial progress.”⁸⁶⁹

⁸⁶⁵ Guesdon, “Pear’s Soap.”

⁸⁶⁶ Mary Barker, “Pears Cyclopaedia - a Book Reference and Background Information for Everyday Use,” (1965).

⁸⁶⁷ “Pear, Annual.” https://sf-encyclopedia.com/entry/pears_annual

⁸⁶⁸ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 221.

⁸⁶⁹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 221.

A QUESTION FOR THE DOCTOR.

Would it not be desirable to consult the doctor as to which soap commends itself to our uses, as so many skins are ruined past redemption by inferior soaps? PEARS' SOAP is recommended by the highest skin authorities in the world. Dr Redwood, Ph.D., F.C.S., F.I.C., whose opinion is unimpeachable, says: "I have never come across another toilet soap which so closely comes up to an ideal of perfection."

(Figure. 53) Advertisements Column 8 Otago Daily Times, Issue 11395, 12 April 1899, 8.

FLASHES.

Four excellently carved Maori slabs from Tolago Bay, have been added to the valuable collection of Maori curios in the Christchurch Museum.

Two descendants of John Wesley's family are at present ministers in the Church of England.

Lord Monkbreton is on a visit to this Colony. He denies that he is on a political mission, and states he is simply a tourist, attracted by shooting, fishing, and sight seeing.

News has been received from London that the Statue of Sir George Grey, which is to be erected at Auckland, is approaching completion.

The death is announced of Mr Alexander Shaw, who built the new Law Courts and other prominent buildings in Dunedin.

Efforts are being made by the Dunedin people to bring their fund for the Veterans' Home up to one thousand pounds.

NOTHING LIKE SOAP.

Pure soap, good soap, honest soap, Pears' Soap

Mr Fred Kempel, an American artist, intends exhibiting at the St. Louis Exhibition, some pictures which have cleverly been made entirely of butterfly wings. The pictures will include portraits of some notable persons.

(Figure. 54) Flashes. Colonist. Volume XLVI, Issue 10987, 29 March, 1904, 4.

The newspaper clippings (Figures. 53 and 54) provide examples of Pears advertisements that appeared in Aotearoa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The advertisement format features a simple line. New Zealand had its own alternative brand to Pears' Soap named 'Peerless,' along with other soap brands, such as 'Hinemoa' Soap, 'Maori' Soap (Figure. 55), 'Flora' Soap, and 'Sunflower' Soap.

MAORI Brand Pumice Soap will reduce your Soap bill 50 per cent, and give immense satisfaction.

SPECIAL DESIGNS in Dining and Drawing-room Suites at marvellous low prices at E. Moults, Complete House furnishers.

MAORI Brand Pumice Soap—One block will do more work than three blocks of any other brand.

MAORI Brand Pumice Soap won't wash clothes, but for every other purpose has no equal in this world.

OPENING NOTICE.

PRITCHARD & CO.,
PORK BUTCHERS,
Opposite the Convent, Victoria Avenue.

(Figure. 55) Advertisements Column 1. Wanganui Herald, Volume XXX, Issue 8754, 21 January 1896, 3.

Soap provided an outlet for the Victorian cult of domesticity. McClintock asserts the “new imperialism that catered to the emergent middle-class values of monogamy, industrial capital, Christianity, class control, and the imperial civilising mission.”⁸⁷⁰ McClintock adds that it “took its place at the vanguard of Britain’s new commodity culture and its civilising mission.”⁸⁷¹ The primary motivation for soap advertising originated from the realm of empire. It supported the imperial obsession with the cleanliness of Indigenous People, grounded on the belief that Indigenous Peoples were lazy and dirty. In contrast, soap stood as a metaphor for the colonised’s uncleanliness and degraded states. Nicholas made the following remark that illustrates the kind of disgust that was typical in the colonial archives when speaking of the hygiene of Māori and other Indigenous People:

“The chiefs, intruding themselves into the cabin with their customary indifference to our accommodation, engrossed it almost entirely to themselves; while the possession, which they had obtained by their native rudeness, was still maintained by their disgusting habits, which made us rather submit to a temporary exclusion, than remain confined among them to experience the stench emitted from their dirty persons. We were, however, obliged to endure this loathsome annoyance, when the time for taking our meals came round.”⁸⁷²

⁸⁷⁰ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 169.

⁸⁷¹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 208.

⁸⁷² Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 116-117.

Another example of such commentary is provided by the *Church Missionary Society magazine's* review of their *Northern Expedition Under Captain Parry*. The following observation of the Inuit people referred to as 'Esquimaux' was made:

“Of chastity the females seem to have no very exalted ideas; a nail, a few beads, or a knife was the price of their favours. The filth [of] the whole horde seems to rival the Hottentots. They never washed themselves; on which account during Summer, they are much annoyed by vermin and their smell is very offensive.”⁸⁷³

Colonialists keenly felt the dangers of contamination on the domestic front and the colonial frontier. The threat of contagions on one's life, both from a personal hygiene perspective and a racial hygiene perspective, was a popular trope adopted as a marketing tool in soap advertising. Soap brands became associated with saving lives and were invested in influencing those in the Empire's colonies. Lifebuoy soap, introduced in 1895 by the Lever Brothers in the United Kingdom, is an example of a brand whose marketing campaign connected the theme of imperial expansion with the threats of danger, both real and imagined, that such violent 'progress' inevitably entailed. Advertisers often presented imagery relating to sea travel, shorelines, and sailors in parallel with the narrative of life depending on the soap, as demonstrated in the two Lifebuoy Soap advertisements below (Figures. 56 and 57).

In the first image (Figure. 56) set at a pier, alongside which a large ship is docked, the central figure is a woman dressed in Victorian costume. She has a cinched waist achieved by a corset, worn underneath a full-length, long-sleeved red dress. She also wears a white, high-collared blouse with a red bow at the collar and a small hat with a large red ribbon. In the scene, she is passing a boxed bar of soap to a member of the ship's crew just as the ship is about to set sail, presumably on a long journey, on account of the 'crowd' gathered to farewell those departing. In the centre and foreground of the image, directly below the boxed soap being passed between the two, are the floating words upon the shimmering sea - 'For Saving Life.' It provides a touching scene as people wave to each other from the ship deck and pier – a scene on replay that would have been familiar to many Pākehā who made the civilising journey to the colonies.

⁸⁷³ “Review- Northern Expedition Under Captain Parry,” *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Volume 2, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1820, 1056 - 1063.



(Figure. 56)



(Figure. 57)

Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library,
Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7, circa. 1860.

The second image (Figure. 57) appears to be set by the artist on the colonial frontier, as the top right corner directs the viewer's eye out to sea, where several sailing vessels, possibly 'waka hourua,' can be seen. The subjects are a young white woman and a white child. The woman is perhaps a maid or elder sister to the toddler, playing with a lifesaver ring that she protectively manages. The child is holding an oversized box of Lifebuoy soap, with the word 'disinfectant' clearly discernible on the box front. Here, the implicit message is that the white child is symbolic of a saviour; he is essentially bringing purity to the new shores of Aotearoa with the giant disinfectant soap he holds and the racial purity he embodies. In this sense, the advertisement announces the birth of a new era in Aotearoa, bringing forth a new generation of white babies. Indeed, at the turn of the century, Pākehā babies became an area of prime concern.⁸⁷⁴ Biographer Jessie Munro commented on the growing sense of pride in nationhood that was felt by Pākehā in New Zealand, where, in 1908, it was reported to have had, since 1898, the "lowest death rate out

⁸⁷⁴ Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, 315.

of all the Australian colonies and some European countries.”⁸⁷⁵ It was noted, however, in the ‘Index of Mortality in New Zealand’ for 1908 that the death of children under one year of age was comparatively higher than all other age groups. Therefore, it was an area deemed to require much attention.⁸⁷⁶

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were fewer children within Pākehā families, and the nation became more child-focused. Munro asserts that it was “a time of nationalism tinged with imperial and eugenic jingoism,”⁸⁷⁷ where Pākehā babies came to be viewed by Pākehā society as “rarer commodities, prized stock of the Empire which needed to be raised safely through that risky first year.”⁸⁷⁸ Colonialists saw the rate of infant deaths as a direct loss to the Dominion. Therefore, the preservation of Pākehā infant life came to be viewed as a national duty, prompting Premier Richard Seddon in 1904 to address the public on the topic in his published memorandum in the press, where he refers to the “saving [of these] valuable lives.”⁸⁷⁹ Māori infant deaths, on the other hand, could be understood as part of a natural course towards extinction. However, Sister Suzanne Aubert’s *The New and Complete Manual of Maori Conversation* (1885) promoted the bilingual message that “The baby suffers very much from diarrhoea: Ka nui te torohi o te tamaiti.”⁸⁸⁰ This vital message at the time was due to gastro-enteritis as the primary cause of infant death in New Zealand, where bottle feeding was considered the main causal factor.⁸⁸¹

The unnamed photograph below (Figure. 58) is part of the Nelson Provincial Museum collection and shows a Māori woman bottle-feeding an infant. The wahine Māori is in full Victorian dress, complete with a Victorian hairstyle. The baby is wearing a long and voluminous white linen gown. Based on their clothing, it would be fair to conclude that the wahine Māori was in a good financial position and embraced colonial ideologies and culture. This is further supported by her practice of bottle-feeding, which had become popular amongst Pākehā mothers on the colonial frontier. Applying the ‘wahine rangatira’ principle, I deduce that by assimilating into a Pākehā nuclear

⁸⁷⁵ Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, 315.

⁸⁷⁶ Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, 315.

⁸⁷⁷ Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, 315.

⁸⁷⁸ Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, 315.

⁸⁷⁹ Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, 316.

⁸⁸⁰ Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, 316.

⁸⁸¹ Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, 317.

family, this Māori woman's 'mana tangata' and 'mana whakahaere' are seriously compromised. In applying the 'te reo' principle, I identify that the lack of any name or description of her renders her to a ghostlike presence in the archives. The 'ako Māori' principle highlights the fact that she is represented as abandoning tikanga Māori by embracing Pākehā mannerisms and practices. The 'kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga' principle further highlights the colonial gender role for women, which she is performing. The 'whānau' and 'kaupapa' principles also affirm her distance from whānau, hapū, and iwi as there are no visible clues representing these principles.



(Figure. 58) Unnamed. Photo collection reference number 320474. Nelson Provincial Museum. William Davis; (1837; 30 Aug 1875), Maker biography William Henry Davis. Nelson Provincial Museum, Davis Collection: 97 <https://collection.nelsonmuseum.co.nz/objects/736/barnett-mr>

The health promotion of Pākehā women and children was a key concern. In 1907, Dr. Truby King addressed this issue at a meeting at the Dunedin town hall. It was from this meeting that the Society for the Promotion of the Health of Women and Children was born and later became the Plunket

Society.⁸⁸² A decade later, the founders of Babies of the Empire Society invited the influential doctor to England to provide training advice at their Mothercraft Training Centre. While there, King experienced some pushback on an infant formula he had created.⁸⁸³ Undeterred, he returned to Aotearoa and continued to promote his formula for infant welfare, including in his popular book, *Feeding and Care of Baby* (1913). Pākehā mothers well-received King's views, but there was some objection as Dr. Cassell asserted that "undoubtedly the best food for an infant is provided by Nature - namely, its mother's milk."⁸⁸⁴ Breastfeeding became unpopular during this period and was actively discouraged as unfashionable. Women were encouraged to bottlefeed their babies. Unfortunately, the assimilation of Māori meant they were vulnerable to popular Pākehā thought. Brookes asserts that while wāhine Māori could retain their land and resources, they could be 'selective about which aspects of the new European culture they wished to adopt.'⁸⁸⁵ However, as colonisation took hold of Māori society, their ability to discern the uptake of Pākehā practices diminished. Pressure to conform to a domestic ideal that centred on the home life of the nuclear family forced wāhine Māori into relations with Pākehā and Māori men and Pākehā women that stripped them of the powerbase from which they had functioned. They became vulnerable to the expectations, and restrictions were similarly imposed on Pākehā women.

The evolving Pākehā male identity, however, was considered vulnerable. As such, the creation and securing of the European community's borders were seen as crucial, particularly when, as Stoler suggests, "cultural, political, and sexual contagions were conjured everywhere – where European and native sensibilities and desires brushed against one another as they were borrowed and blurred."⁸⁸⁶

As previously discussed, Māori 'wives' provided levels of comfort to colonial life for Pākehā men as housekeepers, washerwomen, cooks, and gardeners, as well as providing sexual intimacy. However, it was understood that these interactions necessarily brought risks associated with such

⁸⁸² Barbara Brookes, "Annemarie Anon c.1890," *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kūi ma te Kaupapa*, ed. Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991).

⁸⁸³ Brookes, "Annemarie Anon."

⁸⁸⁴ A Medical Man, *Cassell's Family Doctor*, 208.

⁸⁸⁵ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 38.

⁸⁸⁶ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 6.

intimate proximity. Stoler also asserts that if grown men were perceived to be at risk, their children were even more vulnerable. The idea of this vulnerability of children spreads not only to the influences of the problematic Māori wife (and her people) on their ‘half-caste’ children but seems to have persisted regarding Pākehā children interacting with Māori children. Based on the following accounts, it appears that it was common for Pākehā children to have good friendships with Māori children growing up, and it was not seen as an issue in most cases until the children reached the age of puberty. At this stage, it seems that friendships with Māori children were highly discouraged by Pākehā parents and the community at large as part of a broader set of standards expected in the colonies, which colonialists framed to ensure white children learned the right social cue and affiliations.⁸⁸⁷

Proud imperialist Norman Millar, who went by the name ‘The Pioneer’ on account of his time served in the voluntary militia, wrote the following of his childhood in the 1860s:

“When I was about four years old I had a Maori boyfriend and we used to get into a creek and catch shrimps and small fish and eat them raw. From what I remember the fish had no taste... One interesting relationship: Whites and Maoris – was that white and Maori children loved one another and seldom went anywhere without having their arm around each other. There were wonderful friendships amongst them. But it only lasted until they were ten or twelve years old. They became shy about the age of twelve and then drifted apart, why I do not know.”⁸⁸⁸

Ethell Barr recalls the complex relationship her family had with Māori, of how her grandmother, Sarah, married during the Māori wars and worked as a governess near Greytown, living next door to four Māori families, the Waaka, Rimene, Mundy, and Kuratene. She recalls how Sarah could speak fluent te reo and that the Māori used to cook eel for them. However, her grandfather, who had helped build the stockade in the early days of the Masterton settlement when the Pākehā there thought there would be a threat of war against the Māori, did not interact with the Māori as much as Sarah. Ethell also tells of how she had Māori friends as a child but noted how relationships between Pākehā men and wāhine Māori were frowned upon.⁸⁸⁹

⁸⁸⁷ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 6.

⁸⁸⁸ Millar, *Stories*. Private collection, (1860).

⁸⁸⁹ Judith Fyfe, “Mrs Barr,” (1983).

Describing her friendships with Māori as a child of New Zealand in the 1930s, Joyce Witten shared the following account:

“My playmate came from up the road. She was tall and thin for her age, pigeon-toed and always happy, a brown skinned New Zealander. Her ancestors were here centuries before mine. I was not tall, wore glasses and was rather pale. We were both shy and in unfamiliar company, but to play in the tree, imagination leading us in paths where only children go, meant hours of fun. Together we walked the mile to school, collecting friends along the way, and the pains and surprises of growing older.”⁸⁹⁰

In early colonial New Zealand, most Pākehā women needed to marry, as few could earn enough to live independently. The rate of marriage on the colonial frontier was extremely high, recorded at a rate of well over ninety percent, which established a firm hold on the colonial psyche.⁸⁹¹ For wāhine Māori, marriage could involve whānau loss of land, alienation from her whānau and whenua, and a process of Europeanisation with a goal that she could never obtain, where she was always somewhat stranger, at any given point, based mainly on the perceived potential threat that wāhine Māori posed to Pākehā Europeanness.

⁸⁹⁰ Joyce Witten, “My Ancestry - Our New Zealand,” *Tāku Tupuna Tāku Whenua o Aotearoa, Women’s Competition- NCWNZ Winning Essays*, (1990), 4.

⁸⁹¹ Prichard, *An Economic History*.



(Figure. 59) Hema Ruka, Nelson Provincial Museum, Ref: 6285.

In Figure. 59, Hema Ruka in European dress sits in the studio of Davis and Nairn staged with Edwardian/Victorian furnishings in mid-nineteenth century Nelson. She wears a loosely knotted scarf around her neck and a dark-coloured, puff-sleeved shirt with dropped shoulders. Ruka also wears a frilled, full-length, double-layered, white skirt embellished with vertical patterns and a line of black bows running down the centre, with an additional bow on each side of the line. Her attire lacks any customary Māori adornments, with her hair worn loose with a centre part. Ruka's shirt is unbuttoned to reveal the top of her right breast with her areola exposed as she breastfeeds her baby that she is cradling. This selected photograph, with the accompanying commentary provided by Main, illustrates that the Victorian mother is what the Māori mother is not. In Main's book, *The Centennial Commemoration*, Main considers the photograph "perfect" with Ruka having "shown great ingenuity" by breastfeeding to keep her child still for the "lengthy exposure."⁸⁹² He

⁸⁹² Main, *Māori in Focus*, 1-2.

continues, “Most Victorian mothers would have doubtless fainted at the suggestion, but Hema carries the situation with aplomb.”⁸⁹³

In my wahine Māori visual analysis, I use the ‘wahine rangatira’ principle to determine how the ‘mana tangata’ and ‘mana whakahaere’ of the wāhine Māori are represented. However, in images where the wāhine Māori are depicted as fulfilling Victorian ideals of the feminine, or at least attempting to, it signifies to the audience that she has abandoned her rangatiratanga in place of a subordinate position to her husband. Thus, applying the ‘kaupapa principle,’ Hema Ruka is represented as disconnected from her whānau, hapū, and iwi. I apply the ‘te reo’ principle to analyse Main’s commentary in 1976, which praises Hema for her lack of shame when she resorts to breastfeeding her infant while sitting for the long photographic procedure. Main draws a clear line between English and Māori mothers in this comment. The latter proves to the colonial audience her lack of civilisation despite her earnest attempts. Applying the ‘ako Māori’ principle, I read Ruka’s sense of freedom to breastfeed without shame as culturally appropriate in te ao Māori. This shows that Ruka still held innately what she had been taught through her whānau, hapū, and iwi. Applying the ‘kia piki ake i ngā rarururu o te kainga’ principle to my analysis, I recognise that Ruka is being framed within the colonial gender expectations of colonial mothers, despite the representation’s focus being her act of breastfeeding. The ‘whānau’ principle also draws my attention to this factor, as she acted on Māori maternal instincts and practice.

Mikaere notes that “according to English common law, the head of the family (the husband/father) was in control of the household, women and children were chattels to be used and abused by the paterfamilias as he chose.”⁸⁹⁴ This included his right to have them committed to a mental asylum, as was the case for young Annemarie ‘Anon,’ who in 1886 was committed by her father to Ashburn Hall, a private psychiatric hospital in Dunedin, New Zealand (established in 1882).⁸⁹⁵ The reason her father admitted her is peculiar and the result of medical policing of the women’s sexual bodies.

⁸⁹³ Main, *Maori in Focus*, 2.

⁸⁹⁴ Ani Mikaere, “Māori Women: Caught in the Contradictions of a Colonised Reality.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019), 141.

⁸⁹⁵ Brookes, “Annemarie Anon c.1890,” in *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui ma te Kaupapa*, ed. Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), 14.

What was to eventually happen to Annemarie, under the care of Dr. King is a cruel example of the Pākehā, patriarchal policing of female sexuality.⁸⁹⁶

Annemarie came from a reasonably prosperous family and was popular amongst her peers.⁸⁹⁷ At seventeen years old, she entered the asylum system on account of what was described as bouts of ‘hysteria,’ a condition the Dr. Cassell’s *Family Doctor* guide claimed affects women, in almost all cases, at any time during their lifetimes but particularly between the ages of fifteen and twenty years old, and again when a woman is between the ages of forty-five and fifty years old (ages which happen to coincide with the average age of the onset of menstruation and menopause, a time of significant hormonal change). The Doctor Guide states:

“Hysteria is one of the strangest affections with which we ever have to deal. It may be looked upon as a disease of the will, or rather as loss of will, in which the patient loses all control of the emotion... Probably the most familiar manifestation of hysteria is what is popularly known as hysterics, or the hysterical fit. A hysterical woman ... apparently loses all control over her emotions; she screams, throws herself down on a sofa or the ground, and is violently convulsed. At first sight she appears unconscious, but on careful observation this is found not to be the case; and it is well for the bystanders to remember this, for their remarks may be resented by the patient, who has not by any means lost her power of hearing... A woman suffering from a hysterical fit is not completely unconscious, and can be roused if spoken to authoritatively, or by the shock of cold water... She makes a great deal of noise, cries, laughs, and groans... She never distorts her face in the hideous way characteristic of other diseases, or hurts herself falling against the furniture, nor bites her tongues; indeed, she usually chooses a comfortable spot for her fit, gracefully, and generally prefers a sympathetic company to give her assistance.”⁸⁹⁸

In their research, titled “Insanity and ethnicity in New Zealand: Māori encounters with the Auckland Mental Hospital, 1860-1900,” Lorelle Barry and Catherine Coleborne found that Māori made up a tiny percentage of all patients (1-4%)⁸⁹⁹ and of those admitted, it was likely following from contact with Pākehā, either as employers, the police, or their husbands. Barry and Coleborne argue that looking specifically at Māori patients’ ethnicity, like gender, has the potential to tell us

⁸⁹⁶ Brookes, “Annemarie Anon,” 14

⁸⁹⁷ Brookes, “Annemarie Anon,” 15.

⁸⁹⁸ A Medical Man, *Cassell’s Family Doctor*, (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1955), 11.

⁸⁹⁹ Lorelle Barry and Catherine Coleborne, “Insanity and Ethnicity in New Zealand: Māori encounters with the Auckland Mental Hospital, 1860-1900.” *History of Psychiatry* 22, no.3. (2011): 285-301.

more about colonising societies and the relations of power both inside and outside colonial institutions, including the hospitals for the insane.⁹⁰⁰ Barry and Coleborne asserted that institutions embodied discursive and physical forms of control, some of which had particular implications for Māori, such as experiencing cultural alienation, which renowned Māori scholar Mason Durie refers to as ‘Mate Māori.’⁹⁰¹ ‘Mate Māori’ is an experience that many Māori suffered from inside and outside the institution’s walls due to the ongoing loss of their land and language. Evidently, the institute recorded the ongoing loss of land and language to be the two specific causes of insanity in the case files of some Māori patients.⁹⁰²

Annemarie’s father no doubt presumed that admission of his daughter into the asylum was the best if the only, course of action. However, as the family patriarch, Annemarie’s father could admit her or her mother if he felt like it. Annemarie returned home after seven months in the mental institution but was later found not to have been cured due to lapsing into “profound melancholy” and being “dull.”⁹⁰³ Annemarie was re-admitted for fourteen months, and on her return home, her family sought advice from their local doctor after witnessing what they believed was the continuation of her troublesome behaviour, notably masturbation. The family doctor suggested Annemarie’s condition may improve if she was “completely unsexed,” which involved the removal of her ovaries, fallopian tubes, and clitoris.⁹⁰⁴ As such, Annemarie was committed to Seacliff Lunatic Asylum in 1890, where she came under the care of Dr. Ferdinand Batchelor and Dr. Truby King. During the operation, King noted that there appeared “to be nothing abnormal in the state of the sexual organs,”⁹⁰⁵ and, in conclusion, he claimed the operation was a success, with King stating that Annemarie no longer had any indecent sexual habits “except an occasional tendency to expose herself.”⁹⁰⁶

The Pākehā approach to parenting did not correspond to the relationship Māori had with their children, as Barbara Brookes pointed out when the missionary Nathaniel Turner instructed the

⁹⁰⁰ Barry and Coleborne. “Insanity and Ethnicity,” 285.

⁹⁰¹ Mason Durie, *Ngā Kāhui Pou: Launching Māori futures*, (Wellington: Huia Publishers), 2003.

⁹⁰² Barry and Coleborne, “Insanity and Ethnicity,” 295.

⁹⁰³ Brookes, “Annemarie Anon,” 15.

⁹⁰⁴ Brookes, “Annemarie Anon,” 16.

⁹⁰⁵ Brookes, “Annemarie Anon,” 16.

⁹⁰⁶ Brookes, “Annemarie Anon,” 16.

chief Te Puhi that children who misbehaved should be beaten. Te Puhi “appeared quite disgusted” and responded that the Pākehā were “an iwi kino, a bad tribe.”⁹⁰⁷ Missionary accounts describe Māori children as ‘indulged’ but, Brookes notes, despite their misgivings, they were still content with leaving their children in the care of Māori, whom they considered savages. Of Māori children, Nicholas made the following observation, stating: “Far from being petulant or unruly, I observed on the contrary, all the children in New Zealand, both male and female, [are] remarkably submissive and obedient towards their mothers; and in the whole course of my observation among them, I never met with a single instance of undutiful behaviour.”⁹⁰⁸

The social structure of the whānau/hapū provided wāhine Māori a level of freedom that was denied within the restraints of the nuclear family. Iwi histories and cosmological accounts tell us that wāhine Māori occupied critical leadership roles in the military, spiritual, and political realms.⁹⁰⁹ Interestingly, the respect that Māori men had for women across the Western configurations of race before colonisation can be found in the following account by Nicholas regarding the interaction between some Māori men and a white convict woman, writing: “The female convict, whom we had taken out of the Jefferson, being employed as servant in the cabin, had learned to keep our savage guests in excellent order; and she maintained over them a sort of absolute authority, to which they were all very willing to submit, except when anything was said or done, which the chiefs, or those among them who were allied to chiefs, imagined had a tendency to lessen their consequence.”⁹¹⁰

Mikaere noted that in the mid-nineteenth century, as Pākehā girls “reached adulthood and married, they changed from being the property of their fathers to being the property of their husbands,”⁹¹¹ whereby any assets she may have owned immediately became his. The couple then became a single financial and legal entity where she effectively had no legal personality, existing only as a partial person. Any children from the marriage were also the husband’s property, leaving the mother

⁹⁰⁷ Brookes, “Annemarie Anon,” 16.

⁹⁰⁸ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 67.

⁹⁰⁹ Huia Tomlin Jahnke, “Towards a Theory of Mana Wahine,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, (Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research), 183-197.

⁹¹⁰ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 215.

⁹¹¹ Mikaere, “Māori Women: Caught,” 141.

without any rights to her children. Furthermore, Mikaere notes: “the wife had virtually no legal means of ending the marriage in a way which would enable her to keep the children or regain any former property or to get any upkeep from her ex-husband for herself or her children, no matter what the reason for the divorce.”⁹¹² Moreover, upon her husband’s death, the wife had no right to a share in his estate.

According to Mikaere, traditional Māori male and female roles must be understood only in the context of the Māori worldview, which recognises “the natural order of the universe, the interrelationship of all living things to one another and the environment, as well as the overarching principle of balance.”⁹¹³ Indeed, Māori understood wahine Māori as fundamental to the collective, providing a critical link between the past, the present, and the future. Mikaere asserts, “It was the collective responsibility to see that their respective roles were valued and protected.”⁹¹⁴

PEARS' SOAP.
Fair White Hands, Bright Clear Complexion,
Soft Healthful Skin.—PEARS' SOAP for toilet
and nursery. Specially prepared for the delicate
skin of ladies and children and others sensitive
to the weather, winter or summer. Prevents
redness, roughness, and chapping.

(Figure. 60) An advertisement celebrating and promoting fair, white skin. Column 5. Otago Daily Times, Issue 9489, 26 July 1892, 2.

Again, as McClintock asserts, “a characteristic feature of the Victorian middle class was its peculiarly intense preoccupation with rigid boundaries around soap and cleaning rituals being central to the demarcation of body boundaries and the policing of social hierarchies.”⁹¹⁵ Pākehā managed the governing of sexuality across colonial boundaries of race, class, and gender, as any transgressions of body boundaries were understood to be the central factor that “broke ideological gender functions. The core paradox is this visual representation of women as opposing ideals: the pure and the impure.”⁹¹⁶

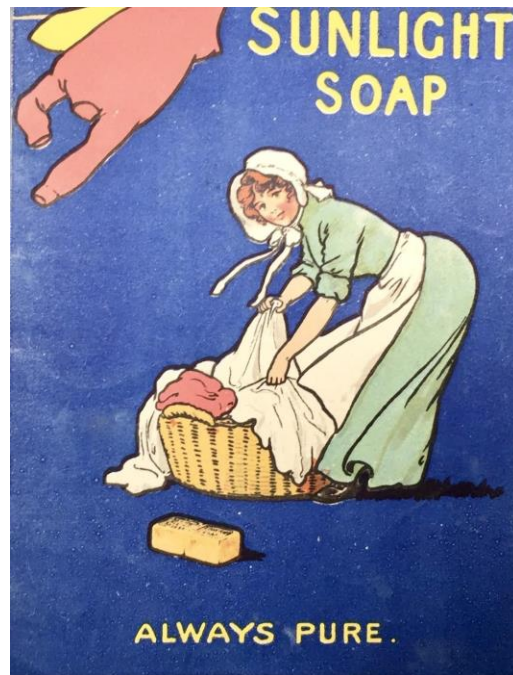
⁹¹² Mikaere, “Māori Women: Caught,” 141.

⁹¹³ Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy,” 7.

⁹¹⁴ Mikaere, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy,” 7.

⁹¹⁵ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 45.

⁹¹⁶ Megan Shaw, “Fatality of Femininity: The Femme Fatale and Fallen Women,” *Art History*, (2017), <https://arthistorysociety.org/essays/fatality-femininity>,



(Figure. 61) Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7, circa. 1860.

This Sunlight Soap advertisement from Mary Richmond's Scrapbook collection (Figure. 61) shows a young, attractive maid bending over a large laundry basket. The artist depicts the woman hanging out laundry to dry. In front of the basket lies a large cake of soap; below it reads, "Always Pure." As previously noted, images such as this were considered sexually arousing to men in England and France, who found eroticism in mundane activities.⁹¹⁷ Indeed, in France, the household chore of laundry and the laundresses themselves became symbols of sexual promiscuity.⁹¹⁸ The domestic servant illustrated in this Sunlight Soap advertisement demonstrates the importance of class in the race and gender equation. The middle to upper classes sexualised the underclass to take advantage of those in a lower socioeconomic status. The following Sunlight Soap newspaper advertisement (Figure. 62) from the Wairarapa Daily Times (1909) illustrates the domestic maid similarly tending to the laundry as shown in Figure. 61; however, she is posed differently, as in this instance, she is not bending to the same extent and therefore appears less

⁹¹⁷ Olivia Thonson, "Laundry: Eroticism in Mundane Activity," in *Gender & Sexuality: A Transnational Anthology from 1690 to 1990* (North Carolina: Wake Forest University Students, HST 114/WGS 377, Fall 2019) <https://librarypartnerspress.pressbooks.pub/gendersexuality1e/chapter/laundry-eroticism-in-mundane-activity/>

⁹¹⁸ Thonson, "Laundry: Eroticism."

enticing, highlighting the mindful ways in which the Europeans manipulated the stereotype of laundresses to promote gendered power struggles, capitalising on perverted male voyeurism.



(Figure. 62) Advertisements Column 5. Wairarapa Daily Times. Volume LXII. Issue 9706, 10 November 1909, 2.

Another scrapbook cut-out from Mary Richmond's collection (Figure. 63) is of an Ivory Soap advertisement that draws on the popular trope of white motherhood in an effectively influential promotion of purity, race, and the family.



(Figure. 63) Richmond Family Scrapbook Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Record ID 77-173-67/3 to 77-173-67/7, circa. 1860.

McClintock asserts that cleansing and boundary rituals are intrinsic to most cultures; however, “what differentiated Victorian cleaning rituals was their peculiarly intense relationship to money.”⁹¹⁹ The following Procter & Gamble advertisement for Ivory Soap, in the form of a poem, provides another example of the derogative attitude applied to Native women. In this instance, American academic Andrea Smith asserts, “illustrates the equation between Indian bodies and dirt.”⁹²⁰

“We were once factious, fierce and wild,
In peaceful arts unreconciled
Our blankets smeared with grease and stains
From buffalo meat and settlers’ veins.
Through summer’s dust and heat content
From moon to moon unwashed we went,
But IVORY SOAP came like a ray
Of light across our darkened way
And now we’re civil, kind and good
And keep the laws as people should,

⁹¹⁹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 33.

⁹²⁰ Andrea Smith, *Conquest – Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. (Massachusetts: South End Press, 2005), 9-10.

We wear our lined, lawn and lace
As well as folks with paler face
And now I take, where'er we go
The cake of IVORY SOAP to show
What civilised my squaw and me
And made us clean and fair to see.”⁹²¹

Ross asserts that Pākehā objectified Māori and dismissed their practices as inferior, primitive, and degrading to women to justify their use of violence against them.⁹²² The purposeful destruction of any perceived humanity of Native Peoples was critical to the process of racialised colonisation, which, as Smith explains, involves “enemies who are not political adversaries, but those identified as external and internal threats to the population.”⁹²³ Racism, she asserts, “is the condition that makes it acceptable to put [certain people] to death in a society of normalisation.”⁹²⁴ The following eleven vignettes (1886) provide a template outlining a set of racist stereotypes that functioned to objectify Māori, as evident throughout the colonial archives encountered in this research. The influence of these stereotypes was widely felt, and they were fundamental to the construction of popular Pākehā opinion of Māori throughout the early colonial period, establishing a unified understanding (whether agreed with or not) of distrust towards the country’s Indigenous People.

⁹²¹ Smith, *Conquest*, 9-10.

⁹²² Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 30.

⁹²³ Smith, *Conquest*, 25.

⁹²⁴ Smith, *Conquest*, 12.

the racially constructed poor of industrialised England. The next image (in Figure. 65) mocks the Māori custom of hongī, demonstrating that it has become outdated with civilisation, by illustrating two horseback riders unsuccessfully trying to hongī each other. The following image, titled, *A Forest Maid* shows a wāhine Māori carrying a pile of wood on her back as she smokes a pipe, again a direct commentary on inappropriate and masculine labour that Pākehā believed wāhine Māori were subjected to by Māori men. The image titled *Tapu*, or *A Hermit Despite Himself*, mocks one of the most significant concepts in the Māori worldview of spiritual or purposeful restriction/protection of areas and people from common usage or access. The image with the text, “Lady Customers are Proverbially Hard to Please,” shows two wāhine Māori trying on hats in a hat shop. It follows a popular narrative of wāhine Māori as complicated and challenging to please, indulged like their children.⁹²⁵ The following image shows a wāhine Māori holding a pig, often a treasured pet, titled *Domestic Pet of the Māori Spinster*. The relationship Māori people had with pigs seems to have been a feature that Pākehā would draw on to illustrate the Māori’s closeness to nature, and therefore indicative of the backwardness. Pratt references Māori giving pigs as gifts:

“They sometime brought a little Pig as a present and seem quite surprised if you declined it, Mrs Douglas one of our passengers accepted a very small one, I happened to go see her the next day and found it wrapped [*sic*] in a piece of blanket and laid on her nice clean bed, I said dear me what a change has come over you, I can never allow this, and took the little thing and put it on the hearth saying that it is quite [original emphasis] good enough, but the pig evidently did not think so, for he set up such a squealing...”⁹²⁶

As its title suggests, the following image depicts a *Sunday Evening Service in the House of Old Ihaka (Isaac)*. It shows its audience the differences between a Pākehā home and a Māori home. It lacks furniture, a mark of civilisation, and as such, Māori are drawn as sitting on the hut floor, listening to an older man reading by candlelight. The image that follows clockwise mocks a Māori

⁹²⁵ *Observer*, Volume X, Issue 604, 26 July, (1890). Wāhine Māori as being hard to please is a familiar trope in the archives, captured again in 1890, by the newspaper, *Observer*, in an article titled, *A Sick Maori Woman*. The article provides an anecdote of a man who the author refers to as “Truthful James,” who is trying to tend to a “sick Māori woman” but is struggling to please her. Her demands are seen as exorbitant – she wants painkillers, cigarettes, port wine, butterscotch and then after all these items are procured she then requests Ngaio leaves – that must be “taken from a place facing the sun” and then “boiled all day.” When asked what is the matter with her, “Truthful James” replies, “She says she has been eating pigeons that flew over a cemetery, but I believe it’s an over-gorge of pigeons without the cemetery.” Not only is the Māori woman being mocked, so are her beliefs.

⁹²⁶ Pratt, *Journal*.

man trying to catch young pigs while riding a horse, indicating that he lacks intelligence. The final image, titled, “The Māori Abroad - and at Home,” shows an elegantly dressed Māori couple riding in a horse and carriage that appears to be top of the range. The accompanying image shows that they have arrived home at the pā and are depicted by the cartoonist to have resorted to their native ways. Sitting around outside their hut abode, they are now wearing cloaks. The artist has represented the Māori as at home with nature, and the message promoted is that appearances can be deceiving, as is their perceived ‘Europeanness.’

By applying subjugating visuals to discourses and accompanied with debilitating force, Pākehā, Ross asserts, seized control.⁹²⁷ Furthermore, he contends, with this control, Pākehā were able to coerce Māori into the building, living in, and supporting the colonised form of their new home. Indeed, by the end of the nineteenth century, the government’s ‘housing policy’ was, Ferguson claims, an assimilationist tool to provide “a particular way of life.”⁹²⁸ Whereby “access to resources depended on adopting a vision of the two-generation family, of respectability and thrift.”⁹²⁹ Furthermore, Ferguson notes that Pākehā effectively denied Māori what few state resources were available to improve housing as “Māori were considered to have their own land base, capable of supporting the population,”⁹³⁰ a population that many considered to be a dying race, anyway.⁹³¹ For, as Brookes points out, to be a ‘householder’ means to be a man of property and hence be able to participate in political life.⁹³² Colonialists saw Māori as having an ‘immigratory disposition,’⁹³³ and whenever Māori did erect substantial dwellings on pā sites, Brookes asserts, ownership was collective, which was outside the purview of English law and therefore disqualifying Māori the right to vote.⁹³⁴ Consequently, colonialists were to govern Māori men and women along with Pākehā women. Pākehā dominance over Māori was strategic and

⁹²⁷ Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 30.

⁹²⁸ Ferguson, “WAI 60 Claim,” 2.

⁹²⁹ Ferguson, “WAI 60 Claim,” 2.

⁹³⁰ Ferguson, “WAI 60 Claim,” 2.

⁹³¹ Ferguson, “WAI 60 Claim,” 2.

⁹³² Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 54.

⁹³³ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 54.

⁹³⁴ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 54.

brutal: “The soldiers now closed with the enemy, and the bayonet and butts of the rifles played a conspicuous part in the exciting scene.”⁹³⁵

Ross asserts how brutality was well evident in the way Māori who resisted colonisation were “killed, imprisoned, made destitute, separated from their families and lands, discredited, demonised and ridiculed.”⁹³⁶ Ross claims that this behaviour toward Māori was normalised and became the foundation of a system developed to benefit Pākehā by “endowing them with wealth and privilege.”⁹³⁷ Thus, he contends that laying the foundation of society on physical, legislative, or social violence resulted in an underclass of people.⁹³⁸ This remains ‘the hidden shame of New Zealand’s founding, which has affected the relationships between Māori and other New Zealanders ever since.’⁹³⁹

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that crucial insight can be gained into the colonial anxieties and fears concerning racial purity through an investigation of ‘interior frontiers’ on the domestic front. Pākehā racial purity fears underpinned colonial political forces, such as with the Europeanisation legislation found in section 17 of the Native Land Act (1912), and social elements, such as the attempted ‘nuclearisation’ of whānau. I have identified the role of ‘interior frontiers’ on the domestic front by tracing the production of various distinctions based on race as they played out through the bodies of Māori females. In doing so, I drew attention to the practice of moko kauae and traced its reception by Pākehā from the early mid-nineteenth century to the present. In my discussion, I have also illustrated how the expectations that Pākehā held of Pākehā women shaped the social experience of wāhine Māori, including state intervention in the care of Māori

⁹³⁵ “The War in New Zealand. Battle of Mahoetahi,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, (Sydney, 20 Nov 1860), 5.
<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/13049007>

⁹³⁶ Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 31.

⁹³⁷ Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 31.

⁹³⁸ Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 31.

⁹³⁹ Ross, “The Throat of Parata,” 31.

children. This focus on imperial interventions in the home demonstrates the cultural rules by which Pākehā men and women lived and that were enforced upon wāhine Māori women and kōtiro Māori.

Furthermore, I examined the connection between sex, race, and ‘cleanliness’ on the colonial and interior frontiers through a wāhine Māori visual analysis of cartoons that mocked wāhine Māori for not meeting Victorian ideological notions of the feminine, the wife, and the mother. In the first cartoon analysed, “The Modern Māori: a Family Scene in the Smart Set,” by Lloyd, the Māori woman is portrayed as masculine, brutish, and dominating, a display of gender confusion which was further emphasised with the depiction of the Māori man as submissive. Another theme that emerged is the portrayal of the displacement of wāhine Māori within her own home, as she is portrayed as not belonging. The connections between the notions of racial purity and cleanliness in the imperial project were recognised as part of a system that sought to manage wāhine Māori sexuality over concerns of her fecundity. In this cartoon, the discarded pessary served as a warning to Pākehā of her filthy sexual appetite. I also included an advertisement of a pessary that was named ‘Pro-Race’ to demonstrate the subtle (not so subtle) connections made between racial purity and sex. The ideological gender functions within the cult of domesticity were also examined as not only providing symbols of Pākehā unity of colonial women as pious, pure, domestic, and submissive but also of wāhine Māori as not. I provide numerous soap advertisements to demonstrate this, as well as two photographs of young Māori mothers. I address the devastating impact that the nuclear family had on wāhine Māori, effectively disempowering her and severing her from the whānau structures that upheld her mana and protected her. I also note the colonial observations and attacks on the nature of Māori children and the policing of Pākehā and Māori childhood friendships when they reach the age of puberty.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

In this Mana Wahine research, which I have framed as an Indigenous Project of Love, I have demonstrated the development of colonial representations of wāhine Māori (by European men) throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the ways in which wāhine Māori were rendered as sexual commodities and as submissive to Māori men. In doing so, I have highlighted many of the underpinning ideologies and practices that have been embedded upon our land through the ongoing events, actions, and systems that combine to be what we know as colonisation in Aotearoa. I have discussed the critical status of our individual and collective well-being as Māori, highlighting the devastation caused by colonisation, resulting in our inter-generational mamae. I have noted that healing is as important to Māori as our rangatiratanga and mana Motuhake, and that true transformation will not occur without it.

In my research, I have questioned how colonial representation of wāhine Māori in the archives might continue to inform popular opinion of wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori today, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the colonial violence wāhine Māori are subjected to daily. As such, I adopted Mana Wahine theory as the analytic tool to inform my methodology and develop my research practice. I drew on the six principles of Kaupapa Māori as well as the pillars of Mana Wahine theory to create a wāhine Māori lens as my visual analysis method to engage the personal and systematic issues that arise from colonial representations of wāhine Māori and the ongoing marginalisation of the mana of wāhine Māori. Adopting a wāhine Māori lens enabled me to conduct an in-depth exploration of the colonial optics that were crucial to the construction of the Māori woman. I have argued that the role of representation in the framing of wāhine Māori through visual and symbolic ways continues to uphold and reproduce dominant colonial ideologies of race, gender, and sexuality, which degrade, undermine, and are both oppressive and violent to wāhine Māori.

In sketching a historiography of some of the struggles of wāhine Māori, I have identified how the colonial ideological constructs of race and gender produced a biopower of hierarchical social ordering that sought to assimilate wāhine Māori into the colonialist view of ‘proper’ gender roles and as sexualised, racialised beings. In order to provide a deeper understanding of how these representations might continue to inform popular opinion of wāhine Māori I examined how both scientific and commodity racism infiltrated and shaped the lives of not just wāhine Māori but also those of Pākehā women on the colonial frontier. By understanding how representation mattered then as well as now, through the complex impact it has on people deemed as ‘Other’ in Aotearoa, and throughout the world, this research has highlighted how wāhine Māori’s bodies have been dehumanised, fragmented, and situated out of place in modernity. Indeed, I have demonstrated how the modernity project was not only about discourses of discovery, technological and scientific ‘advancements,’ the formation of capitalism, and the modern state but was also about oppression, destruction, and violence that depended on the exploitation of land and peoples. Inspired by the anecdotes of Aiomai and Jae, I have sought to trace the colonial genealogy of violence towards wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori, with the goal that by acknowledging this violence, we will have hope for a safer future in which wāhine Māori and kōtiro Māori thrive in their inherent mana.

As a Mana Wahine research project, concerns over knowledge production in Aotearoa were understood as non-detachable from the history of colonialism. I have argued that the shattered histories of wāhine Māori are based on the intangible occluding of our power. In response to the occlusion of our mana in representations of wāhine Māori bodies I have highlighted how our tīpuna and ātua wāhine have provided us with the guideposts to live fulfilling and empowered lives as wāhine Māori. I have, therefore, sought to trace what colonialism looked like in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how it continues to inscribe our present repetitively.

In recognising that sentiment and affect are significant elements in the making of knowledge, power is also understood as inscribed in feelings and body. Inequities, then, I have argued, are produced and secured not only by material conditions but also by sensibilities and imaginaries. The violence enacted against Māori females led me to question, in this research, the intent and impact of colonisation in our settler-state context where wāhine Māori’s realities were deemed necessary to subsume, and our stories of powerful wāhine Māori, our tīpuna, our atua wāhine were

replaced with illusions of our weakness. Indeed, the power that wāhine Māori embodied within their communities has been identified as a threat to colonisation. Therefore, I have demonstrated that the process of colonisation has required wāhine Māori to become either extinct or assimilate to one of the lowest ranks in New Zealand society.

In examining Mana Wahine state and whānau discourses, I have highlighted the hierarchical social ordering relating to race and gender and how this has impacted more than twofold on the status of wāhine Māori, resulting in complex assertions of inferiority in mind and body. I have called upon images and text to re-member stories of intimate relationships to build readings of the violence surrounding wāhine Māori in the past to show how wāhine Māori have moved in and out of the possibility of desirability throughout time by animating the codes of social and political value assigned to their bodies; of who was worthy of being desirable and who was not. I have traced representations that informed the measures of worth applied to wāhine Māori's bodies through the colonial sentiments of desire and deviance. Measures that were identified to position wāhine Māori bodies within a sexual deviance discourse that used racial and gender images to control 'subordinate' populations, a technique that was transferred from England to the colony of New Zealand.

The fear that underpinned the colonial sexual deviance discourse was discussed in relation to the dangers believed to be associated with social degeneracy based on 'racial contamination.' The concept of imperial formations was introduced as a way to recognise the complex and shifting ways in which wāhine Māori's bodies were and are policed. I argue that their voices (and bodies) were silenced in order to create a void, as part of imperial practices of coloniality, in their conceptual and epistemic political design. As a decolonising project, the representative paradigms of wāhine Māori as both contaminating and fruitful, desirable and dangerous, profitable and expendable have been understood as structural, and therefore, their material histories have been addressed.

By examining the British fetish of white linen in both imagery and textual analysis, alongside the structural analysis of a Mana Wahine state discourse, I was able to trace a history of early sexual contact between Pākehā men and wāhine Māori and its connection to the economic expansion of

the colonial economy. By focusing on the capitalistic flax and sex industries that were introduced, I was able to outline an image of colonial attempts to control wāhine Māori's bodies through their labour and sexuality. Representations of Māori females as both objects of desire and degeneracy, at a time of Pākehā gender-imbalance anxiety, were also regarded in relation to the perceived permeability of wāhine Māori's bodies and the danger they were then represented to pose to 'civilisation.'

The product of miscegenation, the 'half-caste,' was also deemed necessary to address as it highlighted the dehumanisation of the Māori mother and pointed her out as a particular threat that needed to be extinguished. The complex spaces which the 'half-castes' themselves occupied were also explored as a way to recognise the colonial trope of their constant threat to civilisation from within civilisation that the 'half-castes' represented. Of particular concern to Pākehā and the state were their rights to certain Pākehā privileges, specifically concerning their ability to inherit land.

I shifted the focus of the research to account for the connection between sex, race, and cleanliness through the colonial fetish of soap. Soap advertisements and the notion of cleanliness were examined for their roles in presenting to the Pākehā 'community' a colonial justification for the violence, including sexual, that was enacted upon wāhine Māori to intentionally disempower her, largely through the attempted domestication and assimilation of her mind, body, and spirit. Religious and state education were noted as critical agents of such violence, noting the role of Pākehā women in enforcing heteropatriarchal assaults on the very fabric of the reality of wāhine Māori, a reality we are still grappling to liberate ourselves from today.

The colonial cult of domesticity was noted as a central space from which the various discourses of state and whānau were redefined, providing an advantageous position from which to analyse the microcosmic value of such a space. Conceptions of space were explored in this research, focusing on how it was articulated in the colonial domestic realm of the home. Space, in relation to Māori land, and where the spatial juxtaposition between Māori and Pākehā views of land collide, were also addressed, as was how wāhine Māori got caught and consumed within it. I have also exposed the notions of masculinity, in particular toxic colonial constructions of masculinities that have been deliberate in contributing to the reframing and reconstitution of gender relationships for Māori

through multiple sites such as representation, schooling, and overarching ideologies of gender roles, including utilising images of wāhine Māori as a means by which to frame notions of who is in control within a Western nuclear family model. A model that I highlight as being driven by capitalist modes of operations whereby the domestication of family is forced upon the commodification of labour, including that of the ‘wife’ and of ‘children.’

In applying the concept of interior frontiers to the anecdotes of Aiomai and Jae, the raw affective scenes are understood as affirming the colonial logic that distinguished the Indigenous females as ‘strangers’ – as representing a threat based on their perceived deviance and undesirability as potential enemies, from within. The personal experiences of Aiomai and Jae were thus identified as fundamentally political. Where the seemingly benign sites of the department store and a children’s playground are recognised as toxic scenes that registered the ‘lower frequencies of difference and denigration’ directed at their Māori female bodies. Frequencies so low they are often regarded as microaggressions, if regarded at all, yet their affective weight has been identified as not only causing an internalised violation of one’s sense of self-worth, this research has demonstrated that the state’s systematic racism has depended on it.

Indeed, I employed the concept of interior frontiers to trace the racial fault lines that the state produced and the distinctions on which it continues to depend. The racial distinctions that colonialism installed have been identified as the underside of power and privilege and as necessarily violent. Interior frontiers, Stoler explains, are unstable appellations that enable affirmation of political logic, creating security regimes invested in augmenting fears and distinctions of the ‘stranger’ as the enemy.⁹⁴⁰ The ‘stranger’ is not a fixed entity; how the enemy is represented fluctuates. Therefore, I have argued that a particular vigilance is required of Pākehā to intimately nurture and fiercely protect whatever distinctions are called on to guard the racial fault lines that maintain who they imagine themselves to be and how they imagine themselves to belong in Aotearoa today.

⁹⁴⁰ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*.

Through an in-depth analysis of a range of representations of wāhine Māori, I also highlighted that various contemporary Māori and Pacific Islands artists such as Robyn Kahukiwa, Kahutoi Te Kanawa, Maureen Landers, Natalie Robertson, Caroline Vercoe, Lisa Reihana, Te Mata Aho collective, Theresa Harlan, Donna Campbell, Serene Timoteo, Selina Tusitala Marsh, Andre Marere, Tyla Vaeau, Shigeyuki Kihara, Nephi Tupea, Graham Fletcher, Rosanna Raymond, and Sue Pearson are using their unique platform as Indigenous artists to ‘fire back’ and claim ‘visual sovereignty’ to challenge the state and settler voices that continue to seek to control us based on the threat that many of us pose to the established view of things. This research draws our attention to the moral and material geography that dictates what one is expected to care about, what should ignite our moral disgust, and what and who are not included in the morally founded principles of concern.

Thus, through my research I have confirmed that the need to challenge, subvert, re-imagine, and re-configure the various representations of wāhine Māori, historically constructed as the sexually deviant ‘Other,’ both as desirable and dangerous, profitable and expendable, remains urgent. As a decolonising project, I recognise these representative paradigms as structural, and therefore, their material histories have been addressed. Thus, I conclude that our responsibility as Māori artists is not just at the representational level, where we are called upon to remember our stories and our place within them, but also about transformative structural change. Filmmaker and broadcaster Tainui Stevens asserted in June 2023, after attending a hui of Māori artists who had gathered to discuss the future of toi Māori and to bring to the attention of the government the importance of the arts, he states: “As humans our first needs are for shelter and food, the next thing we need is stories, stories that enable us to be human. And art has a terrific capacity to spread stories that seduce the mind and touch the soul.”⁹⁴¹

The arts hold power to heal in their ability to convey stories that transcend beyond social, economic, cultural, and linguistic barriers, thus providing a critical platform to inform people of the ‘colonial presence’ that endures in Aotearoa. A presence, I have argued, that cultivates metrics

⁹⁴¹ “Māori Artists Discuss the Future of Toi Māori,” *Te Ao News*, (2023), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DCoA_oajHoE&ab_channel=TeAoNews

of worth that place Māori females on the edges of interior frontiers—precariously placed at the borders that mark restricted exclusions of new divisions and privileged moral affiliations based on fluctuating criteria of belonging designed to uphold colonial ideologies in order to protect what is thought to be defining of a Pākehā culture. As Tainui claims of toi Māori: “What we do is not just good for Māori but for New Zealanders as a whole.”⁹⁴²

I want my children, all children in Aotearoa, to grow to their full potential by living in a country that is free from colonial ideologies such as Eurocentrism, racism, and patriarchal oppression. However, until the problems of colonisation are recognised and acknowledged, no real changes in attitude and behaviour can occur. Patriarchy has been identified as a foreign ideology that has no place in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Patriarchy, Mignolo asserts, is where racism and sexism originate and are maintained.⁹⁴³ Features, he notes, that organise all spheres of life in the West but have managed to impact non-Western societies.

Therefore, I conclude, that to liberate ourselves from the Western hierarchical system based on oppression and control, we are charged with the responsibility to make way for an indigenous structure founded on hierarchies based upon levels of respect.⁹⁴⁴ Like our tīpuna, we are charged with the role of protecting the sacredness of the next generation. Thus, as Māori artists, we can capture repetitive qualities and irregular visions that imperial formations protect, often with hate, shame, derision, and, as Stoler asserts, “a white arrogance [that] draw the affective contours of unspoken racialised polities,”⁹⁴⁵ in order to expose their logic and free ourselves from them. Jackson spoke of a hopeful change based on the restoration of the sense of justice and harmony the treaty pledged: “A hopeful change, a change in which we can hope for something better, something that gives everyone in this country not just a place to be here but a place to be who they

⁹⁴² “Māori Artists Discuss the Future.”

⁹⁴³ Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press), 127.

⁹⁴⁴ Wenona Hall, “Becoming Fully Human,” in *Restoring the Kinship Worldview: Indigenous Voices Introduce 28 Precepts for Rebalancing Life on Planet Earth*, ed. Donald Trent Jacobs and Darcia Narváez (California: North Atlantic Books, 2022), 19-20.

⁹⁴⁵ Stoler, *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails*, 41.

are, to fulfill all their dreams, and to make this the sort of country that Te Tiriti o Waitangi envisaged.”⁹⁴⁶

Furthermore, as respected Māori scholar Mānuka Hēnare notes, Māori have time on their side. With an increasing Māori population as well as the increase of Pacific Islanders and Asians in Aotearoa, there will be a new majority, and he states, “My instincts tell me that is when we will be able to look at the problem as a moral one and then remedy it politically and economically.”⁹⁴⁷ Hēnare also points out that as Māori, it is our responsibility to continue to “sing the same song” our ancestors did in 1831, 1834, 1835, 1840, 1847, 1850, and in generations that were to follow, that, “We did not cede our sovereignty. You took it.”⁹⁴⁸ Toi Māori can highlight the links erased by occluded histories of empire that bear the evidence of coloniality - the darker side of modernity that carves out the distribution of inequalities today. To create art with the political endeavour to build narratives that empower a future free from this violence. Nō reira, ka whawhai tonu mātou.

Māori girl, hold your head up.
Just keep on holding your head up, Māori girl.
When you feel it slump,
when shit gets you down,
hold your head up, Māori girl.
We got you. You got you.
This land has got you.
This land of our tīpuna.
You are precious, and
You belong.
You are never alone.
You are this land, and
You are us.
Hold your head up, Māori girl.
Just keep going, and
Welcome all that happiness you deserve, because
You deserve it all, Māori girl.
Hold your head up.

⁹⁴⁶ Moana Jackson, “Where to Next?” 149.

⁹⁴⁷ Mānuka Hēnare, “Mānuka Hēnare — He Tohu Interview,” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RzpUfKu-7PI&t=1s&ab_channel=HeTohu

⁹⁴⁸ Hēnare, “Mānuka.”

REFERENCES

- A Medical Man, *Cassell's Family Doctor*, London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1955.
- Abad-Santos, A., "The Racist Children's Songs You Might Not Have Known were Racist," *Vox*, 21 May 2014. <https://www.vox.com/2014/5/21/5732258/the-racist-childrens-songs-you-might-not-have-known-were-racist>
- Aindrea, E. "Tracing the Legacy of Black Womanhood Through the Work of Five Artists," *Another*, May 26, 2022, <https://www.anothermag.com/art-photography/14106/black-venus-charting-the-legacy-of-black-womanhood-through-visual-culture>
- Aldrich, R. *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, London: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 2002.
- Alpert, S. "The Song of the Shirt Summary & Analysis." <https://www.litcharts.com/poetry/thomas-hood/the-song-of-the-shirt>
- Anderson, A. *Race Against Time. The Early Maori-Pakeha Families and the development of the mixed race population in southern New Zealand*. Dunedin: Hocken Library, 1991.
- "An Energetic Maori Woman," *North Otago Times*, XXIX no. 5029, 1885, 2. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WC18980820.2.23?end_date=31-12-1898&items_per_page=10&query=Selling+Liquor+to+a+Maori+Woman&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1898
- "An Interesting Account of the Tahitian Mission," in *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Volume 2, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1820.
- Anon. *Blackie's Standard Shilling Dictionary*. Blackie and Son Ltd.
- Anon. *Mount Helicon- A School of Anthology of Verse*. Edward Arnold & Co., 1922.
- Aspin, C. and J. Hutchings (ed.), *Sexuality & the Stories of Indigenous People*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2007.

Aspin, C. "Hōkakatanga - Māori sexualities - Early Māori sexuality," *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 2019. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/hokakatanga-maori-sexualities/page-2>

"A Tight Corner," *The Evening Post*, 8 May 1935.

https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19350508.2.63?end_date=08-05-1935&items_per_page=10&query=A+Tight+Corner&snippet=true&start_date=08-05-1935&title=EP

"Atkinson-Richmond Families Provide More Colonial Colour," *Dominion*, 1949.

Aukaha News. "#culture "I want @farmersnz to admit what they've done to us. The staff member reprimanded, all staff to be retrained in customer service," accessed 8 May 2023, Facebook video,

https://www.facebook.com/watch/?ref=search&v=251495000405838&external_log_id=0308d353-abe3-4177-8ebc-1ae3291d667f&q=aukaha%20news

Australian and New Zealand Gazette, (August, 23, 1856).

Bagnall, K. "Golden Shadows on a White Land: An Exploration of the Lives of White Women who Partnered Chinese Men and their Children in Southern Australia, 1855-1915." PhD diss., Department of History, University of Sydney, 2006.

<https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/1412>

Baker, Lady. *Station Life in New Zealand*. (Facsimile ed.). Auckland: Wilson & Horton Ltd., 1870.

Baker, Lady. *Station Amusements in New Zealand*. (Facsimile ed.). Auckland: Wilson & Horton Ltd., 1873.

Barber, J. 'Stolen Goods': The Sexual Harassment of Female Servants in West Wales during the Nineteenth Century, *Rural History*, 4(2), 123-136. Doi:19.1017/S095679330000025X

Barker, M. L. ed. *Pears Cyclopaedia 1964-1965*. 73rd ed. Suffolk: Pelham Books Ltd., 1964.

Ethell Barr interview by Judith Fyfe, "Mrs Barr," *Masterton South Rotary Club Oral History Project*. [Oral History Interview Printed Abstract]. 21 January 1983, The Alexander Turnbull Collection. OHA-0891.

Barry, L. and C. Coleborne. "Insanity and Ethnicity in New Zealand: Māori encounters with the Auckland Mental Hospital, 1860-1900." *History of Psychiatry* 22, no.3., 2011.

Belich, J., *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders*. Auckland: The Penguin Press, 1996.

Belich, J. "Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand," in *British Imperial Strategies in the Pacific, 1750-1900*, edited by Jane Samson, 9–22. London: Routledge, 2003.

Belich, J. European Ideas about Māori," *Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 2011, accessed 11 May 2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/european-ideas-about-maori/print>

Bell, L. *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori, 1840-1914*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1992.

Bell, M. "A Woman's Scorn: Toward a Feminist Defence of Contempt as a Moral Emotion." *Hypatia* 20, no. 4., 2005.

Bentley, T. *Captured by Māori: White Female Captives, Sex and Racism on the Nineteenth-century New Zealand Frontier*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2004.

Bernheimer, C. "Manet's Olympia: The Figuration of Scandal Poetics Today," in *Art and Literature II*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1989, 261. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1773024>

Binney, J. *Stories Without End*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2010.

Binney, J. "Whatever Happened to Poor Mr Yate? An Exercise in Voyeurism," *New Zealand Journal of History*, 38 no.2, 2004, 119.
https://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/docs/2004/NZJH_38_2_04.pdf

Blakemore, E. "Race and ethnicity: How are they different," *National Geographic*, 2019.
<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/race-ethnicity>

Blake, W. "Milton a Poem, copy B object 2," *The William Blake Archive*, ed. Morris Eaves, Robert N. Essick, and Joseph Viscomi.
<https://www.blakearchive.org/copy/milton.b?descId=milton.b.illbk.02>

Blanch, F. "Encountering the Other: One Indigenous Australian Woman's Experience of Racialisation on a Saturday Night." *Journal of Gender, Place & Culture* 20, no.2, 2013.

Boetsch, G. in Thurman, L. *Human Zoos - The Invention of the Savage*.

Bragg, J. and W. H. Clarke, (New Zealand Photographic Company: Wellington). Photograph album belonging to Edith Agnes Nimmo (nee Fitzgerald) 2. [Circa 1860s-1910s] PA1-q-1155 <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/32377983?search%5Bi%5D%5Bcategory%5D=Images&search%5Bi%5D%5Bcentury%5D=1800&search%5Bpath%5D=items&search%5Btext%5D=Vera>

Brookes, B. "Annemarie Anon c.1890." In *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui ma te Kaupapa*, edited by Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991.

Brookes, B. *A History of New Zealand Women*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016.

Brooking, T. "'Busting Up' The Greatest of All: Liberal Māori Land Policy, 1891-1911." *New Zealand Journal of History* 26, no. 1., 1992.

Burrows, M. and M. Tapper, "Sexual racism on New Zealand's dating scene – and how apps are making it worse," *Newshub*, 2021. <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/lifestyle/2021/07/no-blacks-no-asians-no-indians-sexual-racism-on-new-zealand-s-dating-scene-and-how-apps-are-making-it-worse.html>

Butler, J. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Butler, P. *Photographs*. The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. 2004-204-1/11.

"Cession of Matavai, in Otaheite, to Captain Wilson, for the Missionaries, in the Year, 1797," *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1829.

Campbell, D. "Weaving the Skin." Masters Thesis, Whitecliffe College of Arts and Design, Auckland, New Zealand, 2005.

"Cession of Matavai, in Otaheite, to Captain Wilson, for the Missionaries, in the Year, 1797," *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1829.

Cherry, D. and G. Pollock. "Patriarchal Power and the Pre-Raphaelites." *Art History* 7, no. 4, 1984.

Chow, R. *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Chow, R. *Ethics after Idealism: Theory-Culture Ethnicity-Reading*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

“Church Missionary Society,” in *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Volume 2, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1820.

Clarke, A. *Inequalities of Love: College-Educated Black Women and the Barriers to Romance and Family*, Michigan: Duke University Press, 2011.

Colenso, W. *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, Auckland: The University of Auckland, 1890.

<https://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document/?action=null&page=0&wid=123>

Collins, P. H. *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Collins, P. H. *Photographs of Early Settlement in Wellington Region*. The Alexander Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. PAColl-3766.

Collins, P. H. “Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political and Social Sciences,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 568, 2000.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1049471>

Condliffe, J. B. and W. T. G. Airey. *A Short History of New Zealand*. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., 1960.

Coney, S. “Eliza White 1809-1883.” *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui ma te Kaupapa*, ed. Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991.

“Cotton Operatives and Emigration,” *Home News for India, China and the Colonies*, 1863.

Crenshaw, K. “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence against Women of Colour.” In *Critical Race Theory: The key Writings that formed the Movement*, edited by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendal Thomas. New York: The New Press, 1994.

Davis, A. Y. *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*. New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1999.

Davis, A. Y., and Neferti Tadiar, eds. *Beyond the Frame: Women of Colour and Visual Representation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Daily Southern Cross, Volume XVII, Issue 1458. "Local Summary," 1861.
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18611206.2.4>

Darwin, C. "Letter to Lady Caroline Denison," (Alexander Turnbull Library, 1874), MS-Papers-0972.

"Davidson wants Farmers Store to take 'Stronger' Stand on Profiling." *One News*, accessed on 8 May 2023. <https://www.1news.co.nz/2021/12/20/davidson-wants-farmers-store-to-take-stronger-stand-on-profiling/>

"Death notice for Te Atahoe," *Sydney Gazette*, 1803.
<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/627941>

Denison, C. *Letter to Lady Caroline Denison/Charles Darwin*. The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand, 1874. MS-Papers-0972.

Dolan, T. "Fringe Benefits: Manet's Olympia and Her Shawl." *The Art Bulletin*, 97, no. 4, 2015.

Durie, M. *Ngā Kāhui Pou: Launching Māori futures*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2003.

"Education of Girls," *Daily News, Carterton, Wairarapa*, 1913.

Ellis, N. "He iti, he Pounamu: Lindauer and Personal Adornment." In *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand – Māori Portraits*, edited by Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016.

Else, A. "Gender inequalities – Sexuality," *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/gender-inequalities/page-2>.

Engels, F. *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*. New York: Penguin Classics, 1986.

Engels, F. *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1845.

Ephemera of Octavo Size, relating to Immigration to New Zealand, problems and issues of new immigrants and refugees. (ca.1900). The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. Eph-A-IMMIGRATION-1900/1969

Erai, M., *Girl of New Zealand Colonial Optics in Aotearoa*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2020.

Evans, R., “The Negation of Powerlessness: Māori Feminism, a Perspective,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*. Edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 126-136. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

“Extract of an account of the State of the Mission in the Island of Raiatea, and of the General Meeting of the Society there” in *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Volume 2, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1820.

Fanon, F. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1963.

Ferguson, G. “Background Report for the WAI 60 Claim,” 1995.

Findlay, M. *Tooth and Nail*, Wellington: A.H. and A. W. Reed, 1974.

Foucault, M. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. London: Tavistock, 1979.

Foucault, M. *The Birth of Biopolitics – Lectures at The College de France 1978-1979*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan,

Foucault, M. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Foucault, M. “Truth and Power,” in *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon, 1980.

Four Corners. “The crisis of murdered and missing First Nations women,” 24 October 2022, YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Q4Sjny62EI>

Fraser, G. *Ungrateful People*. Wellington: The Pelorus Press, 1952.

Friere, P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum, 1970.

“Frontier of chaos?,” *Ministry for Cultural Heritage*: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/pre-1840-contact/frontier-of-chaos>.

Fyfe, J. “Mrs Barr,” *Masterton South Rotary Club Oral History Project*, (Oral History Interview Printed Abstract, 21 January 1983). The Alexander Turnbull Collection. OHA-0891.

Gabel, K, “Poipoia Te Tamaiti Ki Te Ukaipō: Theorising Māori Motherhood.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 165–177. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

“George Grey.” Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Updated October 21, 2021. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/george-grey-painting>.

Guesdon, A. J. “Pear's Soap: Artworks for the Masses,” *Pittwater Online News*, 2016. <https://www.pittwateronlinenews.com/Pears-Soap-Artworks-For-The-Masses-Collectors.php>

Gordon, A. *What We Don't Talk About When We Talk About Fat*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2021.

Hall, W. “Becoming Fully Human,” in *Restoring the Kinship Worldview: Indigenous Voices Introduce 28 Precepts for Rebalancing Life on Planet Earth*. Edited by Donald Trent Jacobs and Darcia Narváez. California: North Atlantic Books, 2022.

Hamilton, S. “Ancient giants and old delusions: a history of mysticism and racism in Aotearoa.” *The Spinoff*, 2020. <https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/25-02-2020/ancient-giants-and-old-delusions-a-history-of-mysticism-and-racism-in-aotearoa>

“Harakeke,” *Christchurch City Library*, <https://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/harakeke/>

Harlan, T “Creating a Visual History: A Question of Ownership,” *Aperture, Strong Hearts: Native American Visions and Voices*, 1995.

Harrison, G. B. *A Book of English Poetry - Chaucer to Rosetti*. Pelican Books, 1937.

Hart, P. *Bushranger Ballads*. Sydney: Ure Smith, 1976.

Hau'ofa, E. “Our Sea of Islands.” *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*, edited by Wilson and Dirlik. Durham: Duke of University Press, 1995.

Hau'ofa, E. "Epilogue Past to Remember." In *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts*, edited by Robert Borofsky. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

He Tohu. "Mānuka Hēnare - He Tohu interview," 2018,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RzpUfKu-7PI&t=655s>

Hendry-Tennent, I, "Māori teenager devastated after Tauranga Farmers employee calls her 'undesirable', asks her to leave store," *Newshub*, December 15, 2021,
<https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2021/12/m-ori-teenager-devastated-after-auranga-farmers-employee-calls-her-undesirable-asks-her-to-leave-store.html>

"Hobson Proclaims British Sovereignty over New Zealand," *New Zealand History*, (1840), Manatū Taonga – Ministry of Culture and Heritage, updated 8-Oct-2021
<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/hobson-proclaims-sovereignty-over-all-of-new-zealand>

Hohepa, M., "Hokianga Waiata a Nga Tupuna Wāhine: Journeys through Mana Wahine, Mana Tane." in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

hooks, b., *Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance*, Washington: Evergreen State College, 1995.
<https://sites.evergreen.edu/comalt/wp-content/uploads/sites/253/2016/11/eating-the-other.pdf>

hooks, b. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, Boston: South End Press, 1995.

Howard, J. (2020). *Sentiment: Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, 3rd edition. Edited by Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler <https://keywords.nyupress.org/american-cultural-studies/essay/sentiment/>

Hulsey, J. and A. Trusty. *Green Death - The Art History of Arsenic*, 2022.
<https://www.artistsnetwork.com/art-history/arsenic-art-history/>

Hutchings, J., "Claiming our Ethical Space: A Mana Wahine Conceptual Framework for Discussing ." in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

"In Pursuit of Venus – About the Work," <https://www.inpursuitofvenus.com/about>

Irwin, K. “Towards Theories of Māori Feminisms.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 66–82. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Jackson, M. “Prison Should Never be the Only Answer.” *E-Tangata*, October 14, 2017. <https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/moana-jackson-prison-should-never-be-the-only-answer/>

Jackson, M. “Where to Next? Decolonisation and the stories in the land,” in *Imagining Decolonisation*, edited by Anne Hodge, 133–155. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020.

Jackson, M. “Imagining Decolonisation with Moana Jackson.” 7 May, 2021, BWB Talks YouTube video. Bridget Williams Books. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7RZOd1P74pI>
Chakrabarty, D. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Jahnke, H. T., “Towards a Theory of Mana Wahine,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 183–197. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Jenkins, K. and Morris Mathews, K. “Knowing their Place: the Political Socialisation of Māori Women in New Zealand through Schooling Policy and Practice, 1867-1969.” *Women’s History Review*, 7, no. 1, 1998.

Jenkins, K., “Reflections on the Status of Māori Women.” In *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 83–88. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Jenkins, K and Leonie Pihama, “Mātauranga Wāhine: Teaching Māori Women’s Knowledge Alongside Feminism.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 38–49. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Johnston, P. and Pihama, L., “The Marginalisation of Māori Women.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Johnston, P., and Pihama, L., “What Counts as Difference and what Differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Joint Venture, “Prevention of Family and Sexual Violence – Briefing to the Incoming Minister,” 3 November, 2020. YouTube video, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/sites/default/files/202012/Prevention%20of%20Family%20and%20Sexual%20Violence.pdf>

Jordan, J. “Sex Work,” *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 2011, 2018 (revised). <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/sex-work/print> (accessed 11 May 2023)

Jordan, J. *Tackling Rape Culture: Ending Patriarchy*. London: Routledge, 2022.

Kame’elehiwa, L. K., “How the Foolish Rumour that Hawaiian at Cook began.” SBS News, <https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/how-the-foolish-rumour-that-hawaiians-ate-cook-began/xpl1a9z86?fbclid=IwAR1M3-nSe7xbj9jkGofB1eHzDf1PDqh3yIfvgHo4yFaagc0AjTYm7jbENsI>

Karentzos, A. Images of the Exotic? Gottfried Lindauer in the Context of European Portraiture. *Riha Journal: Coord*, by Sentraliinsitut fUr Kunstgeschichte.

Kelly, L. G. “Edward Meurant – Figure of the Early Colonial Days.” *New Zealand Herald*, LXXI. No. 21960, 1934. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/438469/police-launch-investigation-into-unconscious-bias-against-maori>

Kelsey, J. “Jane Kelsey: Truth to Power- the critical legal academic as licensed subversive,” *E-Tangata*, 2022. <https://e-tangata.co.nz/reflections/jane-kelsey-truth-to-power-the-critical-legal-academic-as-licensed-subversive/>

Kiddle, R. “Colonisation Sucks for Everyone, in Imagining Decolonisation.” *Imagining Decolonisation*, edited by Anne Hodge, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020.

King, M. *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2007.

Kipling, R. “The White Man’s Burden,” 1899. https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poem/poems_burden.htm

Kirker, James. (1857-1911). *The Eloquence of Silence*. [Handwritten Essay Papers]. The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. MS-Papers-10821-06

Kirker, James. (1857-1911). *The Maori Race*. [Handwritten Essay Papers]. The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. MS-Papers-10821-06.

Kohu-Morgan, H., “Ngā Māreikura,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama, and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Kühnast, A., “Johann Freidrich Blumenbach’s ‘Neuholländer’” *Australian Studies Journal* 33. 2020.

Kuni, J. and K. Morris Mathews, “Knowing their place: the political socialisation of Māori women in New Zealand through schooling policy and practice, 1867-1969.” *Women’s History Review* 7, no.1, 1998.

Legge, C., “Atahoe c.1790-1810.” In *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui ma te Kaupapa*, edited by Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991.

Llyod, T. National Library.

https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22612822?search%5Bi%5D%5Btag%5D=natlib%3Aonline_item&search%5Bpath%5D=items&search%5Btext%5D=trevor+lloyd+postcard+maori

MacAlester Bell. “A Woman’s Scorn: Toward a Feminist Defence of Contempt as a Moral Emotion.” *Hypatia* 20, no. 4, 2005.

Macdonald, C., “Miss Y and Miss Z 1890.” In *The Book of New Zealand Women – Ko Kui ma te Kaupapa*, edited by Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991.

Main, W. *Māori in Focus: A Selection of Photographs of the Māori from 1850-1914*. Dunedin: Millwood Press, 1976.

Mansfield, K. Katherine Mansfield House, Wellington, New Zealand.

Māori Weaving/Te Whare Pora. <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/maori/maori-weaving?fbclid=IwAR1PPUaDgjY4H4-42x2kLPgo9HovCF2KPAvBAAXEXDOZiWm1K7jkwoXnjlY>

“Māori Artists Discuss the Future of Toi Māori,” *Te Ao News*, 2023,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DCoA_oajHoE&ab_channel=TeAoNews

Marx, K. and F. Engels. *German Ideology*. New York: International Publishers, 1996.

Marx, K. *Capital: Volume I*. New York: Penguin Classics, 1990.

Matahaere, D. “Māori, the ‘Eternally Compromised Noun’: Complicity, Contradictions and Postcolonial Identities in the Age of Biculturalism.” *Women’s Studies Journal* 11, no. 1-2, 1996.

Matahaere, D. “Interrogating Speech in Colonial Encounters Native Women and Voice.” Masters Thesis, Massey University, 1997.

Mason, N. and Z. Stanhope, “Introduction: Gottfried Lindauer’s New Zealand,” in *Gottfried Lindauer’s New Zealand – The Māori Portraits*, edited by Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope, 15–22. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016.

McBreen, K., “It’s About Whānau: Oppression, Sexuality, and Mana.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 134–146. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

McClintock, A. *Imperial Leather- Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

McLintock, A. H. *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 1*. Wellington: R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1966.

McLintock, A. H. *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 2*. Wellington: R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1966.

McLintock, A. H. *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 3*. Wellington: R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1966.

McDonald, G. “The Categories ‘Māori’ and ‘Pākehā’ as described by research workers and by self-report.” *New Zealand of Educational Studies* 11, 1976.

McKinley, E. “Brown Bodies, White Coats: Postcolonialism, Māori Women and Science.” *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education* 26, no.4, 2005.

McLachlan, L. “Every day I was beaten’ - Māori women three times more likely to be killed by partner.” *RNZ*, March 20, 2020. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/410738/every-day-i-was-beaten-maori-women-three-times-more-likely-to-be-killed-by-partner>

Mead, A., “Sacred Balance.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joelinee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 198-207. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Mead, H. M. *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2013.

Mercier, O. “What is Decolonisation?” In *Imagining Decolonisation*, edited by Anne Hodge, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020.

Meredith, P, “A Half-Caste on the Half-Caste in the Cultural Politics of New Zealand” (accessed on 10 May 2023), 1–23.
<https://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/Paul%20Meredith%20Mana%20Verlag%20Paper.pdf>

Merrett, J. J. “A father of Half-Caste Children-Original Correspondence [sic],” *New Zealander*, Vol 3, Issue 142, 1847.

Merrett, J. J. “Woman and Child,” *Hobson Album*, (Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library: ca. 1842), </records/23090397>

Merrett, J. J. *The Grey Album*. MS 19953.
<https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23090397?search%5Bi%5D%5Bcategory%5D=Images&search%5Bpath%5D=items&search%5Btext%5D=Merrett+Woman+and+Child>

Merriam-Webster, “undesirable (n.),” accessed May 8, 2023, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/undesirable>

Mignolo, W. and C. E. Walsh, *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018.

Mikaere, A. *The balance destroyed: the consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of Tikanga Māori*. Otaki: Te Wananga o Raukawa, 2017.

Mikaere, A., “Māori Women: Caught in the Contradictions of a Colonised Reality.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda

Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 137-154. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Mikaere, A, and A. Ahuriri-Driscoll, D. Blake, H. Potter, J. Tupu, J. Hutchings, K. McBreen, M. Haenga-Collins, M. Jackson, eds. *Korihi te Manu – Stories of Whāngai and Adoption*, 2023.

Mikaere, A, “Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy: A Ngāti Raukawa Woman’s Perspective.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Mikaere, A, “Māori Women: Caught in the Contradictions of a Colonised Reality.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Millar, N. “Stories” *Personal Family Records*, 1860s.

Millar, P. “Today we publish a poem by J.C. Sturm that has been lost for 70 years.” *The Spinoff*, 2021. <https://thespinoff.co.nz/books/23-06-2021/today-were-publishing-a-poem-by-jc-sturm-that-has-been-lost-for-70-years#:~:text=One%20newly%2Discovered%20piece%20of,colonisation%20has%20done%20to%20Māori>.

Millen, J. *Colonial Tears & Sweat: the working class in the nineteenth-century New Zealand*, Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1984.

Miller, F. W. G. *Golden Days of Lake County*. 4th ed. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1966.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage, “Tamati Waka Nene.” <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/tamati-waka-nene>.

“Miss Faithful and Female Emigration to New Zealand,” *Western Star* no. 67, 1875. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WSTAR18750220.2.20?end_date=31-12-1875&items_per_page=10&query=Miss+Faithful+and+Female+Emigration+to+New+Zealand&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1875

“Missionary Sketches,” *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1829.

“Missionary at the Island of Hueine, in the South Seas- Missionary Intelligence. Extract of a letter lately received from the Reverend Charles Buff,” in *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1818.

Mita, Merata., “From Head and Shoulders.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 105-109. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

“Mr. Meurant’s Case – and the Rights of the Anglo-Maorie,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume V, Issue 227, 1849. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18490831.2.6.1>

Mulvey, L. “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen*, Vol. 15, I3, 1975.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/16.3.6>

Munro, B. “Our women’s history.” *Otago Daily Times*, February 16, 2016.
<https://www.odt.co.nz/lifestyle/magazine/our-womens-history>

Munro, J. *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*. Auckland: Bridget Williams Books, 1997.

Murphy, N. “Te Awa Atua, Te Awa Tapu, Te Awa Wāhine: An examination of stories, ceremonies and practices regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world.” Master’s thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand, 2011.
<https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/5532>.

Murphy, N., “Te Awa Atua: The River of Life! Menstruation in Pre-Colonial Times.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

National Institute for Women (NOW), “Addressing the Femicide: Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women.” May 8, 2021. YouTube video,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BqoVQWUD0og>

“New Conquest by France in the Pacific,” *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1829.

New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, Vol. 20, Issue. 160, 20 July 1842.

“New Zealand Dinner,” in *Illustrated London News*, London: Illustrated London News Limited, 1844.

New Zealand History, “Richard Seddon Biography,” <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/richard-seddon>. Hailed by History NZ as “our longest-serving and most famous leader [who] not only led the government, many argued, he was the government.”

NewsHub, “Farmers Tells Family of Māori Teen Called 'Undesirable' it Doesn't Think the Incident was Racist.” <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2021/12/farmers-tells-family-of-m-ori-teen-called-undesirable-it-does-n-t-think-the-incident-was-racist.html>

Newton, V. “Hypervisibility and Invisibility: Black Women’s Experiences with Gendered Racial Microaggressions on a White Campus,” *Sage Journals*, Vol 9. Issue 2, 2023.

Ney, M, “Farmers were just Protecting their Stock,” *NZ Issues Community Thread*, 2021. <https://nzissues.com/Community/threads/farmers-were-just-protecting-their-stock-maramama.24979/>

Ngata, A. *Rauru-nui-ā-Toi lectures and Ngāti Kahungunu origin*. Wellington: Victoria University, 1972.

Nicholas, J. L. *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*. Auckland: Wilson and Horton Ltd, 1817.

Nochlin, L. “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” In *Theorising Feminism: Parallel Trends in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, edited by Anne Hermann and Abigail Stewart. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.

Norman, W., “He Aha te Mea Nui?.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 13–18. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Observer, Volume X, Issue 604, 26 July, 1890.

O’Grady, L. “Olympia’s Maid: Reclaiming Black Female Subjectivity,” 1994. https://lorraineogrady.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Lorraine-OGrady_Olympias-Maid-Reclaiming-Black-Female-Subjectivity1.pdf

Olley, S “Women who took offence at Jay Scott’s moko kauae told to apologise,” *RNZ for NZ Herald*, April 27, 2022. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/women-who-took-offence-at-jay-scotts-moko-kauae-told-to-apologise/SX3RVNT2B5KMYEL5JBUSFOJ5BQ/>

Oliver, R. A., *From the Archives*, London, Dickinson Bros, 1852.

Original Correspondence, “To the Parents of Half Caste Children in New Zealand,” *New Zealander*, 3 no. 142., 1847.

https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZ18471009.2.7?end_date=31-12-1847&items_per_page=10&query=To+the+Parents+of+Half+Caste+Children+in+New+Zealand&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1847

Ormiston, R. “Victorian Scrapbooking,” *Crafting Communities*. 2021.

<https://www.craftingcommunities.net/victorian-scrapbooking>

Parameswaran, R. “Reading the Visual, Tracking the Global, Postcolonial Feminist Methodology and the Chameleon Codes of Resistance.” In *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, edited by Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 407 – 428. California: Sage Publications Inc., 2008.

Pere, R. “To Us the Dreamers are Important.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 04–12. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Pack, S., and K. Tuffin, A. Lyons. “Accounts of Blatant Racism Against Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.” *Sites: New Series* 13, no. 2, 2016.

Pallant House Gallery, “Perspectives: Manet's Olympia: Laure and Victorine,” (last revised October 9, 2020).

<https://pallant.org.uk/manets-olympia-laure-and-victorine>

Pihama, L, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds. *Ora: Healing Ourselves – Indigenous Knowledge Healing and Wellbeing*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2023.

Pihama, L. “Māku Anō e Hanga Tōku Nei Whare - I Myself Shall build My House,” in *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*, edited by Brendan Hokowhitu, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Linda Tuhiwai-Smith, Chris Anderson, Steve Larkin. London: Routledge, 2020.

Pihama, L. “Tihei Mauri Ora, Honouring our Voices – Mana Wahine as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework.” Doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland, New Zealand, 2001.
http://www.tutamawahine.org.nz/tihea_mauri_ora

Pihama, L., “Mana Wahine Theory: Creating Space for Māori Women’s Theories,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 75-82. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Pihama, L. “Mana Atua, Mana Tangata, Mana Wahine,” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 190-199. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Ponzanesi, S “Beyond the Black Venus: Colonial Sexual Politics and Contemporary Visual Practices Revisited,” in *ReSignification – European Blackmoors, Africana Readings*, editors Awam Ampka and Ellen Mary Toscano (Rome: Postcart), <https://dSPACE.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/350856>

Pratt, M. L. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Translucation*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Pratt, S. (ca.1830). *Photographs of Sarah Pratt and Ramsbury Village*. [Photographs and postcards]. The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. PAColl-4807.

Pratt, S, (ca.1830). *Journal*. [Journal]. The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. MSX-3895.

Prichard, M. F. L. *An Economic History of New Zealand to 1939*. Auckland: Collins, 1970.

“Proposed Emigration from Ireland Under the Arrears Act,” *New Zealand Herald*, XX no. 6767, 1883, 5. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18830726.2.31?end_date=31-12-1883&items_per_page=10&query=Proposed+Emigration+from+Ireland+under+the+Arrears+Act&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1883

PSA House. “Campaigns – Mana Wahine, in an Historic Milestone for the PSA, Te Rūnanga o Ngā Toa Āwhina has taken a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.” Last revised 2023. <https://www.psa.org.nz/our-voice/mana-wahine/>

Punch, “Here and there,” or, “Emigration a Remedy,” 8 July 1848, London, Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, PUBL-0043-1848-15.

Ramsden, I., C. Lyndon and K. Kaa. *Whakamamae – Ngā Morehu, Nō Ngā Tipuna*. Wellington: Wellington City Art Gallery.

Reese, T, “The War Against Black Girls: Addressing the Adultification Bias,” May 27, 2021 <https://www.cpedv.org/post/war-against-black-girls-addressing-adultification-bias>

Rei, T. and L. Ormsby and A. Tangahou, eds. *Māori Women and the Vote*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1993.

“Review- Northern Expedition Under Captain Parry,” *The Imperial Magazine, Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge*, Volume 2, Liverpool: Caxton Press, 1820.

Reynolds, R. *Principal Varieties of Mankind*, London: James Reynolds, 1850.

Richards, R. “Kant and Blumenbach on *Bildungstrieb*: A Historical Misunderstanding,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 31, no. 1(2000): 11-32.

Richmond, Family. (ca.1830). *Richmond Family - Papers Removed from Scrapbook (77-173-67/6)*. The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. 77-173-67/7.

Roberts, D. K. *The Centuries' Poetry- Compiled by Denys Kilham Roberts 5: Bridges to the Present Day*. Pelican Books, 1938.

Robertson, N. “Tātari e Maru Ana: Renewing Ancestral Connections with the Sacred Rain Cape of Waiapu Kōkā Hūhua.” Doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland, New Zealand, 2021.

Robley, H. *Moko, or Māori Tattooing*, (London : Chapman & Hall, 1896). Reprinted 1987.

Roche, M. “Henry David,” *Te Ara- The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 2003. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5h17/henry-david>

“Romantic Marriage of a European Woman with a Maori,” *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, Vol 1, Issue 88, 1877.

Rongo, Hariata, 1815-1894, accessed 11 January 2022, <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22394688>.

Rosetti, D. G., *Ballads and Sonnets*, London: F. S. Ellis, 1881.

Ross, M. “The Throat of Parata,” in *Imagining Decolonisation*, edited by Anne Hodge, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020.

Rountree, K. "Re-making the Māori Female Body: Marianne William's Mission in the Bay of Islands." *The Journal of Pacific History* 35, no.1 2000.

Royal, Te Ahukamarū Charles, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs from Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1994.

Rusden, G. W., *The History of New Zealand. Vol 1.* (London: Chapman and Hall Limited), 216.
<https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Rus01Hist-t1-body-d5.html>

Ryan, K. (2019, November 3). Leo Haks and Colleen Dallimore. *RNZ From Nine To Noon*.
<https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/ninetoon/audio/201777158/leo-haks-and-colleen-dallimore>

Said, E. *Beginnings, Intention and Method*. New York: Basic Books, 1975.

Said, E. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge, 1978.

Said, E. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Random House (distributor), 1979.

Salmond, A. *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the Southern Seas*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003.

Scott, J. *Gender and the Politics of History*, Rev. ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Seed-Pihama, J., "Kapohia Ngā Taonga a Kui Mā: Liberty from the Theft of Our Matrilineal Names." in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joelie Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 178–189. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Seeger, S. "Colonising Narratives." Instagram, June 15, 2023.

<https://www.instagram.com/p/CtgM8zTMIsm/?hl=en>
=10&query=Selling+Liquor+to+a+Maori+Woman&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1898

Sharp, B., "From Korowai to Kākahu: Expanding te reo Māori supports revitalisation of weaving," *Stuff*, 2022. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/pou-tiaki/300701297/from-korowai-to-kkahu-expanding-te-reo-mori-supports-revitalisation-of-weaving>

Sharpe, J. *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Shaw, M. "Fatality of Femininity: The Femme Fatale and Fallen Women," *Art History*, 2017.
<https://arthistorysociety.org/essays/fatality-femininity>.

Simmonds, N., "Mana Wahine: Decolonising Politics." *Women's Studies Journal* 25, no. 2, 2011.

Simmonds, N. "Tū te Turuturu nō Hine-te-iwaiwa: Mana wahine geographies of birth in Aotearoa New Zealand." Doctoral dissertation, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand, 2014. <https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/8821>

Simmonds, N., "In Search of Our Nannies' Gardens: A Mana Wahine Geography of Maternities in Aotearoa." In *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 155–164. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Simmonds, N. "Never-Ending Beginnings- The Circularity of Mana Wahine," in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Simmonds, N, 2016. "Transformative Maternities: Indigenous Stories as Resistance and Reclamation in Aotearoa New Zealand." In *Everyday Knowledge, Education and Sustainable Futures*, edited by Margaret Robertson, Po Keung and Eric Tsang, 71–88. Singapore: Springer Singapore.

Sinclair, K. *A History of New Zealand*. Middlesex: Penguin Books Inc., 1959.

Sinclair, K. *The Ballad of Halfmoon Bay in An Anthology of New Zealand Verse*. Selected by Robert Chapman, Jonathan Bennett, and Geoffrey Cumberlage, London: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Sinha, M. "Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest," Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
https://dept.english.wisc.edu/amclintock/writing/AHR_review.pdf

Smith, A., *Conquest – Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge: South End Press, 2005.

Smith C. and D. Cormack, E. Fitzgerald, H. M. Barnes, H. Rattray-Te Mana, R. Tinirau, “Narratives of Racism, Resistance and Wellbeing,” in Leonie Pihama and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, ed. *Ora: Healing Ourselves – Indigenous Knowledge Healing and Wellbeing*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2023.

Smith, G. H. “Maori Education: Revolution and Transformative Action,” *The Canadian Journal of Native Education* 24, no. 2, 2000. <https://doi.org/10.14288/cjne.v24i1.195881>

Smith, L. T., “Getting Out From Down Under: Māori Women, Education and the Struggles for Mana Wahine.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 89-104. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Smith, L. T. *Decolonizing Methodologies – Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 3rd ed. Otago: Otago University Press, 2021.

Smith, L. T. *Decolonizing Methodologies – Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 2nd ed. Otago: Otago University Press, 2012.

Smith, L. T., “Don’t Mess with the Māori Woman.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 01–03. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Smith, L. T., “Māori Women: Discourses, Projects, and Mana Wahine.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 39–52. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Spinoza, B. *Ethics*, in *Spinoza: Complete Works*, translated by Samuel Shirley and edited by Michael L. Morgan. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2002.

Spivak, G. C. “A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of Vanishing the Present.” In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Macmillan Education, 1988.

Steward, A. *My Simple Life in New Zealand*. Auckland: Wilson and Horton Ltd., 1908.

Stoler, A. L. “Racial Histories and the Regimes of Truth.” *Political Power and Social Theory* 11, 1993.

Stoler, A. L. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

Stoler, A. L. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power – Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. California: University of California Press, 2002.

Stoler, A. L. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Stoler, A. L., ed. *Imperial Debris - On Ruins and Ruination*. North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2013.

Stoler, A. L. *Interior Frontiers: Essays on the Entrails of Inequality*, New York: Oxford Academic, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190076375.002.0006>

Stoler, A. L. “Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures,” in *Journal of the American Ethnological Society*, 1989. <https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/136501/ae.1989.16.4.02a00030.pdf?isAllowed-y=&sequence-1=>

“Surrender of William Thompson,” *New Zealand Herald*, 1865. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18650207.2.25>

Swarbrick, N. “Flax and flax working - Māori use of flax,” *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 2007. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/flax-and-flax-working/page-2> (accessed 11 May 2023)

Tamaira, A. M. “From Full Dusk to Full Task: Reimagining the “Dusky Maiden” through the Visual Arts.” *The Contemporary Pacific* 22, no. 1, 2010.

“Tāmāti Wāka Nene,” Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 8 Nov 2017. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/tamati-waka-nene>

Te Aka Māori Dictionary, <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?keywords=pakeha>

Te Ara- The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, “Henry, David,” by Michael Roche, last updated August, 2003. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5h17/henry-david>

Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, “Māori and Museums – Ngā Whare Taonga – Te Māori and its Impact,” by P. Tapsell, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2014. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/maori-and-museums-nga-whare-taonga/page-3>. (Accessed 8 August 2021).

Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, “Heke Pōkai, Hōne Wiremu,” by F. Rankin Kawharu, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h16/heke-pokai-hone-wiremu>. Accessed 8 August 2021.

Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, “History - Liberal to Labour,” by John Wilson, last updated April 1, 2020. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/history/page-5> (accessed 3 July 2023)

Te Awekotuku, N. *Mana Wahine Māori: Selected Writing on Māori Women’s Art, Culture and Politics*. Auckland, New Zealand: New Women’s Press, 1991.

Te Awekotuku, N., “He Whiriwhiri Wāhine: Framing Women’s Studies for Aotearoa.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 19–28. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Te Awekotuku, N., “Kia Mau, Kia Manawanui We Will Never Go Away: Experiences of a Māori Lesbian Feminist.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 19–28. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Te Awekotuku, N., “Moko Maori – An Understanding of Pain,” in *Anthropologists, Indigenous Scholars and the Research Endeavour: Seeking Bridges Towards Mutual Respect*, edited by Joy Hendry, and Lara Fitznor. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012.

Teaiwa, K. M. “An Interview with an Interdisciplinary Artist Shigeyuki Kihara.” *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 27, 2011. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue27/kihara.htm>

Teaiwa, T. “Reading Paul Gauguin’s *Noa Noa* with Epeli Hau’ofa’s *Kisses in the Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism and the ‘Polynesian Body’.” In *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the new Pacific*, edited by Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.

Te Ao Māori, “Police launch investigation into ‘unconscious bias’ against Māori,” *Radio New Zealand*, 2021. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/438469/police-launch-investigation-into-unconscious-bias-against-maori>

Te Kanawa, K. M. “Taonga Tuku Iho: Intergenerational Transfer of Raranga and Whatu.” Doctoral dissertation, University of Waikato, New Zealand, 2022.

The Argus, “Colonial and Indian Exhibition- Arrangements for the Opening,” Melbourne: The Argus, 1 June 1886. (<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/6097966>)

“The Battle of Mahoetahi,” *Illustrated London News* 67, no.3, 1861. <https://onehera.waikato.ac.nz/nodes/view/4307>

“The Late Massacre at Wairau, New Zealand,” *Illustrated London News*, in *Illustrated London News (Cuttings) 1843-1875*. New Zealand Parliamentary Library, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Reference: MSY-8130.

“The Maori” *Illustrated London News*, no.164, 1845.

The Maori Record, p.9.

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/imageserver/periodicals/P29pZD1NQU9SRUMxOTA1MDkwMS4xLjEwJmdldHBkZj10cnVI>

“The New Zealand chief, Tamati Waka, a friend to European Settlers,” *Illustrated London News* 67, no.3, 1861.

“The Status of Half-Castes,” *Daily Southern Cross*, XVI (1215), 1859.

https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18590218.2.10.2?end_date=31-12-1859&items_per_page=10&query=The+Status+of+Half-Castes&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1859

“The War in New Zealand. Battle of Mahoetahi,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, (Sydney, 20 Nov 1860), 5. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/13049007>

“The Wellington Independent,” *Wellington Independent*, VI no. 567, 1851, 2.

https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18510319.2.6?end_date=31-12-1851&items_per_page=10&page=72&query=Wellington+Independent&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1851

Thomas, A. “Pākehā and Doing the Work of Decolonisation,” *Imagining Decolonisation*, edited by Anne Hodge, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2020.

Thonson, O, “Laundry: Eroticism in Mundane Activity,” in *Gender & Sexuality: A Transnational Anthology from 1690 to 1990*, North Carolina: Wake Forest University Students, HST 114/WGS 377, Fall 2019.

<https://librarypartnerspress.pressbooks.pub/gendersexuality1e/chapter/laundry-eroticism-in-mundane-activity/>

Tuckey, K. “Massey racism provokes call for university name change.” *Stuff News*, September 29, 2016. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/84753337/massey-racism-provokes-call-for-university-name-change>

Tyerman, D. and Bennet, G. Esq, “Visit to the Missionary Stations in the South Sea Islands. Narrative of a Visit in the South Seas Islands, and in India.” Christian Missionary Society, 1821.

Tyson, J. “Mata Aho Collective Winners of NZ's Most Prestigious Contemporary Art Award.” *Te Ao Māori News*. August 8, 2021,

<https://www.teaomaori.news/mata-aho-collective-winners-nzs-most-prestigious-contemporary-art-award>

“Untitled,” *Wellington Independent*, XXIX no. 4064. 1874.

https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18740327.2.10?end_date=31-12-1874&items_per_page=10&page=7&query=embarkation&snippet=true&start_date=01-01-1874&type=ARTICLE

Vaginal Syringe in Packaging. *Museum of New Zealand – Te Papa Tongarewa*.

<https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/895473>

Vercoe, C. “Enduring Gauguin: Reflections on Gauguin’s Legacy in the Pacific,” *Widenstein Plattner Institute Webiner*, 2023.

Waitere, H. and Johnson, P., “Echoed Silences in Absentia: Mana Wahine in Institutional Contexts.” in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeline Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

Wakefield, E. J. *In New Zealand, from 1839 to 1844; With Some Account of the Beginning of the British Colonization of the Islands*, London: William Clowes and Sons, 1845.

https://archive.org/stream/adventureinnewze01wakeiala/adventureinnewze01wakeiala_djvu.txt

Wanhalla, A. Interracial Sexual Violence in 1860s New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of History*, 45(1), 2011. https://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/docs/2011/NZJH_45_1_05.pdf

Warner, A. "Aiomai Nuku-Tarawhiti called 'undesirable' by Farmers staff member," 14 December, 2021. YouTube video, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/video/aiomai-nuku-tarawhiti-called-undesirable-by-farmers-staff-member/OHI62LPIQIJYI3EO2TAT4OGLBI/>

Warren, S. "The wife's guide & friend : being plain and practical advice to women on birth control and the management of themselves during pregnancy and confinement, and other matters of importance that should be known to every wife and mother," Melbourne: Saunders & Co., 1928. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2203160258>

Weatherston, R. "When Sleeping Dictionaries Awaken: The Re/turn of the Native Woman Informant," *Ann Arbor Publishing, University of Michigan Library*, 1 no. 1, 1997. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/postid/pid9999.0001.106/--when-sleeping-dictionaries-awaken-the-return-of-the-native?rgn=main;view=fulltext#:~:text=spo.pid9999.0001.106-,When%20Sleeping%20Dictionaries%20Awaken%3A%20The%20Re%2Fturn,of%20the%20Native%20Woman%20Informant&text=In%20June%20of%201995%2C%20100%2C000,to%20the%20film%20was%20overwhelming.>

Webster, Kenneth Athol. *The Webster Collection and Papers of Kenneth Athol Webster*. [Magazine Articles]. The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. MS-Papers-9615-03.

Welter, B. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no.2, 1961.

Whāngai Project Participants. *Korihi te Manu – Stories of Whāngai and Adoption*. Ōtaki: Te Tāpuki, 2021.

"Whitcoulls - the next chapter." *NZ Herald*, accessed 8 May 2023. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/whitcoulls-the-next-chapter/Z4WVJAAHYH2NHCSMRHORIIF5PDI/?c_id=3&objectid=10735501.

White, O. *Children of the French Empire- Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa 1895-1960*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1999. <https://academic.oup.com/book/27697>

Williams, W. (1800-1878). *Early Maori Imprint Project: Items Transferred from the Printed Collections. Williams, William, 1800-1878: Volume of Printed Texts*. The Alexander Turnbull Library Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. MSX-5223.

Wilson, W. A. and Michael Yellow Bird, *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonisation Handbook 1*, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 2005.

Wilson, J. "History – Liberal to Labour," *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 2020. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/history/page-5>.

Wirihana, R. and Cheryl Smith, "Historical Trauma, Healing, and Wellbeing in Māori Communities," *Mai Journal*, vol. 3. Issue 3, 2014.

Witten, J. "My Ancestry - Our New Zealand." *Tāku Tupuna Tāku Whenua o Aotearoa, Women's Competition- NCWNZ Winning Essays*, September, 1990.

"Woman's Sphere," *The Dominion*, 17 May 1913.

"Women's Work," *The New Zealand Times*, 15 May 1913.

Wright, D. M. *Station Ballads and other Verses*. Dunedin: J. G. Sawell, 1897.

Yates-Smith, "A. Hine! E Hine! Rediscovering the Feminine in Māori Spirituality." Doctoral dissertation, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1998.

Yates-Smith, A., "Reclaiming the Ancient Feminine in Māori Society: Kei Wareware i a Tatou Te Ukaipō!" in *Mana Wahine Reader: a Collection of Writings 1999-2019, Volume 2*, edited by Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel, 60–74. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2019.

York, K. "Keisha York discusses the historic roots of scientific racism and the relevance this has for psychological research today" *Kings College London*, 2020.

<https://blogs.kcl.ac.uk/editlab/2020/11/18/keisha-york-discusses-the-historic-roots-of-scientific-racism-and-the-relevance-this-has-for-psychological-research-today/>

Young, R. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London: Routledge, 1995.